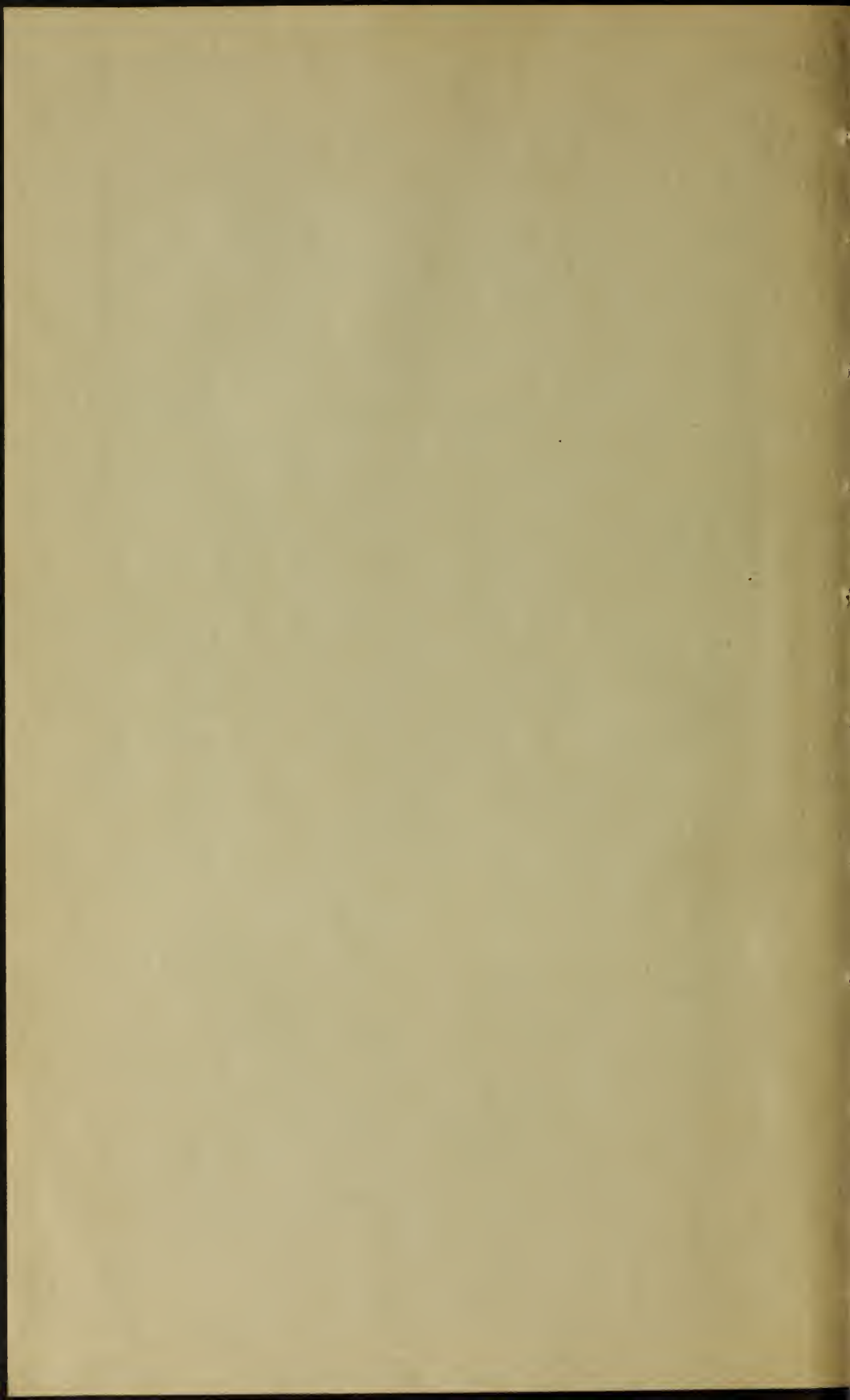


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Vol. 10 A

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS BEFORE A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

VOLUME 10

OCTOBER 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, AND 28, 1939
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1940

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II

Anonymous
Aug. 27, 1953

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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Mr. Casey.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel; Mr. J. B. Matthews, Director of Research.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. You may call your first witness.

TESTIMONY OF MAX BEDACHT, SECRETARY, INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER; FORMER GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF UNITED STATES

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness is attended by counsel, Mr. Brodsky.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your name?

Mr. BEDACHT. Max Bedacht.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, have you ever gone under or been known by any other name than Max Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Not on my own account. People may have called me all kinds of things.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been known by the name of Brown?

Mr. BEDACHT. Brown? That is my wife's name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever used that name or been referred to by that name?

Mr. BEDACHT. Not that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you had been, you would know it, of course.

Mr. BEDACHT. I may have used it in articles. I have used various names in writing articles, but I have no recollection of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever used that name?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever used the name of Marshall or been known by the name of Marshall?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, what is your present address?

Mr. BEDACHT. My present address is 2042 East Thirty-seventh Street, Brooklyn.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your residence address?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is my residence address.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business address?

Mr. BEDACHT. By business address is 80 Fifth Avenue.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was born in Munich, Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. BEDACHT. October 1883; October 13.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you married or single?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am married.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been arrested in the United States or elsewhere?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state the instances?

Mr. BEDACHT. The first time I had that honor I spoke at the 1st of May celebration in Detroit, on the 1st of May 1913, I believe. And I was arrested then and there. I was arrested at one time in Akron, Ohio, because I made a German speech, and the people that had organized the meeting had forgotten or failed to get a permit which was required at the time for speaking in a foreign language. I was arrested a number of times—in California once.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that in conjunction with your activities, speaking?

Mr. BEDACHT. That was always in conjunction with my activities.

Mr. WHITLEY. Speaking engagements and demonstrations, things of that kind?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you leave your native country of Germany?

Mr. BEDACHT. I left Germany in 1900.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you enter the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I entered the United States in 1908.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you go between the time you left Germany and the time you entered the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I worked in various places; in Austria and Switzerland and France.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you enter the United States, what was your port of entry?

Mr. BEDACHT. New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where have you lived since entering the United States in 1908?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, I lived in New York, in Detroit, in San Francisco, in Philadelphia, in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what occupations have you followed since you came to the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have been a barber by profession; I learned that. Then I worked in factories, and then I worked in an editorial capacity, writing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was naturalized in the Superior Court of San Francisco. I believe the papers were issued in April 1915.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1915?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. Since its inception.

Mr. WHITLEY. What positions have you held in the Communist Party, Mr. Bedacht? First, you were a charter member?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have been a member of the national committee or general executive committee, and I have held——

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a minute, how long have you been a member of the national committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. Since the beginning with, I believe, one interruption.

Mr. WHITLEY. Since the beginning?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Since the inception of the party in this country?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the highest governing body of the party, is it not?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you have been a member since the beginning.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other positions have you held? You are still a member of the national committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other positions have you held with the Communist Party or its affiliated bodies?

Mr. BEDACHT. The Communist Party has no affiliated bodies, and in the Communist Party I held the position of agitprop director. At one time I edited——

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a minute. By agitprop you mean——

Mr. BEDACHT. Propaganda director.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean agitation and propaganda?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you hold that office?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, probably 2 years, I could not say exactly, but somewhere around that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other positions of responsibility have you had?

Mr. BEDACHT. I edited the theoretical magazine for a while.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the name of that magazine?

Mr. BEDACHT. The Communist. It does not exist any more—oh, yes, it is issued again.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the monthly magazine?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were editor of that?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was editor of that at one time; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you at one time acting general secretary of the party, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was for a period of months.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in 1929, when there was some trouble as to the leadership?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were designated acting general secretary?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the position Mr. Earl Browder holds at the present time?

Mr. BEDACHT. Except Mr. Browder was elected by the convention and I was merely acting secretary filling the position between——

Mr. WHITLEY. Who appointed you to that position?

Mr. BEDACHT. The general executive board.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other positions of responsibility have you held in the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. BEDACHT. District organizer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been a candidate for any public office on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. What offices?

Mr. BEDACHT. United States Senator, in New York, for one, some 4 or 5 years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were a candidate for the United States Senate on two different occasions, were you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was a candidate for the United States Senate once, I believe, in Illinois.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in 1934?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; that was in the twenties. I have not been living in Detroit for some 8 or 9 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other public offices have you been a candidate for on the Communist Party ticket? You were a candidate for Congress once, were you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. BEDACHT. That, too in New York. And I believe I was once candidate on the Socialist Party ticket in California for Presidential elector.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, have you been the author of numerous articles and publications for the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have been writing some.

Mr. WHITLEY. Over a period of years you have done considerable writing for party literature?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know whether considerable, but I have been writing, yes; for party literature.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you, Mr. Bedacht, a member of the national executive committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you ever?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have been.

Mr. WHITLEY. A member of that committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have been.

Mr. WHITLEY. For how long a period?

Mr. BEDACHT. I believe 2 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you remember what years those were?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, I was not reelected at the last convention; I was the two previous periods.

Mr. WHITLEY. That would be 1937?

Mr. BEDACHT. 1937, 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were there, say, 1935 to 1937, as a member of that committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. I could not say exactly the dates, but I was before the last convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member or have you been a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. BEDACHT. Years ago; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many years ago?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, to my knowledge it must be 6, 7, or 8 years that I have not been active on the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long were you on that national committee of the I. L. D.?

Mr. BEDACHT. For a few years.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other positions have you held with the Communist Party or any of its subsidiary groups?

Mr. BEDACHT. I must again state the party has no subsidiary groups.

Mr. WHITLEY. It has its publishing companies and it has several corporations that it controls; I presume they would be considered subsidiary, would they not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have never been an officer of any of these corporations, and I do not know that they are subsidiaries.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any other offices you have held for the party?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not remember any. I may have been on committees that have been established off and on for certain purposes, but I could not possibly keep track of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state for the record what other organizations or groups you have been connected with other than those you have already named? You have named the Communist Party and the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the International Labor Defense. What other groups have you been connected with?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, I am now connected with the International Workers Order.

Mr. WHITLEY. We will get the details of that in a few minutes. You do not know of any other positions you have held or any other organizations you have been connected with—organizations or firms, if you want to make that distinction—or corporations?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know that I have ever been connected with any firm, and as for organizations, I was active early in the twenties in the famine-relief organization for Soviet Russia. They issued a paper and I edited that for about a year or so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that organization the Friends of Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think that was the name. They issued a paper, the Soviet Russia Pictorial, and I edited that for some time.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know of any other organization you have had any affiliations with?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What about these organizations for the relief of China, the relief of Spain? Have you ever been connected with any of those organizations that have been formed at different times?

Mr. BEDACHT. The International Workers Order, like any other organization of the kind, receives many, many requests to participate in such activities, and it did decide to participate in some of them. It did cooperate with the Medical Relief Bureau for Spain and with organizations affiliated with that movement.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about you personally; what other organizations were you affiliated with; were you affiliated with any of those organizations?

Mr. BEDACHT. As an individual, I do not know any others than the ones I have mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is, Did you serve as an officer, director, on any of these organizations for the relief of Spain or China or any other country?

Mr. BEDACHT. My name may appear on some letterheads as a sponsor. I could not keep track of those things. When I am asked whether I will permit them to use my name, perhaps I do, but I have not been an elected officer, that I know of, of any of these institutions.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present occupation, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am the general secretary of the International Workers' Order.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you held that position?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was elected in 1933.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have been general secretary of the International Workers' Order since 1933?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present salary in that position?

Mr. BEDACHT. My present salary is \$57 a week.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any other source of income?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was the International Workers' Order founded?

Mr. BEDACHT. 1930.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was it founded?

Mr. BEDACHT. In New York, New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. By whom was it founded?

Mr. BEDACHT. It was founded by a group of Jewish fraternalists in March, I believe, 1930.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the nature of the organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is a fraternal benefit society.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it incorporated under the laws of the State of New York?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is incorporated under the laws of the State of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you get the total membership?

Mr. WHITLEY. Who are the present officers of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. The officers are Mr. William Weiner, president.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is the treasurer of the Communist Party; is he not?

Mr. BEDACHT. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the gentleman who testified here?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. He is the financial secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. Who are the other officers, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Mr. Middleton; John Middleton is vice president. Mr. Shipka is the treasurer. Miss Thompson is recording secretary, and I am the general secretary.

Those are the officers. We have an auditing committee of three, Mr. Krchmarek, from Cleveland, is one of the members.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, the purpose of the International Workers Order is that it functions as a fraternal benefit association.

Mr. BEDACHT. That is so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Communist Party of the United States have anything to do with the organization of the International Workers Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. The organization was performed by a group of people, was carried out by a group of people who were in a conflict in the Workmen's Circle, some of them having been expelled, and that was the cause of the founding of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your answer was not responsive, Mr. Bedacht. I will repeat it. Did the Communist Party of the United States have anything to do with the organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. You mean, did the Communist Party order it? No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did it have anything to do with it, directly or indirectly?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; it had not.

Mr. WHITLEY. No connection with the organization whatever?

Mr. BEDACHT. No connection with the organization.

Mr. CASEY. Were the founders of the organization members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. Some were, some were not.

Mr. CASEY. How many founders were there?

Mr. BEDACHT. There were about 5,000, I believe, at the time of the incorporation, and the overwhelming majority certainly had nothing to do with the Communist Party and were not members of the Communist Party.

Mr. CASEY. What about the original officers?

Mr. BEDACHT. The original secretary was Mr. Saltzman. I do not know who were all the officers at the time. Mr. Saltzman was secretary, I know that, and Mr. Schiller was president. At that time, the organization was exclusively Jewish, made up of Jewish members. This is not the case now.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the total membership of the International Workers Order at the present time, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Including the junior section, it is a little over 164,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he mean by the junior section; is that for children?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have juniors, youth, and adult. We count altogether—that is, dues-paying members—a little over 164,000.

Mr. CASEY. Does it operate only in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. It operates only in the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you mention the number of junior members that you have?

Mr. BEDACHT. Twenty-one to twenty-two thousand.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many branches or chapters of the I. W. O. do you have?

Mr. BEDACHT. 1,900, around.

Mr. WHITLEY. One thousand nine hundred branches?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is, lodges.

The CHAIRMAN. You said there were 22,000 juniors. What did you say the youth numbered?

Mr. BEDACHT. The youth are separate from the juniors, but they are not separately organized. They are in the same lodges with the adults.

The CHAIRMAN. The figure 22,000 includes both juniors and youth?

Mr. BEDACHT. No, no; that is only juniors.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to know. How many youth are there? How many are there in the youth section?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have no more youth section. We have divisions of young people.

The CHAIRMAN. Whatever you call it, how many are there in the youth?

Mr. BEDACHT. A little over 25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And the balance of the 164,000 would be adults?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many branches did you say there were?

Mr. BEDACHT. Around 1,900 lodges.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you get the location of those lodges?

Mr. WHITLEY. I am sure Mr. Bedacht can furnish that.

The CHAIRMAN. Generally.

Mr. WHITLEY. They are scattered throughout the United States, from coast to coast. Are they in every State of the Union, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; not in every State of the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. In how many States are they?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have an organization in about 10 or 12 States. I did not even make a list of them: New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, California, West Virginia, Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say you have organizations in those States you mean—

Mr. BEDACHT. We have licenses of the departments of insurance of those States and operate in those States.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of the 10 or 12 States in which that is the case, do you have lodges in other States?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have in some States, because some of our membership originates with organizations that existed before and have re-insured their members in the I. W. O.; in other words, united with the I. W. O., and they had such lodges in other States, but we are not soliciting members there or building the organization in those States.

The CHAIRMAN. There are 10 or 12 States in which you have a license to operate?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there are some more States in which you do not have a license, but in which you have taken over other fraternal organizations?

Mr. BEDACHT. Where we have very small groups of members.

The CHAIRMAN. How many States would that be, outside of the 10 or 12?

Mr. BEDACHT. Perhaps another 10 States.

The CHAIRMAN. So that your organization exists in some form or another in about 20 States of the Union?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the sources of income of the International Workers Order, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Exclusively the dues payments of the members.

Mr. WHITLEY. What types of insurance benefits does the I. W. O. have?

The CHAIRMAN. You did not get the dues payments, how much they were?

Mr. WHITLEY. I wanted to get the type of benefits; it depends on the type of benefits that they receive, the dues that they pay. What type in insurance benefits does the I. W. O. offer to its membership?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have mortuary benefits, or life insurance, up to \$3,000. At the option of the member, he can take \$100 or \$3,000. We operate on the national fraternal congress table step-rating system. Then we have sick benefits, also optional, of \$4, \$6, \$8, and \$10 a week. Then we have disability insurance; that is a permanent disability, loss of a finger, eye, or arm, up to \$350. Then we have a special tuberculosis benefit for members that suffer attacks of tuberculosis, who get special benefits of 30 weeks at \$20 a week.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do all members have to have some type of insurance benefit?

Mr. BEDACHT. Every member must carry mortuary benefits. That is necessary because of our charter. We are operating as a benefit society and can only take, and do take, only members who take mortuary benefits.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the other benefits are optional with the members?

Mr. BEDACHT. The other benefits are optional with the members. They may or may not be carried.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the amount of dues payments which are in effect premiums depends upon the type and amount of the various benefits the individual member is carrying?

Mr. BEDACHT. Exactly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the constitution show the scale on which your benefits are paid?

Mr. BEDACHT. The constitution does show.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you give us a copy of that?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. It will also show whether the dues are much different for the various districts?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. BRODSKY. You want a copy of that for the record?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; it would be rather complicated, Mr. Chairman, but it can be put in the record.¹

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. In addition to dues do you have initiation fees?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have an initiation fee of \$1 for adults, 50 cents for youths, and 25 cents for juniors.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is used for organizational purposes?

¹ Appears at end of testimony on p. 5901.

Mr. BEDACHT. That is used for—yes; education and promotional purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now what qualifications for membership are required in the I. W. O., in order for a member to be eligible?

Mr. BEDACHT. There is only the qualification that they must pass a doctor's examination and prove to be healthy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now what is the total annual budget, approximately—I realize you may not have the exact figures—of the International Workers Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, the organization is growing very fast and the outlays of money are of course different from year to year; they are increasing from year to year as the membership increases. I have here, for instance, the payments of benefits which indicate this growing outlay.

Mr. WHITLEY. First let me get the income, the yearly income to the organization from its membership; do you have that, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well the present monthly income from dues and premiums is about \$110,000, something more than that.

Mr. WHITLEY. \$110,000 monthly?

Mr. BEDACHT. A month; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That makes a total of more than \$1,000,000 a year?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And those funds are used exclusively for the payment of benefits and for carrying on the workers activities?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean of the I. W. O.?

Mr. BEDACHT. A definite amount of the dues is assigned, as prescribed in the bylaws, for various funds; so much to mortuary; so much to sick-benefit funds; and so much for administration expenses.

Mr. WHITLEY. The organization has grown from an initial group of about 5,000 in 1930 to a present group or membership of approximately 150,000; is that right?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; 164,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. 164,000?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, are all the financial transactions of the organization handled through banks, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Everything through banks.

Mr. WHITLEY. And where is is the I. W. O. account maintained?

Mr. BEDACHT. The account is with the Chase National Bank, Fourteenth Street branch.

Mr. CASEY. Is that \$110,000 per month from dues?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is from dues and premiums.

Mr. WHITLEY. Dues and premiums?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is dues exclusively, and the premiums for the insurance and the administration dues.

Mr. CASEY. That represents the total receipts?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is the total receipts.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no other source of income?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have no other source of income.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what are the other activities of the I. W. O.; what activities does it engage in, Mr. Bedacht, as a fraternal organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. That depends entirely on the desire of the membership of the various organizations; in case there are activities that they decide and desire to engage in.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does it engage in social activities?

Mr. BEDACHT. It engages in social activities, in neighborhood activities, like, for instance, if there is in a neighborhood a movement to establish a health station or things of that sort they will participate in it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do the various groups engage in political activities?

Mr. BEDACHT. In a broader sense, yes, they do, if you call political activities, for instance, the propaganda used for social insurance and the organization to support of measures before Congress or before State legislative bodies that embody measures of social insurance and things of that sort.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Bedacht, with what other organizations or groups do you cooperate?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have been cooperating, first of all, with any kind of labor organizations when they engage in some effort to improve the conditions of their members, of the workers, in general. We have also been cooperating with anti-Fascist movements.

Mr. WHITLEY. Anti-Nazi?

Mr. BEDACHT. Anti-Nazi movement. We have been cooperating with the efforts to fight against the anti-Semitic propaganda and things of that sort.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did your organization cooperate in raising funds for the aid of Spanish democracy?

Mr. BEDACHT. We did that; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And do you recall approximately what was the amount raised by the I. W. O. for the North American Committee in Aid of Spanish Democracy?

Mr. BEDACHT. About \$40,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. About \$40,000 in your organizations?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. For that purpose, and that was turned over to assist the American Committee in Aid of Spanish Democracy?

Mr. BEDACHT. Not entirely—well, yes; so far as the North American Committee included a number of subordinate organizations such as the medical committee for the aid of Spain. But it was turned over partly for the medical committee. For instance, we bought some ambulances which were shipped over and we gave cash and we gave some money directly to the North American Committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. That \$40,000 was made up of voluntary contributions from your membership?

Mr. BEDACHT. That was made from contributions aside from dues and was voluntary.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any committee to carry on that work?

Mr. BEDACHT. We had no committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was voluntarily raised funds?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization or has it ever contributed to the funds of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. As an organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. As individuals?

Mr. BEDACHT. The organization has not contributed to the Communist Party. It may be that lodges have contributed; and it may be of course that individuals have. In fact, frankly, I contributed, but not in my capacity as a member of the I. W. O. or directly from the treasury of the organization as such.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever carried on campaigns, as an organization, for the purpose of raising funds for the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; we did that too; that is, Communist, people like myself and others would organize various committees.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the national organization ever appoint a committee to carry on a campaign within the organization for raising funds for that purpose?

Mr. BEDACHT. The national committee; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was a committee ever appointed to carry out that work for contributing funds?

Mr. BEDACHT. By the national committee?

Mr. WHITLEY. Not necessarily by the national organization; by anyone?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You said a committee was appointed to raise funds?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. For the Spanish-American Committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; it was not appointed; it was a voluntary committee. For instance, there would be a campaign and I, myself, might go up to Smith or Jones or whatever the name might be and say to them, let us join in a movement for this purpose?

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever formed any such committees or have any such committees ever been formed for the purpose of raising funds, among the members of the I. W. O., for the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. There have been?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now has the I. W. O. raised funds to be contributed to Communist Party publications, similar to the Daily Worker?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; that is mostly where these committees were formed. I know I formed, a number of times, committees to raise money for the Daily Worker.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was the last of such committees formed, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, maybe 2 years ago or maybe last year.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you would know, being a high officer of the Communist Party.

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, I don't know; I don't think last year we had a committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not think you had one last year?

Did you not contribute to the Daily Worker last year?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not think we had a committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you got one this year?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have not.

MR. WHITLEY. You are not contributing to the Daily Worker; you are not making any contributions to the Daily Worker?

MR. BEDACHT. I suppose individuals are making contributions, but since it has become fashionable to condemn contributions to the Daily Worker as un-American everybody does it by himself instead of through a group.

THE CHAIRMAN. Why did you make a change in your method; why would you want to make any change if there is no basis for the criticism?

MR. BEDACHT. Why, because the establishment of such committees gives our enemies the chance to blame the organization for something that is done by individuals and we do not want to have that happen.

THE CHAIRMAN. But you have been doing it for years; why have you changed now? If it was right and proper the way you have been doing it for years and you have been raising money through the Workers Order for the Communist Party and for the Daily Workers why did you make the change?

MR. BEDACHT. Well, it seems the fact that a contribution is made——

THE CHAIRMAN (interposing). You mean you did it as a matter of expediency; you have discontinued that method?

MR. BEDACHT. Simply as a matter of common sense.

THE CHAIRMAN. Of expediency?

MR. BEDACHT. Well, what do you call expediency?

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you call it a matter of principle or a matter of expediency when you make a change?

MR. BEDACHT. You see before I went to John Smith and said, "Let us form a committee."

THE CHAIRMAN. To help the Communist Party.

MR. BEDACHT. To help the Communist Party, if you please, or to help the Daily Worker, and now I go to John Smith and say, "Let us contribute to the Daily Worker."

THE CHAIRMAN. Without having any such committee?

MR. BEDACHT. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. And the Daily Worker gets the help just the same?

MR. BEDACHT. I hope so.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Whitley, let us proceed.

MR. CASEY. Is that as a subscriber to the Daily Worker?

MR. BEDACHT. As a friend.

THE CHAIRMAN. As a friend.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, what publications does the I. W. O. sponsor or own?

MR. BEDACHT. The I. W. O. publishes a monthly magazine called the Fraternal Outlook.

MR. WHITLEY. I see. Did it formerly put out a publication known as "Spark"?

MR. BEDACHT. That was before I became secretary and I do not know that it was ever an official organ. There was such a paper. It was printed in Jewish and it was during the period that the organization was exclusively Jewish.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is the Outlook the only publication printed or put out by the I. W. O.?

Mr. BEDACHT. The Outlook is the official organ of the I. W. O. and the only publication, aside from propaganda literature issued about the membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. What is the total circulation, Mr. Bedacht, of that monthly organ?

Mr. BEDACHT. The monthly organ goes to every family of members.

Mr. WHITLEY. Every family of members?

Mr. BEDACHT. When there are two members in one family the family gets one.

We have a circulation now of 91,000, I believe was the last.

Mr. WHITLEY. 91,000 monthly; per month?

Mr. BEDACHT. Per month.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it on sale outside, on newstands?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is just strictly the organ of the members?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the paper?

Mr. WHITLEY. The Fraternal Outlook.

The CHAIRMAN. The Fraternal Outlook?

Mr. CASEY. What is the subscription rate?

Mr. WHITLEY. Does membership in the order include the subscription?

Mr. BEDACHT. The membership includes subscription.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is not separate.

What are the sources of the material published in that monthly organ?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, first of all, there are reports that are being sent in by various lodges or groups and sections about their activities; and then the material of the general executive board of an informational nature for the membership; and then it has some material for the juniors telling them how to carry on activities, for instance, for stamp collections and of carrying on activities that juniors carry on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the I. W. O. have a children's group which receives instructions or training; would there be any material concerning the children's schools?

Mr. BEDACHT. The I. W. O. has no such institution directly. The only organization of groups is carried through such activities. For instance, we have a musical group, to learn how to play instruments; that makes up the band. That is the kind of organization work done in the groups.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the I. W. O. have any children's group which receive training and instruction in communism?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have not; the I. W. O. has no such school.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you do not call it a school, as a formal designation, do you have informal groups that meet for that purpose?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, groups that meet to receive instructions?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had any such group in Detroit, that is, a group of children, members of the I. W. O., youth group who receive instruction regularly in Communist principles?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; we do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not?

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that? You said awhile ago that all of these lodges carry on their own activities; that is what you said?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How are you in position to say that no such groups are formed then?

Mr. BEDACHT. I presume when he asked the question of me it was asked in my capacity as a national officer; and you are asking about activities that are carried on directly under its supervision.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking about that. You stated a while ago that each of these lodges engages in such activities as it saw fit.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he asked you if the lodge in Detroit engaged in or had an informal group which received instructions in Communist principles and you said that was absolutely not true, and what I am asking you is how do you know that is not true?

Mr. BEDACHT. First of all the question was whether, "You had any such school in Detroit." Now, that question was addressed to me, and I take it he meant the national organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Well let me clarify the question by asking whether there was any such group?

Mr. BEDACHT. All right, to my knowledge there was not.

The CHAIRMAN. To your knowledge there was not.

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in position to say there were not any such groups, as a matter of fact?

Mr. BEDACHT. I cannot positively know what is going on in every group.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to know; you have got 1,900 lodges and each one engages in such activities as it sees fit and as general secretary you could not know what was going on; is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, has the I. W. O. maintained a training school for its leaders?

Mr. BEDACHT. It has organized, about a year and a half ago, a full time training school for leaders for about 10 weeks, in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that school still in operation?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; it was only once.

Mr. WHITLEY. Once?

Mr. BEDACHT. We were short of functional—of people who could take positions in the organization and we had to train a group of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do the officers of the International Workers Order act as teachers and instructors in the Communist workers schools, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. That I do not know. I can only speak for myself and I am not acting as a teacher.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not acting as a teacher?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, does the Communist Party have anything to do with determining the policy of the I. W. O. or any say in its selection of officers?

Mr. BEDACHT. It has not.

Mr. WHITLEY. None whatever?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the I. W. O. recruit, through its various branches and literature and functions, and meetings and so forth, recruit members of the Communist Party or into the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. The I. W. O. does not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Neither as an organization or as individuals?

Mr. BEDACHT. It does not as an organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the I. W. O. participate in or assist in certain strikes, or has it done so in the past?

Mr. BEDACHT. Members of the I. W. O. are mostly workers and sometimes they are engaged in localities and in places of work in an effort to improve their conditions and they are engaged to help those conditions if they can.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, has the I. W. O.—incidentally, is Mr. Browder a member of the I. W. O.?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Which Browder do you refer to?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Earl Browder.

Do you know what the relationship of the I. W. O. with the American League for Peace and Democracy has been, or whether it has ever made any contributions to it?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have been affiliated, officially, with the league for several years and have discontinued that official affiliation a year and a half ago. We have discontinued it, not because of a change of opinion, but because we were no longer able to make the contributions connected with that affiliation.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was the contribution?

Mr. BEDACHT. We paid a monthly collective dues for membership of \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. That was paid every month, \$100?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; for a period of years.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it that caused you to discontinue; the loss of funds?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; we did not lose funds but we carry on extensive organizational activities and they require all of the funds.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean about a year and a half ago you began increasing your organizational activities?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Which necessitated the use of that money?

Mr. BEDACHT. We established a number of new districts; we did general organizational work in those districts, which required all our funds.

The CHAIRMAN. So that within the past year and one-half you have not contributed anything to the league?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; for about a year and a half as a member; about that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had any informal groups or meetings for the purpose of raising money for the league?

Mr. BEDACHT. We did not in the national organization. Some lodges may have, and very probably do belong to the league and may have, as lodges, participated in its work.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking of the national organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. The national organization; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, has the International Workers Order, through its official organ, or in convention, ever taken a stand against nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. WHITLEY. It certainly did.

The CHAIRMAN. How often has it done that, and when?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, probably every convention since nazi-ism is a phenomenon.

The CHAIRMAN. You are very positive about that?

Mr. BEDACHT. Most positive.

The CHAIRMAN. You are sure of that?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am positive about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, through resolutions at all conventions?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have unequivocally gone on record as opposed to nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. BEDACHT. Most assuredly.

The CHAIRMAN. And every convention you have attended? I would like to see some of them.

Mr. BEDACHT. I have——

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to see some where you have taken action against them.

Mr. BEDACHT. I have sent to Mr. Whitley, the minutes, and among our minutes of the last convention—I have some copies here.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, you have denounced, without any qualifications whatsoever?

Mr. BEDACHT. Unequivocally and without qualification; not only have we done so but we are still doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. When was the last convention that you had?

Mr. BEDACHT. The last convention was of May, last year.

The CHAIRMAN. At which time you again denounced nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. BEDACHT. At which time we again denounced nazi-ism and fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. Has each local chapter gone on record against nazi-ism?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; a large number of them have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any that have not gone on record against it?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, we do not keep a record of all decisions that the local chapters make, primarily, because they do not always inform us.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. BEDACHT. But I know definitely that there has never been anywhere any manifestation of approving it.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know all of the local chapters, scattered throughout the country, have gone on record against nazi-ism?

Mr. BEDACHT. They have; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I want to know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, has the organization ever at any time, gone on record against or criticized communism?

Mr. BEDACHT. It never had any occasion to go on record against communism as an enemy as it did with nazi-ism.

Mr. WHITLEY. And for that reason it has never criticized it?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "an enemy"? You mean that nazi-ism has been considered an enemy?

Mr. BEDACHT. First of all, nazi-ism appeared in the form anti-Semitism, trying to stir up the gentiles against the Jewish race, and we have Jews in our organization and we have gentiles, all living peacefully together, and we believe that the Jew is just as good an American citizen as the gentile and we consider it an un-American activity to carry on such propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. All kinds of hatred, class hatred or race hatred you consider un-American?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, that depends.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. Do you not contend that where any group is trying to create hatred against another group that is an un-American activity?

Mr. BEDACHT. It depends.

The CHAIRMAN. Depends on what?

Mr. BEDACHT. It depends on the action of the group. Would it be un-American to condemn nazi-ism if it were an American group engaged in it? But when a group carries on activities not in the interest of peace of all the people we condemn it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is un-American, you condemn, if it is on the basis of stirring up race against race?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it is an un-American activity to stir up one group against another because of religious belief?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you not think it is likewise un-American to stir up hatred on account of class, whether economic or social classes?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes. It is not only un-American, but I think it is foolish.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. So that it is just as much un-American to stir up class hatred as racial hatred.

Mr. BEDACHT. You see, the question is not as simple as that. We have different classes in society and we accept them as a fact. Now, as I say, there can be social reforms, which are needed, but I do not preach class hatred; I merely recognize the fact that society might be organized on a better system than it is now organized, and if it were organized better, then there would not be any more classes or any class hatreds.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the question I am asking you is this, whether you believe in condemning a man on account of race, religion, or class?

Mr. BEDACHT. Because of the fact he is richer or poorer?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BEDACHT. No: I do not believe in that.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask you a question.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you believe, Mr. Bedacht, there are no classes and no class distinction in Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think they have pretty well disappeared.

Mr. VOORHIS. How did they disappear?

Mr. BEDACHT. Because in the social structure the classes are based on the economic factor; the class is based upon the control he had of the social position of life.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not think there is any ruling group in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; if you call them a class, there isn't.

Mr. VOORHIS. There is not. It is just dependent upon the term you use, is it not?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; it is not a question of terms. In that case I would be a class in the I. W. O., and I am not because the I. W. O. can turn me out and put another man in, and therefore the class changes every day, and that means there's isn't any class. I am now head of the organization, and if they put me out somebody else will be the head of it.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not think there is any ruling group in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEDACHT. There is not any class.

Mr. VOORHIS. Very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, how many trips have you made to the Soviet Union, Russia, from the time you first became affiliated with the Communist Party in 1919, was it?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, maybe four or five.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you give me the dates and occasions on which you made those visits?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know the dates any more.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you attend, Mr. Bedacht, the Third Congress of the Comintern in Moscow?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you attend the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow?

Mr. BEDACHT. I believe I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. You believe you did. As a matter of fact, you are positive you did, are you not, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, no; I think I attended the Fourth Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, can you not be more positive; did you or did you not, Mr. Bedacht, attend the Fourth Congress?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well I have to figure it out and see.

Mr. WHITLEY. Maybe your statement in New York will help you to refresh your recollection.

Mr. BEDACHT. I think I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are positive? You were positive at that time that you attended it.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; I think that is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. You think it is correct. Well I will read to you what you stated if you still just think it is correct.

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, strike out the "think."

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; you knew you were at that time.

Now on what other occasions have you been in Mosoow since your affiliation with the party?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have been there in 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were in Moscow when the Third Congress was held in 1921?

Mr. BEDACHT. 1921?

Mr. WHITLEY. 1921; and you attended the Fourth Congress that was held in 1922?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think so.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you attended that?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, between 1922 and 1929, were you in Moscow on any occasion?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think it was in five—that is, I know I was once there in five or six, but I cannot tell you exact.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately in 1925 or 1926?

Mr. BEDACHT. 1925, or 1926, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were there once between 1922 and 1929?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then you were there in 1929?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was on the occasion of a split in the party?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at that time you were acting general secretary of the party?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; afterward.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, after you came back from Moscow at that time?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, on what other occasion, since 1929, have you been in Moscow?

Mr. BEDACHT. I believe I was again in 1930.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1930: What was the occasion of that visit?

Mr. BEDACHT. There was a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member of that committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was at the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. A member the Executive Committee of the Comintern?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not at present?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am not.

Mr. WHITLEY. And on what other occasions have you been there since 1929?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think this was the last time I was there.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in nineteen hundred and thirty-what—this last visit?

Mr. BEDACHT. 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. No; did not you say you had been there once since then?

The CHAIRMAN. He said 1930.

Mr. BEDACHT. 1930, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In 1930; were you at that time still Acting Secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't even know whether it was before or after the convention. In 1930, we had a convention in which Mr. Browder

was elected Secretary, and it was around that time; but I would have to look up the records to remember whether it was before or after.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, to the best of your knowledge and recollection at the present moment, you have not been there since 1930; is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; I don't think I have been.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't think you have been?

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get it a little more positive. You can remember one way or the other—whether you went to Moscow since 1930, can you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You can remember making a trip that far away; let us see if we can get a positive answer. Have you been to Moscow since 1930?

Mr. BEDACHT. As far as I know, in 1930 I was there last, as far as I recollect.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the difficulty of recollecting whether or not you made a trip abroad to Russia since 1930; what would cause you to have a lapse of memory on that thing?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is not a lapse of memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, a failure to remember, we will say?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think probably I don't remember because I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there is not any "probably" about it. I am asking you definitely whether you were or were not in Russia at any time since 1930. You remember 1930 all right; there is not any question about that, is there?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Since 1930—I am asking you for a positive answer—were you in or did you go to Russia?

Mr. BEDACHT. I really don't know. You see, I was there in 1929 and 1930, twice in succession. I think I was there in 1931 once more; that was the last time—or was it in 1930 and 1931? I don't know whether I was there twice or only once.

The CHAIRMAN. You can remember the year 1930; you can fix that pretty well in your mind, can you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, it may have been 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if the occasion is 1931 you are talking about instead of 1930—

Mr. BEDACHT. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been in Russia since 1931?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been abroad since 1931?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have been in Europe 2 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; where did you go to in Europe?

Mr. BEDACHT. I went to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to Spain—just one time?

Mr. BEDACHT. I went to Spain just one time.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1936?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; it was 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the only trip you have been abroad since 1931?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And on the occasion of that trip you did not go anywhere except to Spain?

Mr. BEDACHT. I went to Spain, and I was in Paris for some time; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. On that particular trip?

Mr. BEDACHT. On that particular occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have not been abroad since 1937?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the occasion of your visit to Spain in 1937; why did you go to Spain?

Mr. BEDACHT. The North American Committee at the time organized a shipment of material, of aid like—well, medicines and cigarettes, and soap, and what not—a whole trainload of material, and a delegation of three or four people were sent with that trainload of material, and I was one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the three or four? Who were the others that were sent there, besides you?

Mr. BEDACHT. There was the secretary of the committee. My God, I don't remember his name.

The CHAIRMAN. Somebody of the North American Committee?

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it Reissig—Herman Reissig?

The CHAIRMAN. Was it Reissig?

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it Herman Reissig?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; I didn't go with Reissig. Reissig went later. But it was the secretary of the Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. WHITLEY. David McKelvy White?

Mr. BEDACHT. Bart—Phil Bart was secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. B-a-r-t?

Mr. BEDACHT. B-a-r-t, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who else was present besides Phil Bart?

Mr. BEDACHT. And there was a representative of some union, I believe the miners—no, the marine workers' union.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that?

Mr. BEDACHT. His name I don't know; I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. You were sent officially by the North American Committee to Aid Spain?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was sent officially; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And this marine worker—you don't remember him?

Mr. BEDACHT. No, I don't remember his name. He had a German name, but I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you there altogether—6 months, or a year?

Mr. BEDACHT. We were there—we were in Spain 10 days.

The CHAIRMAN. How long from the time you left New York to the time you got back were you and those other people together?

Mr. BEDACHT. We were not always together. We were together only in Spain. I went to Paris before they came there, and I met them there to go to Spain, and when we came back we parted again.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were together a great deal, were you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. We were together in Spain, during the 10 or 12 days that we traveled.

The CHAIRMAN. You stayed at the same hotel?

Mr. BEDACHT. We stayed at the same hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. And ate together?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And occupied the same rooms?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not remember the man's name?

Mr. BEDACHT. I still don't remember the man's name—believe it or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you in Spain at the same time Mr. Browder was over there?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who was the fourth one of this group?

Mr. BEDACHT. What was that?

Mr. VOORHIS. Who was the fourth one in this group?

Mr. BEDACHT. The fourth one was a representative of the Finnish group.

The CHAIRMAN. What Finnish group?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, a group of the Finnish-American organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the name of the Finnish organization was?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as I understand it, the North American Committee sent you and Philip Bart, of the Lincoln Brigade, and the secretary for the marine workers, who you don't remember, and then someone to represent the Finnish, and you don't remember him?

Mr. BEDACHT. I remember him, but I don't remember his name.

The CHAIRMAN. So the best you can give us is the name of one man beside yourself who went to Spain?

Mr. BEDACHT. Bart; yes. I could not even remember him.

The CHAIRMAN. And you don't know what the Finnish group was; you don't know the name? Was it a fraternal organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, no, no, no; it was Finnish Socialist Federation, or something to that effect.

Mr. CASEY. Do you know where he came from?

Mr. BEDACHT. He was from New York.

Mr. CASEY. The Finnish representative was from New York?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Where did the marine man come from?

Mr. BEDACHT. I believe he was also from New York.

Mr. CASEY. Also from New York—from the city?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes. You see, these groups had contributed to making up the shipment of material and they were then by their respective organizations selected to accompany the shipment.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, these organizations were affiliated with the North American Committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. They worked with the North American Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what does Philip Bart do? You say he was secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. BEDACHT. He was at the time; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do now; have you any idea?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know; I have not seen him since.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he stay in Spain, or come back?

Mr. BEDACHT. He did not stay in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. He came back with you?

Mr. BEDACHT. He came back to Paris with me. I believe in Toulouse we parted.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. BEDACHT. Toulouse.

The CHAIRMAN. You know he came back to the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. He came back to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen him since then?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have not. I have spoken over the telephone with him after he came back, once or twice, but I never saw him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, you have stated you are a charter member of the Communist Party; you have been a member of its highest governing body, the central or national committee, since the party was formed in this country, with one short interlude, I believe you say?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were at one time acting general secretary of the party, that is held now by Mr. Browder, and you said that the Communist Party has nothing whatever to do in the activities or operations of the International Workers' Order; is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Bedacht, you have also stated you were in Moscow in 1921, 1922, either 1925 or 1926, again in 1929, and again in 1930 or 1931, on Communist Party business of one kind or another—at least you were present?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. These five trips that you made to Moscow, between the time you became connected with and an official in the Communist Party—and I presume a member of the national committee is an official in the party, is it not; at least he has some official standing?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I wish he would answer instead of nodding his head.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct, what he said?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes. Well, if you mean by official, to be one of the ones elected into a leading committee; yes; then it is correct. It does not mean you are employed, that you are secretary, or an official in that sense.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Bedacht, is it the general practice in the Communist Party for its officials and members to travel on illegal passports?

Mr. BEDACHT. The party certainly never made a decision to establish such a policy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, has it, to your knowledge, been a general practice over a period of many years?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know of any such practice?

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know of any such practice?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any instances when that has been done?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever traveled on an illegal passport, Mr. Bedacht, on those various trips to Moscow?

Mr. BEDACHT (after conferring with Mr. Brodsky). I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. On what ground?

Mr. BEDACHT. On the ground that I have the constitutional right to refuse answering questions where I may incriminate myself.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It is a grand thing for the Communists to have the old Constitution to wrap around them, isn't it?

Mr. BEDACHT. It would be a grand thing for a good many other people if they would remember it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is true, but a lot of Communists want to discard it and take that which Russia has; but I notice every time they get where there is anything criminal, why, they always resort to the Constitution.

Mr. BEDACHT. What is wrong with that?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Nothing wrong with the Constitution, but the thing that is wrong is when people believe in communism and try to inject it into our situation in this country. That is what is vitally wrong.

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, I don't know of any paragraph in the Constitution that says American people can believe in anything except Communism. I don't know—I always thought I am a good American and still can be a Communist. I cannot believe that the capitalistic system is the only thing possible in the world.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No; but when you believe that a foreign power or foreign government possesses that which you want to have us subscribe to, that is wrong.

Mr. BEDACHT. But I don't believe that. I do believe some governments are better than others.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And you think Russia is the best, don't you?

Mr. BEDACHT. I certainly believe Russia is better than Germany, or better than the British form of government.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you think it is better than the present form of government of the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. Pardon?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you think it is better than the United States form of government?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is not a matter of the form of government; it is a matter of the social system behind it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I see.

Mr. BEDACHT. The form of government is of little consequence.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand while you are a member of the Communist Party, you are loyal to the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I certainly am.

The CHAIRMAN. In a war, if the United States entered this war on the side of France and England, would you support the United States in such a war?

Mr. BRODSKY (sotto voce). That is a hypothetical question you don't have to answer.

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, what does that question mean?

The CHAIRMAN. You made the statement you can be a Communist and still be a good American.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I am asking you if the United States should enter this particular war on the side of France and England, would you support the United States in such a war?

Mr. BEDACHT. First of all, I would work like hell to see that it did not happen.

The CHAIRMAN. But what would you do?

Mr. BEDACHT. First of all, that is a hypothesis, and I cannot answer a hypothesis.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in a position to say whether, if the United States entered the war on the side of England and France, against Germany and Russia—you cannot say you would support the United States in such event?

Mr. BEDACHT. I say it is a hypothetical question.

The CHAIRMAN. A hypothetical question! Cannot you say whether or not you would support this country under those conditions?

Mr. BEDACHT. There will be no war, so what?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if there is a war, I am asking you the question would you support the United States, on the side of England and France?

Mr. BEDACHT. I say it is a hypothetical question and I will not give an answer, because it has to be a hypothetical one, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you support the United States in any war it had against Russia?

Mr. BEDACHT. There is no war against Russia, and I am not——

The CHAIRMAN. Would you; if there were a war in which the United States was on one side and Russia on the other, would you support the United States in such a war?

Mr. BEDACHT. There is no war.

The CHAIRMAN. I say if such a war as that did come about, would you support the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. You expect me to give you an answer to a question of what would happen?

The CHAIRMAN. What did they ask you when you were naturalized; did not they ask you hypothetical questions then?

Mr. BEDACHT. They asked me then would I be a good American citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. And you answered hypothetical questions?

Mr. BEDACHT. And I answered "Yes."

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you whether or not, in any war, I do not care what the war may be, in which the United States is on one side and Soviet Russia on the other, would you support the United States in such a war?

Mr. BEDACHT. But there is no war.

The CHAIRMAN. The truth about it is that neither you nor any Communist will come before this committee and make the statement that you will support the United States in the event of a war where the United States is on one side and Russia on the other. Now, we have had a number of Communists before this committee; we had three the other day, in executive session, and not one of them would say—every one of them said in the event of a war between the United

States and Russia, or if the United States enters this war on the side of England and France, they would not support the United States. And don't you know that is your position, likewise?

Mr. BEDACHT. I only know one thing, that I am not going to answer hypothetical questions, of what I would do, possibly, in 1945, if something might happen, which really very probably will not happen.

The CHAIRMAN. You know a good many improbable things have happened lately?

Mr. BEDACHT. All right, when they happen, we will answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not the Soviet-Nazi pact unexpected to you?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; why not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you approve it?

Mr. BEDACHT. Why should it have been unexpected to us?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you expect it?

Mr. BEDACHT. I did not expect it, but I am not in the diplomatic service to figure out what is to be done.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, you never had the slightest idea, did you, there would be a pact between Russia and Germany?

Mr. BEDACHT. I did not have any idea as to what they were going to do.

The CHAIRMAN. But you now approve the pact, do you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. The pact was made by the Soviet Union in the interests of the Soviet people, and I take it for granted they don't do anything that will hurt their people.

The CHAIRMAN. And you approve it; you think it a very good pact?

Mr. BEDACHT. I certainly do; that is, I do in that sense.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, you approve it on the ground it was made for the Soviet Government?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't approve it on that ground; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, on what ground do you approve of it, if you do not approve it on that ground?

Mr. BEDACHT. I approve it on the ground that the Soviet Union has been trying its darndest to organize a united front against Nazi Germany and could not do it because Chamberlain was in with Nazi Germany and tried to aid Nazi Germany by selling out Czechoslovakia, to aid Nazi Germany to carry on a war against the Soviet Union. And when the Soviet Union saw that, do you blame them for trying to protect themselves against that?

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you look upon Hitler as a murderer, don't you?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; I certainly do.

The CHAIRMAN. You look on him as a criminal?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And since Russia was unable to get Chamberlain and Daladier to join them at the time they wanted to stop this criminal, you think it was right, then, for Russia to join this criminal?

Mr. BEDACHT. But, my dear sir, they are at war; they are evidently at war against each other. It is merely the fact it has been—

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking before there was any war, when the pact was announced, it was announced, was it not, before there was any war?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you justify that situation?

Mr. BEDACHT. Justify what? Justify the fact the Soviet Union, after it was impossible to protect itself in the united front with Chamberlain and Daladier, protected itself by other means?

The CHAIRMAN. You say "protected itself": Who was attacking Russia; has anybody attacked Russia?

Mr. BEDACHT. Hitler has been trying for years and has been pronouncing and announcing for years he wants to get the Soviet Ukraine.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he ever attacked Russia?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, he came damned near it. Daladier and Chamberlain gave him the Corridor to get near it, by selling out Czechoslovakia.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Bedacht declines to answer the questions as to whether he has ever traveled on any illegal passport. I would like to point out to the committee he admits having made five trips to Russia between 1919 and 1932.

I would also like to call to the committee's attention the fact that the first American passport ever issued to Mr. Bedacht by the State Department was May 10, 1933. So that means that for a period of approximately 12 or 15 years, while he was traveling back and forth between this country and Russia, he did not have an American passport.

Mr. CASEY. Which you have there from the State Department, issued in 1933?

Mr. WHITLEY. The first passport was issued by the State Department in 1933.

Mr. CASEY. Is that the only one?

Mr. WHITLEY. I understand so.

Mr. Bedacht, you stated a moment ago you did not think you had been to Russia since 1930 or 1931. Why did you decide finally to take out a United States passport in May 1933? Where were you going at that time?

Mr. BEDACHT. To my knowledge, this was not my first passport in my name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, under what names did you ever have previous passports?

Mr. BEDACHT. Under "Bedacht."

Mr. WHITLEY. Under the name of Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Previous American passports?

Mr. BEDACHT. Previous to 1933; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a moment. Are you sure about that—that you ever got a passport prior to 1933 under your name?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am quite sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I will have an official of the State Department bring the records before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get those. Here is a man who has a positive recollection he had a passport from the State Department. We will get the record.

Mr. WHITLEY. That he had an American passport under his own name prior to 1933; is that correct, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. I believe the 1933 passport was a renewal of one I had beforehand as "Bedacht."

Mr. WHITLEY. Under the name of "Max Bedacht"?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of one you had before?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; we will have further testimony along that line, Mr. Chairman.

But you still won't answer me whether you ever traveled on an illegal passport, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. DEMPSEY. A shake of the head does not get in the record.

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was he going in 1933?

Mr. WHITLEY. He has not said. Why did you take this passport on May 10, 1933; where were you going at that time?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, probably that was the last time; then I was not there in 1932.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not say you were there in 1932.

Mr. WHITLEY. You said you were there in 1930 or 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. What is correct? Were you there in 1930, were you there in 1931, were you there in 1933? What is the truth about it?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was there in 1929, I know, and I thought I was there in 1930 or 1931; but maybe it was 1933; I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are four previous occasions when he admits he was there, Mr. Chairman; and according to the State Department records he did not have an American passport—at least under his own name.

Mr. BRODSKY. He did not admit anything of the kind.

Mr. WHITLEY. He admitted he was there in 1931.

Mr. BRODSKY. He did not admit he did not have a passport under his own name.

Mr. WHITLEY. No. I said the State Department records showed he did not have a passport then. I said he admitted being there.

Mr. Bedacht, have you ever held any position with the Soviet Government?

Mr. BEDACHT. Never.

Mr. WHITLEY. Never?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, with respect to the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the U. S. S. R., it is your belief, is it not, that the constitution of the U. S. S. R. is a more democratic document?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, what has my belief got to do with you here? I thought you are investigating the International Workers Order on un-American activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are secretary of it?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the man who holds a very high position in it, and he is questioning you now in reference to your attitude and your beliefs.

Mr. BEDACHT. But still I do not understand; if I remember correctly, the Constitution of the United States has a provision for amendment—

The CHAIRMAN. All right. The question is entirely proper. Ask him the question again and let us get it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With respect to the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the U. S. S. R., it is your belief, is it not, that the constitution of the U. S. S. R. is a more democratic document?

Mr. BEDACHT. I believe it covers a broader mass of people for participation in the political life than the American Constitution, yes; and I have experience in that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You wrote, did you not, in the New Order publication of the I. W. O., in November 1937, page 3, the following statement?

In a period when Fascism and reaction sweeps the world, the Soviet Union has instituted the most democratic constitution yet created.

Mr. BEDACHT. Whether that is exactly what I wrote, I don't know. I might have written that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you wrote words to that effect, as you recollect?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please say "Yes" instead of nodding your head?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, what is the official emblem of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. Is that also un-American?

The CHAIRMAN. You are here to answer questions. Now there is certainly no objection to your saying you have a perfectly legitimate organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your objection to being frank with the committee? He is asking you what the emblem of the organization is.

Mr. BEDACHT. I am only glad to be frank and answer the question, but I don't understand what it has to do with the investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is for us to determine, not you; that is for the committee of Congress to determine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, this question pertains precisely to the International Workers' Order.

The CHAIRMAN. Surely. He is asking you what the emblem of the International Workers' Order is.

Mr. BEDACHT. The emblem of the International Workers' Order is a group of two or three people, with wheels of industry, transmission belts, and holding tools; several of the figures in the emblem hold tools.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. What tool does the figure on the left hold [indicating]?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, I don't know. One holds the hammer and one holds the sickle.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes—

Mr. BEDACHT. If I may state, the sickle is an agricultural instrument, and not a political weapon.

The CHAIRMAN. But the emblem is the hammer and sickle, is it?

Mr. BEDACHT. The emblem is a group of people with wheels, with transmission belts, a woman, a man, a child. I believe one figure is to indicate the unity of the people in a fraternal organization, and the instruments and machinery indicate that it is primarily for workers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, may a member of a police force be a member of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. The member of the police force cannot be a member, because the risks are not on the basis of our rates. We cannot carry the risks of military or police officers. Otherwise, we will have to change our rates and to charge different rates.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, I understand you do not insure people in hazardous occupations?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have only one rate——

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you: Do you insure people in hazardous occupations?

Mr. BEDACHT. We insure people in industry; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In hazardous occupations?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; not hazardous.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you draw a distinction between hazardous occupations in industry and the policeman's occupation?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are members of the fire department excluded from membership in the International Workers' Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't think so; I don't think so. It is in the by-laws, if they are excluded; I don't remember.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But members of the police force are excluded from membership, definitely and explicitly, by the bylaws of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, I believe you stated the gross receipts of the International Workers' Order were approximately \$110,000 annually.

Mr. BEDACHT. At present.

The CHAIRMAN. Not annually; a month?

Mr. BEDACHT. At present; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A month. What amount of money has the International Workers' Order paid to the Daily Worker for any purposes, during the past year, or 2 years?

Mr. BEDACHT. The organization paid a certain amount of money, or used a certain amount of its income for publicity purposes. Out of that fund, payments were made to papers for publicity, also to the Daily Worker. I cannot state the exact amount.

The CHAIRMAN. You have records showing the amount, have you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. No, sir; I do not have those records with me. It may be \$10,000 a year, or thereabouts.

The CHAIRMAN. \$10,000 or \$12,000 a year?

Mr. BEDACHT. Possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be approximately correct to say that from the beginning, 1937, until February 20, 1939, the International Workers Order paid The Daily Worker the sum of \$26,799.50?

Mr. BEDACHT. Paid for publicity and advertisements.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the sum that was paid?

Mr. BEDACHT. Whether that was the exact sum or not, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the approximate sum?

Mr. BEDACHT. I guess that is the approximate sum.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That sum is indicated by the bank account of the corporation that publishes the Daily Worker as having been received from the International Workers Order.

Mr. CASEY. How do you collect money—through agents?

Mr. BEDACHT. No, sir. Every lodge elects a financial secretary, and that secretary collects the dues from members. Every month the bills go out to the members, and the members pay the dues.

Mr. CASEY. Do you have an investment fund?

Mr. BEDACHT. We have.

Mr. CASEY. How much does that amount to?

Mr. BEDACHT. Around \$1,000,000.

Mr. CASEY. Do you have an additional amount in a reserve fund for the payment of policies?

Mr. BEDACHT. This investment fund represents the reserve fund for the payment of policies.

Mr. CASEY. The combined total of the reserve and investment fund is \$1,000,000?

Mr. BEDACHT. The total amount of the reserve is \$1,250,000.

Mr. CASEY. Who determines the type of the investments?

Mr. BEDACHT. The general executive board has an administrative committee, or a subcommittee which concerns itself with administrative problems, and that subcommittee is empowered to make investments, and reports to the general executive board.

Mr. CASEY. How many members are there of the executive committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. Seven, I think, or nine. I do not know exactly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In his book, Communism in the United States, Earl Browder made a statement which I wish to read to you. On pages 74 and 75 of this book Mr. Browder said:

Since the seventh convention we have made another important addition to the list of mass revolutionary organizations. This is the mutual benefit society, International Workers' Order. The International Workers' Order has before it the problem of how to consolidate and further extend its mass membership, without lowering its previous high standard of revolutionary activity, of political education of its members, especially through involving them more directly in the class struggle.

Was Mr. Browder correct in characterizing the International Workers' Order as a mass revolutionary organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. He was wrong.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say he was wrong?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And as a member of the I. W. O., you repudiate that statement?

Mr. BEDACHT. He certainly made a mistake in making that statement.

Mr. CASEY. He may have made a mistake in making the statement, but is the statement itself correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is incorrect.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was the book published?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1935. It was published in September 1935.

Mr. BRODSKY. May I see the book? That may be a compilation of statements made in 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. What difference does it make when the statement was made? He testified that it had never been under control of the Comintern.

Mr. VOORHIS. It would make a difference if the statement was made before the holding of the Seventh World Congress, would it not?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was undoubtedly made before the holding of the Seventh World Congress. This was published in 1935, only a few days after the adjournment of the Seventh World Congress.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the statement would be correct from the Communist standpoint prior to the Seventh World Congress, but would be incorrect if made after the Seventh World Congress?

Mr. BEDACHT. The International Workers' Order has undergone some changes since it started, but certainly since I have been secretary of the International Workers' Order, any statement that the International Workers' Order is a revolutionary organization is incorrect. I say that such a statement is incorrect. What it was before that time—whether that is correct, or not, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified that it was not organized by the Communist Party, and that the Communist Party had nothing to do with it?

Mr. BEDACHT. Probably.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified that awhile ago.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you cannot say whether it was revolutionary before you became connected with it?

Mr. BEDACHT. Whether it was revolutionary or not—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You are positive about the fact that it was not organized by the Communist Party, but you are not positive as to whether it was ever a revolutionary organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. It has nothing to do with it. That has nothing to do with it, because a group of Communists can organize an organization that is not a revolutionary organization, and a group of non-Communists can organize an organization that is revolutionary.

The CHAIRMAN. You have just testified positively that you knew the Communist Party had nothing to do with the organization of the I. W. O.?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And now you say that you do not know whether it was revolutionary before you became connected with it?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is a question with the people in the organization, and their program. They would know that themselves. I only know that certainly there was no such program.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you know that to be the fact, when you said that you knew the Communist Party had nothing to do with its organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. Because I was a member of the executive committee. That is why I know, and by the discussions that the International Workers Order should be built.

Mr. VOORHIS. If it is true that the Communist Party had nothing to do with the International Workers Order, then was Mr. Browder

clear out of line when he made any statement at all about it, whether the statement was right or wrong?

Mr. BEDACHT. It was a mistake to make a statement either way. It was incorrect, and, so far as its contents are concerned, I think it should not have been made anywhere.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the precise date when you assumed your present position in the International Workers Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was elected at the Chicago convention, which took place in June or July, I do not know exactly which, but I believe it was in June, 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you yourself ever described the International Workers Order as a revolutionary organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have described it as a workers' organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are not responsive. Have you yourself ever described the International Workers Order as a revolutionary organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have described it as an active workers' organization—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He asked you if you have ever described the International Workers Order as a revolutionary organization.

Mr. BEDACHT. If I did, it was not so. It was not correct. I do not remember ever saying—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The question is not whether it is true, or not, but the question is whether you so described it, or not.

Mr. BEDACHT. How can I remember every word I have spoken or written?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking if you did, or not. Do you remember whether you did or not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have never been of the opinion that the International Workers Order was a revolutionary organization.

The CHAIRMAN. But the question is whether, or not, you ever referred to it in your own writings as a revolutionary organization. You can answer that either "yes" or "no."

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not remember.

Mr. CASEY. If you have so referred to it, is the question. It is not a question of whether it was a correct representation of your opinions.

Mr. BEDACHT. Whether I so referred to it, that would have to be proven by the context as to what I meant.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you write any articles for the Daily Worker at any time dealing with the work of the International Workers Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were those articles intended to place the I. W. O. in the revolutionary movement?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know whether that was the title of them. It may have been.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask you if you can identify these photostat copies of the Daily Worker? Do you identify this as your article, or not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I want to see whether it is my article.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. February 2 and February 3, 1933.

Mr. BEDACHT. I think that sounds like I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your name appears at the top, "Max Bedacht."

Mr. BEDACHT. It is not here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This appears under the name "Max Bedacht."

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this first installment entitled "The Place of the I. W. O. in the Revolutionary Movement," the name does not appear, because the slug got above the name, but installment No. 2 carries the name "Max Bedacht." I will ask that both articles be incorporated in full in the record, the articles having been identified by Mr. Bedacht.

(Said articles are as follows:)

[The Daily Worker, February 2, 1933, p. 4]

THE PLACE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The American workers face the frequent losses of their wages (which is their only form of income) in case of sickness or other causes, without any hope for social help. Yet in such cases they need help. The workers try to meet this need with mutual help. That is why a large section of the American workers belong to mutual aid societies, to fraternal orders. The International Workers Order is the only workers' mutual benefit society in America which is organized by class conscious workers and administered with a view of serving not only its members, but of serving the interests of the whole working class.

Teaching and exercising the principle of mutual help correctly stimulates the development of class consciousness among the workers; it does this first, because it shows the workers that they have their economic insecurity in common, and, second, because it shows that mutual efforts can solve problems that individual efforts could never solve. The first is a suggestion of common problems; the second is a suggestion that common problems may be solved by common action, class [sic]

BOSSES KNOW THIS

The American capitalists recognize this very well. That is why they have organized so many mutual benefit societies (and fraternal orders. These capitalist fraternal organizations seemingly serve the purpose of mutual help; but in reality they primarily serve the purpose of keeping the workers under the influence of capitalist ideology and leadership. That is why the numerous fraternal orders under capitalist leadership are based on other principles than the principle of mutual help. Mutual help is a uniting principle. But the fraternal movement of the capitalists is built in dividing principles; it is based on religions, on patriotism to different nationalities, on sets of meaningless mystic and secret principles, etc. Thus, instead of uniting them for purposes of mutual aid the workers are being divided into knights of one religion or knaves of another; into loyal sons of one country or patriotic children of another; into subjects of a high imperial potentate here or followers of a high exalted ruler there. There are rituals, secrets, uniforms, all things that have nothing whatever to do with effective mutual aid; yet, all this seemingly meaningless nonsense subtly serves the purpose of maintaining capitalist illusions in the membership, of preventing the principle of mutual help from creating an understanding of the need of proletarian unity; all serve the purpose of preventing the workers from understanding that common needs of the workers require common action of the workers, require class action. Parallel with this political purpose of hardly less important for the capitalists, is the chance to exploit the need of the masses as a chance to fill their own pockets, as shown recently in the charitable lottery swindle unearthed in several prominent bourgeois fraternal orders.

The capitalists spend a good deal of time and energy on the fraternal movement. Is it not also worth time and energy on the part of the revolutionary movement to work in this field, to counteract this capitalist activity and influence? Is it not also worth while for the revolutionary workers to take the absence of

social insurance, and the need for mutual insurance as the starting point of a broad workers' mass movement?

MUST BUILD PROLETARIAN FRATERNAL MOVEMENT

A broad mass movement built on the issue of mutual benefits (insurance) must perform three tasks:

1. It must help the workers to solve an immediate and serious problem by providing a measure of fraternal insurance at the lowest possible cost.

2. It must organize the workers to fight for social insurance as the only effective solution of the problem which mutual insurance can only solve inadequately.

3. It must teach the workers, in the course of the struggle for social insurance, that in the last analysis, all their many problems which grow out of the fact that they are workers, that they have only wages to live off, and that the chance to earn wages is beyond their control, is in reality a fundamental political problem—the problem of establishing a working-class rule in the place of the existing capitalist-class rule.

* * * * *

In these paragraphs our concern is not the first task, although it is a very important one. After all, the masses will judge a mutual-benefit society by the services it renders to its members in the form of mutual help. We must not be surprised at this seemingly selfish approach. Objectively, it is not so selfish. The problems of the working class present themselves to the individual worker as his own individual and concrete problems. To recognize one's own problems is the first beginning of one's efforts to solve them; therefore, it is the first incentive to class-struggle activities. Only in the course of such class-struggle activities, that is in the course of efforts to solve his own problems, does the worker learn to recognize in his own problems the problems of his class. This recognition is the beginning of class-consciousness.

Since it is our main task to win the workers for and in the struggle for the solution of their immediate problems, and since we can make them class-conscious only in the course of this struggle, we must welcome in the ranks of our proletarian mutual-benefit organization, especially those masses that will join only for the immediate benefit attached to their membership. We want these workers in our proletarian mutual-benefit society, although they are not yet class-conscious. We want them because when they join they put themselves under our leadership, and through our leadership we hope to make them class-conscious.

In this article, our main concern is how our proletarian fraternal organization, the International Workers Order, can make the workers class-conscious. We will therefore deal here only with the third task, above mentioned, the problem of making the workers class-conscious.

PROBLEM IMPORTANT

This problem is of the greatest importance. It is the major problem of Communist leadership in all nonparty mass organizations.

There is a tendency on the part of many comrades to transfer all the conditions of membership in and all the tasks of the Communist Party, as well as the tasks of individual Communists, to every militant mass organization and its members. But that is pure sectarianism. It liquidates the varying immediate purposes of the different organizations; it obscures under the screen of general revolutionary propaganda phrases the concrete issues and problems of struggle on which these organizations were built; it reduces all of these organizations to uniformity; it makes out of all of them more or less distinct but, nevertheless, bad copies of the Communist Party. Consequently the membership of these organizations becomes limited only to revolutionists. Instead of serving backward workers to develop them, this policy leads to repel and expel them from these organizations.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES MUST BE CONCRETE

Very seldom we make serious efforts of combining our revolutionary activities in such organizations with their avowed purpose. For instance, the efforts to revolutionize the members of our mutual benefit society, of the I. W. O., must have something definite to do with the solution of the problem which brings the workers into the ranks of the I. W. O.

[The Daily Worker, February 3, 1933, p. 4]

THE PLACE OF THE I. W. O. IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

(By Max Bedacht)

MUTUAL HELP AND THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDERS IN THE U. S.

II

The International Workers Order serves the workers as a proletarian mutual benefit society. It serves them as a mutual insurance organization. Since social help is withheld from the American worker, we ask him to help himself through collective efforts. The I. W. O. is our contribution to such a collective effort. It represents our effort to solve, by means of mutual insurance, the problems for the American worker by the nonexistence of social insurance. That is really in itself a service to the whole working class, not only to the individual members of the Order. But it is not enough of a service. While we organize the workers within the I. W. O. to insure each other we still emphasize the right of the workers for social insurance. That is why the International Workers Order not only pays benefits to its members but it also organizes them, and, as far as possible, the workers as a whole, to fight for social insurance. This struggle for social insurance therefore, is not an extraneous issue for the members of the Order. We do not deceive the workers when we tell them that mutual insurance is the purpose of the Order. By leading our members into the struggle for social insurance we merely extend our members' conception of mutual help to the individual worker, to a conception of help to the whole working class.

Too often, our comrades in the nonparty mass organizations are complaining of the hesitancy with which nonclass conscious members in these organizations approach participation in the struggles of the workers. Much of this hesitancy is of our own making. It is caused by our not making any efforts to connect up the struggles into which we desire to lead the workers with the purposes for which these workers joined our organization. We desire to win the masses for membership in the International Workers Order because such membership supplies a measure of economic security which is not supplied by society itself. In all activities, therefore, the Order must prove that this (to supply some measure of economic security to its members) and in the main, this only, is its concern. The Order must therefore lead its members into such struggles that develop directly out of the reasons that made the workers join the Order. The further development of such political activities beyond the scope of the Order must be the result of good leadership. For instance, when members of the Order because of well directed struggles for social insurance become Communists, it would be wrong for the Order itself to take on the functions of the Communist Party; such revolutionized members of the Order will then join the Communist Party, or if members of the Order, because of well-led struggles for social insurance become convinced of the necessity of economic struggles, the I. W. O. surely cannot take on the functions of a militant labor union for the sake of such members; these members will be directed to join the revolutionary union.

The International Workers Order remains what is set out to be, an active proletarian Mutual Benefit Society. The development of its members into militant trade unionists or into Communists thus becomes a natural result of a correct functioning of the I. W. O. as an active workers' mutual benefit society. It is necessary, for example, to show the members of the Order how working conditions and wages are determining factors in their health, in their continuous ability or disability to work and to earn a living, are factors in the soundness and efficiency of their proletarian mutual aid society. From this, revolutionary leadership can easily develop in these members an understanding of the need of improving wages and working conditions. From this it is easy to lead these workers to an understanding of the need of militant unions as instruments of struggle to achieve such improvements.

SOCIALISTS FIGHT FOR CAPITALISM

Many comrades have the idea—and through their consequent tactics have created in the masses the belief—that the Communists differ from the Socialist in that the Communists are primarily concerned with creating the revolu-

tion and consider unimportant the immediate improvement of the workers' conditions, while the Socialists are primarily concerned with the immediate improvement of the workers' conditions and consider unimportant the revolution. This idea is false in theory and fatal in practice.

Without a struggle for immediate improvements of the workers' conditions there can be no revolutionary struggle for power. The workers learn the necessity of struggle because of their immediate needs; and they learn the necessity and methods of revolutionary struggle in the struggles for their immediate needs. His immediate needs teach the worker the need of fight; the need of organization; the use of the state power against the workers' organizations in their struggles for bread, for wages, for decent working conditions, teaches the workers the need of political struggles; the experiences of these political struggles teach the workers that, after all, the problem is not how to keep the state power out of these struggles, but who controls the state power and on which side is that power used in the class struggle.

* * * * *

This, in the main, is the road of revolutionary development which the working class must travel. However, it does not travel this road mechanically and spontaneously. It must be led along this road. The task to lead them along this road is the task of the Communist Party. Revolutionary leadership does not begin at the end of the road, exercised only over the revolutionary workers, it begins at the start of this road, exercised upon the broadest possible working masses, irrespective of their degree of revolutionary development. The strength of the revolutionary movement, therefore, depends on the success the Communists have in organizing and leading mass struggles of the workers for concrete immediate issues and on the ability of the Communists to transform the experiences of these struggles into greater class consciousness of the workers.

It is clear from this that the question is not at all who prefers revolution to immediate achievements of the workers. The Communists, rather, develop and lead struggles for immediate achievements because they are concerned with creating a revolution. The Socialists, on the other hand, want to save capitalism from a proletarian revolution and therefore try with all their might to prevent workers' struggles for immediate improvements.

Communist theory and practice are workers' struggles; Socialist theory and practice are workers' paralysis. The Communists stimulate the action of the masses; the Socialists prevent where they can or paralyze where they cannot prevent the action of the masses. The Communists start from the premise that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the struggles of the workers themselves; the Socialists, on the other hand, teach that the emancipation of the workers will be achieved by parliamentary representatives. The Communists organize mass economic strikes by the workers themselves, mass picketing by the workers themselves, mass demonstrations by the workers themselves, mass defense by the workers themselves, mass political strikes by the workers themselves, mass political action by the workers themselves; the Socialists preach action of the parliamentarians in the name of the workers and condemn workers' mass action as interfering with the plans of the parliamentarians; they preach negotiations with bosses by bucrancerats and condemn workers' mass action as interfering with the skillful maneuvers of the bucrancerats; they appeal to capitalist courts for "just" action toward workers persecuted by capitalist justice and condemn workers' mass action on behalf of their persecuted class brothers. The Communists at all times call for workers' action against the capitalists to counteract and defeat the continuous action of the capitalists against the workers; the Socialists call for inaction of the workers against the capitalists, to secure the victory of the continuous actions of the capitalists against the workers.

From this we can conclude that the more serious the Communists take the immediate struggle of the workers, the more successful will be their revolutionary leadership, the more effective will be the Communist challenge of the influence of social democracy over the workers.

The immediate issue on which the I. W. O. is being built is the economic insecurity of the workers. To meet this issue the I. W. O. organizes mutual insurance and fights for social insurance. In the course of struggle for social insurance to replace the, at best, inadequate mutual insurance, effective revolutionary leadership can teach the members of the International Workers Order the political character of their problems. It can teach them the need of political struggle. It can show them the need and the meaning and the

functions of a revolutionary party as the organizer and leader of the masses in their political struggle for emancipation.

Within these boundary lines, the International Workers' Order, although really only a mutual benefit society, can develop tremendous class struggle activities with a revolutionizing effect on its membership. There is practically no limit to the degree of class consciousness which the I. W. O. can develop among its membership without, even for a moment, abandoning the premise that its members joined only for the purpose of securing aid in case of sickness, disability, or death, and the premise that the membership can be activated only around this purpose.

Such activities will not estrange the backward workers from the Order. On the contrary, they learn to understand that the individual problem of help in case of need, the individual problem that made them join the Order to secure benefits is really a class problem and requires political action for a final solution. They become class conscious. The backward workers develop into advanced workers.

The International Workers Order is a most important link in the chain of militant workers' organizations in America. It has a right to demand from all Communists energetic efforts to build it into a broad mass organization. Its very immediate purpose makes it possible to bring to it even the most backward workers. It is an organization that allows Communist leadership to drive its roots into the uncharted depths of the American working masses, where class consciousness has not yet penetrated. The building of the I. W. O. is, therefore, one of the most important tasks of the mass work of the Communist Party.

MR. MATTHEWS. I will read from the article as follows:

In this article, our main concern is how our proletarian fraternal organization, the International Workers Order, can make the workers class-conscious. We will, therefore, deal here only with the third task, above mentioned, the problem of making the workers class-conscious. This problem is of the greatest importance. It is the major problem of Communist leadership in all nonparty mass organizations.

Were you referring there to the International Workers Order as a nonparty mass organization?

MR. BEDACHT. Probably.

MR. MATTHEWS. Were you, or not?

MR. BEDACHT. Probably. That is what it means.

MR. MATTHEWS. You speak of Communist leadership as having a specific task in the International Workers Order.

MR. BEDACHT. Just like any democratic politician—

THE CHAIRMAN (interposing). Make your answer responsive.

MR. MATTHEWS. Are you referring to Communist leadership as having the specific task of making the members of the order class conscious? Is that correct?

MR. BEDACHT. In workers' organization; yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. I am reading from the first article, February 2, 1933, under the title "Revolutionary Activities Must Be Concrete." You say under that heading:

Very seldom we make serious efforts of combining our revolutionary activities in such organizations with avowed purposes. For instance, the efforts to revolutionize the members of our mutual benefit society, of the I. W. O., must have something definite to do with the solution of the problem which brings the workers into the ranks of the I. W. O.

Now, Mr. Bedacht, is it a tactic of the Communist Party to combine what they customarily call immediate needs or immediate demands with the revolutionary ultimate objectives?

MR. BEDACHT. I believe every political activity has an ultimate objective.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not responsive to the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it the tactics of the Communist Party, as indicated in a good many documents of the party, and of the Communist movement in its work, to combine what are customarily described as immediate needs or immediate demands with their revolutionary or ultimate objectives?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is certainly an objective of communism, and of any class working for the advance of labor, to make the workers conscious of their social position by raising questions of their immediate needs.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then, the objective of the International Workers Order was, first, to put before the workers as an immediate need social insurance?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir; the purpose of the organization is to give insurance; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not responsive to the question that was asked.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then, the objective of the International Workers Order to bring the workers into the organization on the basis of immediate needs, or an immediate need, namely, social insurance?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is the purpose; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then, the answer is yes?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then, the basis of this immediate need is to involve the members of the organization in what you call class consciousness, or for the purpose of developing class consciousness or revolutionary consciousness. Is that the attitude and purpose of the International Workers Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am trying my best to do that in everything—

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). That is the thing you are trying to do in the International Workers Order, is it not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I try to do it everywhere. That is what we are trying to do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a rule of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is not a rule of the International Workers' Order. I mean that is a rule of the Communist Party. The rule of the International Workers' Order is to insure—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). Do you mean that you are the head of an organization that tries to do that?

Mr. BEDACHT. As an individual, I try to win people to my views.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You use your influence there as an officer of the International Workers' Order to do that with members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. If I cannot use my influence, then it does not amount to anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read another extract as follows:

There is practically no limit to the degree of class consciousness which the I. W. O. can develop among its membership.

That is one of your main objectives in the I. W. O., to develop as great a degree as possible of class consciousness?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir; my personal desire is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Again, speaking of the International Workers' Order, I read:

It is an organization that allows Communist leadership to drive its roots into the uncharted depths of the American working masses, where class consciousness has not yet penetrated.

Is that the object of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is my policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you say that the International Workers' Order is an organization that allows Communist leadership to drive its roots into the uncharted depths of the American working masses?

Mr. BEDACHT. Any organization that has——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is not responsive to the question. You have identified an article as having been written by you, and this language has been read to you from the article. You can either repudiate it, or say whether that is your view. Is that your opinion now?

Mr. BEDACHT. I will answer the question, but he puts it in such a way that I cannot answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote that, did you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that express your views? Is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. It does not express my views from what he has read into it.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it express your views? He has quoted the language.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read it again. You say, referring to the International Workers' Order——

It is an organization that allows Communist leadership to drive its roots deep into the uncharted depths of the American working masses.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct or incorrect?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is correct, but since every other organization goes on the same principle——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). We want to know whether that is correct.

Mr. BEDACHT. In the sense described; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that a correct expression of your conception of the International Workers Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is my conception of any kind of an organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is the International Workers Order one of those organizations?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is a mass organization; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. It would include the International Workers Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Is that an implied or tacit program of the organization?

Mr. BEDACHT. No, sir. You must make it possible, or create the conditions. The party makes the conditions for them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read again from the second installment of these articles:

The building of the I. W. O. is, therefore, one of the most important tasks of the mass work of the Communist Party.

Does not that statement identify the International Workers Order as a part of the mass work of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. It was written by a Communist and evidently was addressed to Communists. It tells them we should build up the

I. W. O., and makes an argument why they should build it up.
Mr. MATTHEWS. For the purpose of allowing—

Mr. BEDACHT (interposing). Like any other organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They bring into the organization the question of immediate need, and that they are to be developed into militant trade unionists with Communist leadership?

Mr. BEDACHT. I see no objection to Communist members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is not that the whole structure of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is not the whole structure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They set up innumerable organizations on the basis of immediate needs for the purpose of building up the Communist Party movement.

Mr. BEDACHT. You did the same thing before you became—now you are on the other side.

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you a plain simple question, and there is no occasion for you not being able to answer it. These are your writings that he is examining you about, are they not?

Mr. BEDACHT. Let me explain that article.

The CHAIRMAN. You can answer that question yes or no.

Mr. CASEY. Was this your article?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir; but not the article as presented and interpreted from an antagonistic point of view, reading into it things that are not in there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me read the statement:

The International Workers Order remains what it set out to be, an active proletarian mutual benefit society. The development of its members into militant trade unionists or into Communists thus becomes a natural result of a correct functioning of the I. W. O. as an active workers' mutual benefit society.

Mr. BEDACHT. That is my belief; yes, sir. I believe that any political organization has that function.

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you about this particular organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is your belief that fraternal organizations, not under Communist Party leadership, have an opposite effect upon the workers?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is my conception of any fraternal organization, if they perform their functions and give aid to their members, and help them solve the problem of economic security—if they do that, they will—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He has asked you a question that can answer yes or no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will repeat the question: Is it your belief that a fraternal organization not under Communist leadership would have an opposite effect from encouraging class consciousness and revolutionary activities among the workers who join such organizations?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your belief?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, sir; it is my belief that some have just the opposite effect and betray the interests of their members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In order to get the desired results of this class consciousness and revolutionary activity, it is necessary for a fraternal benefit organization to be under Communist leadership?

Mr. BEDACHT. It is necessary for them to defend the interests of their members.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not ask you that. He asked if it was necessary for them to be under Communist leadership.

Mr. BEDACHT. My answer is "No," qualified by what I said before.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read you from this article in which you deal with fraternal and benefit organizations set up by what you describe as bosses. Under the heading "Bosses Know This," you say:

The American capitalists recognize this very well. That is why they have organized so many mutual benefit societies and fraternal orders. These capitalist fraternal organizations seemingly serve the purpose of mutual help; but in reality they primarily serve the purpose of keeping the workers under the influence of capitalist ideology and leadership. That is why the numerous fraternal orders under capitalist leadership are based on other principles than the principle of mutual help. Mutual help is a uniting principle. But the fraternal movement of the capitalists is built on dividing principles; it is based on religions, on patriotism to different nationalities, on sets of meaningless mystic and secret principles, etc. Thus instead of uniting them for purposes of mutual aid the workers are being divided into knights of one religion or knaves of another; into loyal sons of one country or patriotic children of another; into subjects of a high imperial potentate here or followers of a high exalted ruler there. There are rituals, secrets, uniforms, all things that have nothing whatever to do with effective mutual aid; yet, all this seemingly meaningless nonsense subtly serves the purpose of maintaining capitalist illusions in the membership, of preventing the principle of mutual help from creating an understanding of the need of proletarian unity; all serve the purpose of preventing the workers from understanding that common needs of the workers require common action of the workers, require class action. Parallel with this political purpose and hardly less important for the capitalists, is the chance to exploit the need of the masses as a chance to fill their own pockets, as shown recently in the "charitable lottery" swindle unearthed in several prominent bourgeois fraternal orders.

The capitalists spend a good deal of time and energy on the fraternal movement. Is it not also worth time and energy on the part of the revolutionary movement to work in this field, to counteract this capitalist activity and influence? Is it not also worth while for the revolutionary workers to take the absence of social insurance, and the need for mutual insurance as the starting point of a broad workers' mass movement?

Was it the purpose of the Communist Party before the organization of the International Workers Order, whether it was under instructions of officials of the Communist Party, or not, to enter that field of mutual benefit orders or fraternal benefit orders, for the purpose of placing under the control of the Communist Party leadership as many workers as could be gotten in on the basis of that immediate need?

Mr. BEDACHT. It was the purpose of capitalists—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is not responsive. He is asking if that was the purpose, and you can say whether it was or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that the purpose in setting up the order?

Mr. BEDACHT. They were my purposes. The Communist Party has members who are class conscious, and, of course, they understand that if they want decent wages, they must fight for them. That is certainly my purpose.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have declared your willingness to submit to the decisions of the Communist International, have you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. In what respect?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In any respect. Have you at any time publicly declared or emphatically declared your loyalty in carrying out the decisions of the Communist International?

Mr. BEDACHT. Political decisions; yes, sir; I have done so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When the Communist International makes a decision and transmits it to the American party, you submit to it, do you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. It depends on what it is about.

The CHAIRMAN. He said if it was a political decision.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I mean any decision of the Communist International. What reservation do you have?

Mr. BEDACHT. I said that I am submitting to the decision of the Comintern in connection with a controversy we had in the party, in which a very serious fractional fight developed. The two fractions could never see eye to eye with each other. Then they conferred with the representatives of other parties—not the National American Party—and said, "What is the matter now? Is this right or is this wrong?" In the conference it was agreed what was right and what was wrong. I say that was correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that was a decision of the Communist International?

Mr. BEDACHT. That was a political decision of a Communist committee, international committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it a decision of the Communist International?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes or no.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; being a committee and being a decision of a leading committee, it can be said to have been the decision of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In that factional dispute to which you referred, you switched sides, did you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I submitted; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You switched sides?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes. I have a good example in you. You switched sides from the workers to the capitalists, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you left this country to go to Moscow, you were with one faction, and when you came back you were with the other faction; is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. Before I went to Moscow, I was with a faction. When I came back I was with the party.

Mr. VOORHIS. You knew after you had been there which one the party was, is that right?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You, yourself, described it as a factional dispute. I take it that if you have a factional dispute, you must have two factions. You did not say it was a faction versus party dispute, but a factional dispute. Now, I read you a statement which appeared in the Daily Worker, May 27, 1929.

The decision of the Communist International has been made. Though some members of the United States delegation have opposed the decision of the Comintern, I emphatically believe that the decision of the Communist International must be executed loyally. The address to the membership of the party from the Communist International must be published forthwith.

(Signed) MAX BEDACHT.

You recall that declaration, do you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I recall it.

Mr. CASEY. Are the decisions of the Comintern considered by loyal Communists as infallible once they are made?

Mr. BEDACHT. Every international organization, even the international organization of police chiefs—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. If it is not true, you can say that it is not true, but answer the question.

Mr. BEDACHT. But it will not express the facts to say no or yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You can make a pertinent explanation if the question is such that you cannot answer it yes or no. Will you ask the question again, Mr. Casey?

Mr. CASEY. Will the reporter please read the question?

(The reporter repeated Mr. Casey's last question as above recorded.)

Mr. BEDACHT. The Communist International is not the Pope; it is not infallible. But the Communist International is a united political party, and it cannot have one pulling this way and one pulling the other way.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know, as a matter of fact, if the Communist Party of the United States or of any other country does not follow the Comintern line, it has to get out, does it not?

Mr. BEDACHT. If it is not in agreement with the political program of the Comintern, it has no business to be in it.

The CHAIRMAN. And it has to get out?

Mr. BEDACHT. What business is it of a person to be in a political party with which he does not agree?

The CHAIRMAN. And it has to get out if it does not agree, does it not?

Mr. BEDACHT. It follows.

Mr. CASEY. Then the Communist Party is not a national party, is it?

Mr. BEDACHT. The Communist Party is a national party.

Mr. CASEY. But it owes a paramount allegiance to the Comintern.

Mr. BEDACHT. It does not. It is a national party which has parallel parties of the same general objective in various countries of the world. That is an old institution. The socialist movement, since its existence, was organized that way. They have certain common interests, certain common concepts, and they discuss them with each other.

Mr. CASEY. Does it not strike you as strange that the Communists, being people who analyze problems, particularly the laws that are passed in the United States and executed by the United States Government, should have with such unanimity of opinion and with such alacrity, accepted the Soviet pact with Germany, although it came as a shock and a surprise to many of them? Does it not strike you as a little odd?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know why it should.

Mr. CASEY. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Does it not strike you as still more odd that after that pact was signed, in the Communist press there was no mention of it for at least 1 day, and I am inclined to think 2, and that thereafter the mention that was made was unanimous and the same defense in all cases? Is not that significant?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, it is significant of a unanimity of concepts.

Mr. CASEY. "Yours not the reason why. Yours but to do or die," when the Comintern says so; is that right?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is what you say, not I.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, has the International Workers Order ever gone on record in support of the Communist Party candidates for public office?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; it has; locally, on a State basis, and national.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I introduce for the record, Mr. Chairman, an item from the Daily Worker of October 19, 1932, page 2, which reads in part, as follows:

[The Daily Worker, October 19, 1932, p. 2]

MASS ORGANIZATIONS TO AID CHICAGO RED ELECTION BAZAAR

CHICAGO, ILL.—The International Workers' Order, a working-class mutual benefit organization, in conjunction with the International Labor Defense, will be in charge of the program on Friday night, October 21, the opening night of the "red" election bazar, to be held Oct. 21, 22, and 23.

Saturday afternoon the bazar will be conducted by all youth and cultural organizations, while Saturday night has been designated as "red" carnival nite.

Sunday, the closing day, will see a program given by all working women's organizations in the afternoon, winding up in a huge election rally, where candidates of the Communist Party of this District will speak.

All workers are urged to attend and support this bazar on October 21, 22, and 23, at People's Auditorium, 2457 West Chicago Avenue.

Mr. BEDACHT. That was a New York City affair?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Chicago.

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the Chicago convention of the International Workers Order where you were elected general secretary, Mr. Bedacht, was William Weiner one of the speakers, as you recollect that program?

Mr. BEDACHT. I believe he was elected president of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And William Weiner is the financial secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. He was a delegate there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the Daily Worker of June 20, 1933, William Weiner struck the keynote of the convention.

Mr. BEDACHT. Maybe he was president already.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Weiner is the financial secretary of the Communist Party, is he not?

Mr. BEDACHT. He was not then.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is now?

Mr. BEDACHT. He is now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Browder was also one of the speakers, was he not?

Mr. BEDACHT. In Chicago? I do not remember; he may have been, but I am not sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the Daily Worker of June 20, 1933—

The huge audience in the Coliseum rose to its feet, singing the "Internationale," as it acclaimed Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, who lashed away at President Roosevelt's—

Do you recall that occasion?

Mr. BEDACHT. Pardon me; what was the question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the Daily Worker of June 20, 1933—

The huge audience in the Coliseum rose to its feet, singing the "Internationale," as it acclaimed Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, who lashed away at President Roosevelt's—

I asked you if you recalled that incident at the convention, where you were?

MR. BEDACHT. I do not recall that incident, and I do not take responsibility for what newspaper reporters write, even the Daily Worker reporters.

MR. MATTHEWS. You were present at that convention?

MR. BEDACHT. I was.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you recall this incident?

MR. BEDACHT. I was present at 500 big gatherings since then; I cannot remember.

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you if you recall.

MR. BEDACHT. I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; just say so.

MR. MATTHEWS. You do not deny that Earl Browder was a speaker, do you?

MR. BEDACHT. I do not even remember whether he was a speaker there, but he may very well have been.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you recall whether James W. Ford, Negro worker and candidate for vice president at the last election—that is, 1932—was a speaker at this convention?

MR. BEDACHT. I definitely do not remember the program of that gathering; but if you so state, he very well may have been there, if it is so stated. I do not remember from my own recollection the program of this gathering.

MR. MATTHEWS. But you were elected general secretary there, is that correct?

MR. BEDACHT. Not at that meeting. I was elected at the convention. This was a public meeting.

MR. MATTHEWS. I will read you what Mr. Ford is alleged to have said, in the Daily Worker, when he addressed the convention:

The T. U. U. L. recognizes the I. W. O. as an important weapon in the struggle.

The T. U. U. L. is the Trade Union Unity League, is it not, or was it not?

MR. BEDACHT. I believe that was its name.

MR. MATTHEWS. You know quite well the Trade Union Unity League was called the T. U. U. L.?

MR. BEDACHT. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. You do not believe anything about it; you know that as well as you know anything else about the Communist Party, do you not?

MR. BEDACHT. Well——

MR. MATTHEWS. Is the answer yes?

MR. BEDACHT. I believe it is; yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Is your recollection on this particular convention clear enough to say whether or not Moissaye J. Olgin addressed the convention?

MR. BEDACHT. I told you before I have no recollection of the program of that meeting. That is definite; I cannot remember.

MR. CASEY. Were you a speaker?

MR. BEDACHT. I do not remember. My God! That is 7 years ago. How can I remember one meeting when I was at hundreds of them since.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the Daily Worker, which Mr. Bedacht admits may be in error——

The CHAIRMAN. He has not said it was in error. You have not said the Daily Worker was in error?

Mr. CASEY. He said he could not always depend even on the Daily Worker's reporters.

Mr. BEDACHT. I said that I do not take responsibility for reporters' concepts. What he writes, that is his business.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Paul Novick?

Mr. BEDACHT. Paul who?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Paul Novick?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think I know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He may be a bad reporter, so far as you know?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know. I am not saying it is bad. I merely say that I cannot take the responsibility for it. I do not remember the details of it, so I cannot say whether it was so or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to this account which is headed "Greeting From Revolutionary Press," you did make what is described here as a vigorous speech.

Mr. CASEY. You made that vigorous speech, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am a vigorous person.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify Mr. Olgin? Is he the editor of the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; I believe that is him—Moissaye—I do not even know how it is pronounced.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know, either. He is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; he is, to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the Daily Worker account here, Mr. Olgin, editor of the Morning Freiheit, greeted the convention on behalf of the revolutionary press:

Cheer after cheer went up from the delegates for the Daily Worker, Morning Freiheit, Uj Elore Novy Mir, Ukrainian Daily News and other Communist publications——

Do you recall these successive cheers that went up for various successive publications?

Mr. BEDACHT. I cannot remember having heard them or having counted them, but that may very well have taken place.

The CHAIRMAN. You do remember that there was such a meeting?

Mr. BEDACHT. There was a convention, I believe, yes; I have a recollection of a meeting in the colesium on Twelfth Street in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say you do not remember——

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not remember what happened at that meeting. I do not remember the details.

The CHAIRMAN. They keep you so busy going to these kinds of meetings all over the country, hundreds of them, that you cannot remember very well what happened at one of them, is not that true?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, now, what is the use of arguing? Why should I remember for 7 years that people applauded in Chicago—7 years ago?

Mr. CASEY. Applause is the custom, is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is just a little too much to be expected.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, as I have read you the gist—and I have included everything that seems to be important in this account of what took place at the Chicago convention of the I. W. O.—does it not strike you as rather clear that that was a Communist gathering?

Mr. BEDACHT. It was nothing of the sort.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It does not strike you in that manner?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The subtitle of this article says:

Organization—

that is the I. W. O.—

grew from 5,000 to 35,000 in 3 years because of activity in revolutionary movement.

Is that what you attribute the growth of the International Workers Order to?

Mr. BEDACHT. In the use of language, revolutionary and militant, and proworkers, are very much intermixed, and that is what is meant there. I certainly attribute the growth of the I. W. O. to the fact that it participated in the labor movement militantly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you glad to have Mr. Ford's assurance that the T. U. U. L. supported the International Workers Order?

Mr. BEDACHT. Most assuredly; the assurance of any organization or person is welcome.

[The Daily Worker, June 20, 1933]

8,000 CHICAGO WORKERS HAIL I. W. O. CONVENTION; CHEER BROWDER, FORD—
ORGANIZATION GREW FROM 5,000 TO 35,000 IN 3 YEARS BECAUSE OF ACTIVITY
IN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

(By Paul Novick)

[Special to the Daily Worker]

CHICAGO, June 19.—More than 8,000 workers crowded the Chicago Coliseum and enthusiastically greeted the second convention of the International Workers' Order, which opened here Saturday night.

During the afternoon a huge throng filled the Union Station, carrying revolutionary slogans, and greeting with songs and cheers the procession of hundreds of delegates who filed through the gates.

After an impressive auto parade which lasted until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the Chicago workers gathered in the coliseum to hail the convention of the workers' fraternal organization which is spreading its influence throughout the United States and Canada.

TELLS OF GROWTH

William Weiner, national chairman of the I. W. O., struck the keynote of the convention when he declared that "it is the only organization of its kind that is growing, because of its working-class program and character." The I. W. O., he said, had advanced from 5,000 members 3 years ago to over 30,000, "because, of its efficiency as a fraternal organization, combined with its activity in the revolutionary movement."

This keynote was later once more emphasized by a member of the Croatian Society, numbering 60,000, who told of the support by rank and file members of his organization in united front activities with the I. W. O., citing the recent May Day demonstrations throughout the country as an example.

BROWDER GETS OVATION

The huge audience in the coliseum rose to its feet, singing the Internationale, as it acclaimed Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, who lashed

away at President Roosevelt's "forgotten man" platform with its subsidies of billions for the bankers and manufacturers and not one cent for genuine unemployment relief.

"This emphasizes," Browder declared, "the importance of the International Workers' Order as a fraternal organization and as a factor for struggle for social insurance at the expense of the bosses."

"The I. W. O.," Browder said, "is an effective and powerful organization, because it is a good mutual organization, because it is a revolutionary mutual organization."

The vicious "prosperity" propaganda of President Roosevelt, Browder pointed out, "resembles the Hoover propaganda and attempts to cover up the program of inflation and war preparations. This must be combated by creating stronger revolutionary mass organizations."

James W. Ford, Negro worker, and candidate for Vice President in the last election on the Communist Party ticket, greeted the convention in the name of the Trade Union Unity League. "The T. U. U. L.," he said, "recognizes the I. W. O. as an important weapon in the struggle for social insurance."

Ford was enthusiastically received by the huge audience, which later showed its solidarity with the T. U. U. L., the Red trade-union center, by warmly applauding Louis Hyman, president of the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union.

Schiffel of the Slovak section, Feher of the Hungarian section, and Malenki of the Russian Mutual Aid Society spoke in their respective languages. The delegates cheered Feher's announcement of a conference of various Hungarian fraternal organizations this coming Friday for the purpose of creating a united front.

SALZMAN REPORTS

Speaking in Yiddish, R. Salzman, general secretary of the I. W. O., called forth enthusiastic applause when he showed the rapid growth of the organization. He referred to the Chicago convention of the Independent Workmen's Circle, which recently merged with another organization, "but had very few members to bring to the merger, however."

The I. W. O., he said, which now has more than 35,000 members, including the Russian Society, is contemplating establishing new, additional benefits for its worker members.

The phenomenal growth of the I. W. O. was also portrayed in figures presented by Blechman, who opened the meeting on behalf of the Chicago branches, who recruited 750 new members in the preconvention drive, including 75 new Negro members.

GREETINGS FROM REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

In a vigorous speech, Max Bedacht made an incisive analysis of the whole fraternal movement of the United States, which, he pointed out, has a membership of about 25,000,000, including 10,000,000 workers.

The I. W. O., Bedacht declared, was the first to turn this movement into an instrument in the interests of the workers, uniting them into a powerful organization, irrespective of nationality, race, or color.

Moissaye J. Olgin, editor of the Morning Freiheit, greeted the convention on behalf of the revolutionary press. Cheer after cheer went up from the delegates for the Daily Worker, Morning Freiheit, Uj Elore, Novy Mir, Ukrainian Daily News, and other Communist publications which, Olgin pointed out, were the ones instrumental in building the I. W. O.

The speaker reminded the coliseum audience of the Toronto convention of the Workmen's Circle, where the official leadership made a sharp turn toward an open counter-revolutionary program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, will you please state as fully as you can recollect your connections with the defense of Dr. Burtan?

Mr. BEDACHT. No connection whatever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Dr. Burtan?

Mr. BEDACHT. I know him to have been a member of the Communist Party before 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him personally?

Mr. BEDACHT. I knew him personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Mrs. Burtan?

Mr. BEDACHT. I knew Mrs. Burtan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you transmit or provide any funds to any person for the defense of Dr. Burtan when he was on trial for counterfeiting?

Mr. BEDACHT. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever transmit any funds from any source for any purpose to Mrs. Burtan?

Mr. BEDACHT. I may have given Mrs. Burtan some help from friends, but that is all. I know that she came very often to me crying and saying that she has a baby and she wants to have help.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How much money did you turn over to Mrs. Burtan?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, not very much, I am sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Nothing of the magnitude of \$10,000?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; certainly not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say you received money from friends to turn over to Mrs. Burtan. Will you please designate who those friends were?

Mr. BEDACHT. Friends of Mrs. Burtan; friends who thought that Mrs. Burtan and her child ought not to suffer for whatever Dr. Burtan may have done, if he has done anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive any of those funds from any agent of the Ogpu?

Mr. BEDACHT. The what?

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps he does not know what the Ogpu is. Do you know what the Ogpu is?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The O-Gay-Pay-U; you never heard of the Gay-Pay-U or the Ogpu?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, yes; yes; now I get you; O-Gay-Pay-U.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive any funds from them?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not happen to be well acquainted with that institution and have no connections with it, therefore, did not receive any funds from them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not receive any funds from them?

Mr. WHITLEY. No one suggested you had any connection with it, Mr. Bedacht.

The CHAIRMAN. He asked you if you got any funds from them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Funds particularly for the defense of Dr. Burtan or for the aid of Mrs. Burtan.

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet Mrs. Burtan at Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind explaining how it was that Mrs. Burtan's friends came to you and gave money to you to transmit to her? Why did not they transmit it to her themselves?

Mr. BEDACHT. Because I had to take the initiative to collect it, to get \$5 here and a few dollars there, that is why.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why were you taking the initiative in collecting funds for Mrs. Burtan?

Mr. BEDACHT. Because, besides being a vigorous man, I am also soft-hearted. I saw a woman with a baby needing help.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall now whether you met Mrs. Burtan at Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not recollect having met her at Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall who the lawyer or the defense was in that case? Was it Allen Taub?

Mr. BEDACHT. Allen Taub? I do not know who the lawyer was. I do not know who defended him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no recollection as to whether Mr. Taub was a member of the defense staff?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; I have no recollection.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Didn't you arrange for Allen Taub to defend Dr. Burtan?

Mr. BEDACHT. To my recollection, I never talked to Allen Taub about the defense of anybody, certainly not of Burtan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet John Pepper, alias Pogany, alias Schwartz?

Mr. BEDACHT. I met him in Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet him in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. Not that I recollect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Weren't you and Mr. Pepper members of the central committee of the Communist Party at the same time?

Mr. BEDACHT. That may have been, and he may have had another name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you know him if he went under any one of a thousand names? Would you know him by sight?

Mr. BEDACHT. I guess so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recollect ever having met him anywhere in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have met him a number of times, but I do not know whether I did in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long was he in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was still here in 1929, was he not?

Mr. BEDACHT. You got me there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This factional dispute about which you spoke, which occurred in 1929, and in which dispute you were one of the leading figures, Mr. Pepper's name was involved very vitally, was it not?

Mr. BEDACHT. He was involved; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; he was involved. And he was involved in the sense that the Comintern twice ordered the return of John Pepper to Moscow?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know anything about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear Stalin's speeches on the American question?

Mr. BEDACHT. At that meeting; yes, at the meeting in 1929; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever read those speeches since 1929?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, I do not remember after 1929 immediately; I have not read them for a long, long time, I know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know Stalin made a statement which has been published by the Communist Party in the United States, in those speeches, that the Comintern had twice ordered the return of Pepper?

Mr. BEDACHT. All right, if it is in there, I suppose it is so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before you went to Moscow, you say you were connected with the Lovestone faction, is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And after you came back, you were just in the party.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the Foster-Bittelman faction?

Mr. BEDACHT. I told you what happened. There was no Foster-Bittelman faction.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before you went to Moscow, there was a Foster-Bittelman faction.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And after you went to Moscow, that Foster-Bittelman faction, by the magic of Stalin, was transmuted into the party, is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. By the magic of what? I never knew he had any magical powers. I know that they sat down and in months and weeks of meetings—well, not months—

Mr. MATTHEWS. However, it was achieved, what was the Foster-Bittelman faction before you went to Moscow was the party after you came back from Moscow, is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. It was the party by virtue of the fact that the party decided that there will be no more factionalism, it will not permit any factionalism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By virtue of the decision of the Comintern, you have already said that.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To which you subscribed?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the decision of the Comintern?

Mr. BEDACHT. A decision which was accepted by the party, and the party made it its own.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The party made the decision its own?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It first existed as a decision of the Comintern.

Mr. BEDACHT. Until the party made it its own, it was a good advice. The party accepted it and it turned out to have been very good.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not subscribe to this Comintern advice; you subscribed to the Comintern decision, did you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. Any decision of a higher body is subject to acceptance or rejection of the lower body, and that as soon as it is accepted it remains advice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that you were incorrect when you said you subscribed to the Comintern's decision?

Mr. BEDACHT. I subscribed to this advice as my own and thought it was absolutely correct; yes.

Mr. CASEY. Has there ever been an instance where they have not subscribed to the advice of the Comintern?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes. The Comintern made a number of decisions that we should stop the factional fight and we did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a member of the Lovestone faction before you went to Moscow, what was your attitude toward Pepper?

Mr. BEDACHT. My attitude toward Pepper?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. BEDACHT. I had no occasion to have any particular attitude. My attitude was toward the party, toward what I thought was the party and its policies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have already recalled that Pepper's name was involved in a very vital fashion in this so-called factional dispute in the American party, is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You already recalled that, which means, does it not, that all of the leaders in the two factions, the Lovestone faction on the one hand, and the Foster-Bittelman faction on the other, must have had an attitude on the Pepper question.

Mr. BEDACHT. As far as I know, there was no Pepper question. There was the question of concepts of politics, concepts of the situation existing, interpretation of the political situation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I refresh your recollection, perhaps, by telling you that Stalin said, speaking of the Lovestone faction, that the majority of the American Communist Party had ignored the demand of the Comintern for the return of Pepper. Do you recall Stalin's statement to that effect?

Mr. BEDACHT. It may have been made.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster, on the stand here, recollected that. And furthermore, Stalin charged Foster with agreeing to the return of Pepper on the demand of the Comintern for the purpose of showing his solidarity with the Comintern. In other words, Stalin was saying to both factions of the Communist Party of the United States that they had a very specific stand on the Pepper question. Now, I ask you again, what was your stand on the Pepper question?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not know that the question of whether he should go back or not was put up to me for any expression of opinion. Frankly, I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right, but your best recollection is that you never met Pepper in the United States.

Mr. BEDACHT. I may have met him, but—

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the 7 or 8 years that he was here, and a member of the same leading body of the Communist Party that you were, are you not quite positive that you did meet Pepper and meet him frequently?

Mr. BEDACHT. That may be so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Chairman, some time ago the witness could not recollect ever having met Pepper in the United States. Now we get the indefinite answer that it may be so. I would like to have an answer.

The CHAIRMAN. If both of you served on the same body over a period of years in the United States, certainly you would have some definite recollection of whether you ever met him in the United States, would you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. If he was here. I do not know whether he was here 7 or 8 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he was here at all? Do you have any independent recollection of whether he was ever here?

Mr. BEDACHT. If he was here I very probably met him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any independent recollection that he was ever here?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have no independent recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not know whether he was ever here or not.

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember.

Mr. BEDACHT. Not of my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember him being here, you do not remember ever having met him here?

Mr. BEDACHT. I met him.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean in the United States.

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not remember having met him in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. His answer is that he does not remember.

Mr. CASEY. How does he square that answer with his answer to the question that he not only met him but met him frequently, to which he said that he might have?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It may be so, he said.

Mr. CASEY. It may be so. I cannot understand that kind of testimony. You may have met him frequently in the United States, you say. But how can you now say that you have no independent recollection of having met him at all in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have met him a number of times. The times that I met him evidently did not leave sufficient impression on me to say where it was that I met him.

Mr. CASEY. The question was not where it was but whether you had met him in the United States at all.

Mr. BEDACHT. That is what I said, I may have met him in the United States; I do not definitely remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know that he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; do you know that fact?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think he was.

The CHAIRMAN. You think he was. Do you not have an independent recollection that he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. If you say so.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not say so. I am asking you as a man who has been prominent in the party whether or not you remember of your own independent recollection that this man Pepper was a member of the Central Committee. Do you remember that or not?

Mr. BEDACHT. He may have been.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask you if he may have been. Anybody may have been. I am asking you whether or not you remember that he ever was.

Mr. BEDACHT. All right, I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before you went to Moscow in 1929, you were elected a member of a secretariat of three for the Communist Party of the United States. Do you recollect that?

Mr. BEDACHT. I remember that we had a secretariat that—

The CHAIRMAN. He did not ask you that. He asked you if you remember being elected a member of a secretariat of three.

Mr. BEDACHT. I believe I was a member of a secretariat for a while also.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were the other members elected when you were a member?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, was Foster one of them?

Mr. BEDACHT. Frankly I do not know any more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether Benjamin Gitlow was one?

Mr. BEDACHT. There were several—I don't know any more who they were.

The CHAIRMAN. How many do you know who were ever elected? You were for several years a member of the secretariat.

Mr. BEDACHT. I think twice or three times; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Twice or three times?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember anybody serving on that body with you at that time?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think Foster may have been.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember Gitlow, Benjamin Gitlow; did he ever serve with you?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think, unfortunately, he was on it, too, once.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to ask a question there.

Do you recall, Mr. Bedacht, that when you and Foster and Gitlow were elected, who constituted the secretariat of the Communist Party of the United States, that it was John Pepper who made the motion to the Central Committee that you should be so elected?

Mr. BEDACHT. You seem to know; I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember whether that is true or not?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a man by the name of Gussev?

Mr. BEDACHT. Gussev—I met Gussev in the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet him in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never met Gussev in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Gussev ever write for the Communist during your editorship?

Mr. BEDACHT. That may be so. I know I solicited articles when I was in Moscow; I tried to solicit articles for the Communist from people I met.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Gussev as a Comintern representative in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know him as such.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know him by the name of Green or some other alias?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know a man by the name of Sirola?

Mr. BEDACHT. Sirola I also met in the Comintern, I believe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet him here?

Mr. BEDACHT. I know him by that name before I met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not know him as a Comintern representative in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know a man by the name of Valetzky?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard of him?

Mr. BEDACHT. I heard of him. He wrote articles in the Communist International magazine; I only know him by name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know a man by the name of Harry Pollitt?

Mr. BEDACHT. Pollitt—I think I met him, I know of him, and I met him also in Moscow; he was one of the leaders of the British Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him in the United States as a Comintern representative?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; I met him here, I believe once or twice, at a time when he was traveling through, when he came through here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you a member of the Central Committee at the time he traveled through this country?

Mr. BEDACHT. I very probably was; I was off the Central Committee about 6 months—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Harry Pollitt was here in 1929, was he not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know any more when he was here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you said you did not know him to be a Comintern representative in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not check with either Mr. Browder or Mr. Foster before you came before the Committee?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have not seen Mr. Browder or Mr. Foster for months; or about 2 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Foster and Mr. Browder stated without any qualifications that Harry Pollitt was a Comintern representative in the United States in 1929.

Mr. BEDACHT. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did it escape your attention, being a member of the Central Committee, that Mr. Pollitt was here as a representative?

Mr. BEDACHT. Very probably he had nothing to do with me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What functions do the Comintern representatives perform in coming to the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. That depends upon what their mission is, who they have to confer with on some question, to discuss some problem.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who would they confer with, Mr. Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, with people with whom he is supposed to speak, with whom he is to confer.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would not that be the Executive Committee?

The CHAIRMAN. It would be somebody who was connected with the Communist Party, would it not?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; I think so; and it would depend after all, if he had something to take up with somebody, to talk to them, it is very probable he did, but I certainly had nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not know anything about this; that is what you mean?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, continue, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. VOORHIS. You have testified, Mr. Bedacht, that the Communist Party of the United States was paralleled throughout the world, and headed into the Communist International and further you said that when the Communist International reached a decision that it was agreed to or concurred to by the local parties.

Now, under those circumstances, surely, if the Communist International representative came to the United States he would not do anything that was in the nature of going ahead of the local Communist Party, would he?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, that assumes that he is going to come to me in order to give me something, and he certainly did not; he certainly did not come here to give me anything.

Mr. CASEY. He certainly would confer with the head of the party in America?

Mr. BEDACHT. All right; it is very probable, if they know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not very definite.

Mr. BEDACHT. It is very probable he has conferred with them, if they say so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any Comintern representative has ever been here in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I know that no official Comintern representative ever came to me to introduce himself as a Comintern representative—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The question was do you know whether any Comintern representative has ever been in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, all I know is that no official representative—

The CHAIRMAN. I am speaking of any capacity; do you know whether any Comintern representative has ever been in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. In the capacity of a representative to America?

The CHAIRMAN. In any capacity, has any Comintern representative ever been in the United States, to your knowledge?

Mr. BEDACHT. There may have been someone traveling in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask you whether they were traveling or not, but do you know of your own knowledge whether any Comintern representative has ever been in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know, really, of anyone ever having presented himself in that capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not care what capacity. The question is do you know of your own knowledge whether any Comintern representative ever came to the United States in any capacity.

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, I don't know; it is possible when they came here they may have been—

Mr. CASEY (interposing). Would they be over here to see the world series?

Mr. BEDACHT. Pardon me.

Mr. CASEY. They would not come here if they did not have some business as a representative of the Comintern?

Mr. BEDACHT. They may have.

Mr. CASEY. You did not want to give the impression to the committee that they did not?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to read a paragraph from the constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is after 12:30. Before you read anything more we will recess until 1:30.

(At 12:37 p. m. a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee met pursuant to the taking of a recess at 1:30 p. m.

TESTIMONY OF MAX BEDACHT—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Let us continue, gentlemen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to read the statute from the constitution of the Communist International which deals with the question of the Comintern representatives to the various sections.

Statute 22 of the constitution reads as follows:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International and the presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International or from its presidium and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International have the right to participate in meetings of central party bodies as well as in local organizations of the sections to which they are sent. Representatives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International must carry out their commission in close contact with the Central Committee of the sections to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the Central Committee of the given section at Congresses and conferences of that section, if the line of the Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Representatives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are specially obliged to supervise and carry out all the decisions of the world congress and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Earlier I asked the witness what the functions of the Comintern representative were. Does this statute refresh your recollection at all, Mr. Bedacht, as to the functions of the Comintern representative?

Mr. BEDACHT. Not in regard to the functions of a particular representative. I do not remember any particular representative of the Comintern having come and demanded adherence to anything on the basis of this statute.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say that you know or do not know any individual who has acted in the capacity of a Comintern representative in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. Not in the capacity of a representative to the American Party to give instructions to the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or to supervise or carry out the decisions of the Comintern in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After the sessions in Moscow in 1929 when the leadership of the American Party was changed, do you know who was sent to the United States as the Comintern representative?

Mr. BEDACHT. There was nobody that I know of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Nobody that you know of?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know anyone by the name of Mingulin?

Mr. BEDACHT. Mingulin?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. BEDACHT. Did I know of somebody by the name of Mingulin?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes; he was working in the Comintern apparatus, in the office there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was working in the Comintern apparatus in Moscow?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the only place you ever saw him?

Mr. BEDACHT. I never saw him anywhere else.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you solicit from him an article or articles for the Communist during your editorship of the publication?

Mr. BEDACHT. That may be so; I solicited from several people that I came in contact with and who I thought could contribute to the value of the paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you state that to your knowledge Mingulin was never in the United States?

Mr. BEDACHT. To my knowledge, and I think I am certain, I can say he was never here; I never saw him and I never heard of him being here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If he were only employed in the Comintern apparatus in Moscow, what particular qualifications would he have to discuss the situation in the American Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, he may follow the work of the party as well as the developments in the country, because he knows English, while another one who does not know English can read the same paper but not know about the same subject.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Communist issue of June 1930, at which time you were listed as the editor of the publication, there appears an article entitled "Crisis in the United States and the Problem of the Communist Problem," by S. Mingulin.

Do you recall that article?

Mr. BEDACHT. I do not recall it, no; but if it is in there I evidently put it in because I was the editor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I call your attention to a statement by S. Mingulin in this article which reads as follows:

The call of the Communist Party met with an enthusiastic response among the broadest masses. By this time it should be clear to all that the Lovestone leadership was leading the party directly to ruin, that the ideologic education the party received at the hands of Pepper was leading it along the path of a left labor party.

Now, did the American Communist Party receive its ideologic education at the hands of John Pepper?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You published this in your magazine.

Mr. BEDACHT. You see, when you accept an article as editor, and you ought to know, you do not subscribe necessarily to every line and every word in the article; you take its general idea and you accept that, or where you accept it and you think it is an article on a controversial subject you go ahead and print it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As long as the position taken in the article is accepted by the editor of the publication—would you have said the American party received its ideologic education at the hands of Pepper?

Mr. BEDACHT. I would consider that to be impossible and probably would not accept the article.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not think it would be a very important point to have a single individual anywhere in the world identified as the man at whose hands the American Communist had received its ideologic education?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you could not overlook that in reading the article which you published, could you?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that when you read this article, this statement, you would assume that that was a correct statement, would you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. People had written a good many articles in the Comintern magazine which I believe were published in our paper and very probably the idea was referring to this article.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that any individual who had written an article to be read by the American Communist Party, whom the publisher had singled out as the individual at whose hands the American Communist Party had received its ideologic education—

Mr. BEDACHT (interposing). Well, I do not know what the publisher of the article would think; very probably they did not write any newspaper articles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean Pepper is the only man on the Communist International anywhere in the world, who was not in this country to your knowledge who could write an article in such a case that could be called the ideologic education of the American Communist Party? Is that what you mean to say?

Mr. BEDACHT. I mean to say that he wrote articles quite a number of times, I believe, and wrote articles on fundamental questions that very probably referred to members of the party and their leadership.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did any other individuals, like Bukharin write such articles?

Mr. BEDACHT. I wrote such articles and they didn't mention me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is exactly the point I am trying to get at, that you were not mentioned. Bukharin wrote articles and was not mentioned; Trotzky was not mentioned, and others were not mentioned.

Men in whose hands the American Communist Party had received their ideologic education.

Mr. BEDACHT. It was evidently the impression that the writer of the article that John Pepper had; which had a decisive influence on the editor of the paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was the editor's impression?

Mr. BEDACHT. That was also the editor's impression in the limited sense that the editor takes the responsibility for the articles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, when you say that Pepper was never in the United States—

Mr. BEDACHT (interposing). I don't remember having seen him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it customary for the Comintern to appoint an individual to take care of the ideologic education of a national party without his ever having been in the country?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, evidently they did not put Pepper in charge of this ideologic education, otherwise they would not have taken up the fight against him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They would recall him. That presupposes they commissioned him?

Mr. BEDACHT. That is what I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, Stalin said so, did he not?

Mr. BEDACHT. All right, maybe he can tell you, but you have got to bring Stalin to answer that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were present when Stalin said it, when he made the statement, were you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I was present when Stalin spoke.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When he made that specific statement?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, I don't remember every statement that he made; probably he made the statement there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know a dentist in New York named Dr. Mindel?

Mr. BEDACHT. I did know one; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A Dr. Mindel?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know of his membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. I did know him as a dentist and as a member.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Dr. Mindel at one time chairman of the Central Control Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. He may have been; I am not absolutely certain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have a vague recollection that he was; do you not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I think he was on the Control Commission; I could not say, under oath, he was the chairman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But he was on the commission?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Along with Charles Dirba?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Dr. Mindel in Russia in 1929?

Mr. BEDACHT. That I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you give him credentials for his trip to Russia in 1929?

Mr. BEDACHT. I still do not know whether I did or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would not say you did not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't remember that he went there, but it is not absolutely impossible that I gave him credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. You say it is not impossible.

Mr. BEDACHT. It is not impossible that he did go there and that I gave him credentials. But, I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, nothing is impossible, but do you have any recollection whatsoever about it?

Mr. BEDACHT. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember?

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, when Dr. Mindel returned from Russia in 1932, that is, returned to the United States, did he discuss with you the question of the exchange of counterfeit money?

MR. BEDACHT. Did Dr. Mindel discuss that with me?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes.

MR. BEDACHT. Dr. Mindel once filled a tooth, because I have it in my mouth now, but he didn't fill me with any counterfeit money.

THE CHAIRMAN. How long has it been since he filled your tooth?

MR. BEDACHT. Well, I do not recall the year; at the beginning of 1930, about.

THE CHAIRMAN. You remember that but you do not remember whether he was on the Central Control Committee?

MR. BEDACHT. I think he was; he was on the control commission, but whether he was chairman, I don't remember that.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. BEDACHT. My tooth is of much more importance to me and I can remember that more specifically.

MR. MATTHEWS. Than the affairs of the Communist Party?

MR. BEDACHT. Than the question of whether he was chairman of a control commission or not.

MR. MATTHEWS. Well, I did not ask you if Dr. Mindel filled you with counterfeit money, the impression which your answer implied. I asked you if Dr. Mindel discussed with you the question of the exchange of counterfeit money.

MR. BEDACHT. Never.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you receive an invitation to be an agent of the Ogpu on your return from home in 1932?

MR. BEDACHT. I would have smiled at that.

THE CHAIRMAN. You say you would have smiled?

MR. BEDACHT. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Why would you have smiled?

MR. BEDACHT. Because it is impossible.

THE CHAIRMAN. It is impossible, about someone being an agent of the Ogpu?

MR. BEDACHT. Because there is not any agent here in the party.

MR. STARNES. How do you know that?

MR. MATTHEWS. How about outside the party?

MR. BEDACHT. I don't know of an agent; I know that in the party there is not agent. Outside, I can't swear.

MR. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been an Ogpu agent?

MR. BEDACHT. What?

MR. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been an agent of the Ogpu?

MR. BEDACHT. Never. If this Commission ever—

THE CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. You are not being asked any question right now. You are expected to answer questions, and will deport yourself accordingly.

Proceed, Doctor.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, can you identify this pamphlet; is that yours [handing pamphlet to witness]?

MR. BEDACHT (after examining). I believe so.

MR. MATTHEWS. This pamphlet is entitled "The Menace of Opportunism. By Max Bedacht," published in Chicago by the Daily Worker Publishing Co. I ask that it be marked for an exhibit.

(The paper above referred to was marked as an exhibit.)

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing). Now, in the Communist of August 1933, on page 758, there appears an article over the signature of Earl Browder. In a section entitled "The Instruments of Concentration," Mr. Browder wrote:

What are our instruments of concentration? Our concentration point for all our work is the unit and the section of the party. The section organizations are going to be the backbone of the party and, if the sections are weak, the party will be weak. If the sections do not have strong consolidated leadership, with political initiative, with capacity and self-confidence, then the party will not move forward. We must promote the use of every means of concentration; every feature of our work must carry through the principle of concentration. Party organizations, unemployed councils, I. W. O., I. L. D.—all of these are tremendous instruments for us. We often forget that the language organizations and the language press are still our greatest mass instrument, or could be if we would make intelligent use of it.

Was Mr. Browder correct in describing the I. W. O., among others, as an important instrument of concentration for the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. The only thing is he did not go far enough. He could have mentioned a few hundred more organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it significant that he did not put in the others?

Mr. BEDACHT. He probably thought we were the ablest.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He did not include organizations with which the Communist Party had not had anything to do in their promotion?

Mr. BEDACHT. Nevertheless, the Communist Party is advocating and has always advocated that Communists must work in all organizations, because we want the great majority of people believing like we do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; but there is not any organization in which you do not make efforts to bore; is that correct?

Mr. BEDACHT. In which we don't make efforts to work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; if you prefer the word "work," that is all right with me.

I ask you to identify for the record, as an exhibit, an article in the June 1938 issue of the Communist entitled "The I. W. O.—Workers' Fraternalism," by Max Bedacht. Did you write that article?

Mr. BEDACHT (after examining). I did write such an article, and this seems to be the paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that that be marked as an exhibit for the record, Mr. Chairman.

(The paper above referred to is as follows:)

THE I. W. O.—WORKERS' FRATERNALISM

(By Max Bedacht)

From Saturday, April 23 to Saturday, April 30, 600 delegates from lodges of the International Workers Order from all over the country met in convention in Pittsburgh. It was the fourth national convention of the order. It rounded out 8 years of existence of that organization.

The International Workers Order has to its credit a serious and successful effort to build a workers' fraternal order in America. The physical success of this effort is embodied in the membership and financial reports to the convention. In March 1930, a little less than 5,000 people organized and chartered the I. W. O. Since then and up to April 1, 1938, these less than 5,000 have grown to 141,364 members. Table A below will illustrate this growth.

TABLE A

Date	Adult members	Junior members	Total membership
Apr. 1, 1930.....	5,000	-----	5,000
Dec. 31, 1930.....	9,057	-----	9,057
Dec. 31, 1931.....	13,636	-----	13,636
Dec. 31, 1932.....	20,746	-----	20,746
Dec. 31, 1933.....	33,903	-----	33,903
Dec. 31, 1934.....	52,575	9,578	62,153
Dec. 31, 1935.....	84,268	13,200	97,468
Dec. 31, 1936.....	97,851	18,556	116,407
Dec. 31, 1937.....	111,155	20,542	131,697
Apr. 1, 1938.....	119,913	21,451	141,364

TABLE B

Year	Death benefit paid	Sick benefit paid	Junior death claims paid	Total benefit paid
1930.....	\$1,800.00	\$8,920.00	-----	\$10,720.00
1931.....	7,900.00	38,104.50	-----	46,004.50
1932.....	33,318.40	86,678.72	-----	119,997.12
1933.....	54,733.45	102,051.47	-----	156,784.92
1934.....	72,834.14	132,425.26	\$910	206,169.40
1935.....	114,929.11	185,520.53	630	301,079.64
1936.....	163,690.50	280,375.24	1,750	445,815.74
1937.....	247,344.81	358,293.86	2,520	608,158.67
Total.....	696,550.41	1,192,369.58	5,810	1,894,729.99

The financial transactions of the International Workers Order reflect its physical growth as indicated in tables B and C.

TABLE C.—*Reserve fund accumulated*

Dec. 31, 1930.....	\$31,018.41
Dec. 31, 1931.....	60,444.70
Dec. 31, 1932.....	132,784.00
Dec. 31, 1933.....	479,906.31
Dec. 31, 1934.....	576,339.08
Dec. 31, 1935.....	857,665.28
Dec. 31, 1936.....	1,055,226.81
Dec. 31, 1937.....	1,243,512.01
Total reserves Jan. 1, 1938.....	1,243,512.01

These figures demonstrate the effective functioning of the International Workers Order as a benefit society. Its satisfactory service in this field is important. The securing of fraternal benefits is the very objective of the masses when they join fraternal benefit societies. The masses therefore rightfully judge the value of the organization by the quality and security of its benefits. However, these figures cannot tell the whole story of the growth and development of the International Workers Order. It is a fraternal benefit society, to be sure, but not only that. Were it only that, it would become a deep mystery as to why it grew so rapidly at a time when practically all other fraternal societies lost members heavily, or at least stagnated completely.

The International Workers Order is not merely a benefit society, but also a social force working toward a greater economic security of the masses. Fraternal benefits can supply only an inadequate emergency help to its members when they are victimized by their economic insecurity. Any organization or movement which offers the masses to help them overcome their economic insecurity must go all the way in this help; it cannot confine itself to emergency measures only.

Of course, immediate financial help to members must be confined to emergency measures. It cannot be otherwise. The source of this help is the pocketbook of the members. If that pocketbook could supply more than emergency help, its

owners would not suffer from economic insecurity. It is clear that a fundamental and radical solution of the problem of the economic insecurity of the masses is a social and political problem. Only the united efforts of society, exercised through its political action, can secure the necessary measures to wipe out economic insecurity for the toilers. This unchallengeable truth confronts a truly workers' fraternal organization with the duty not only to organize the securing of fraternal benefits among its members, but also to act as a social and political force for the establishment of full economic security for those who toil and for their dependents.

The report to the convention of the International Workers Order shows the manifold efforts of that organization to discharge this duty. The deliberations and the decisions of this convention provided plans for more effective efforts of the order in this field.

It is these efforts of the order that have made possible its rapid growth. These efforts have enthused the members and have spurred their desire to build the order. They have at the same time popularized the order among the masses and spurred their desire to become members.

This growth of the International Workers Order is proof of the fact that for the toiling masses the problem of workers' fraternalism is on the order of the day. It is part of the problem of the building and strengthening of the labor movement.

The labor movement in the United States has advanced rapidly in recent years. This is due to, and in turn has caused, a phenomenal development of labor ideology and labor consciousness. The masses have started to think in political terms. Because of this the workers begin seeing the woods of the labor movement; they start valuing the individual organizations in their relationship to the whole movement. Guided by this better understanding, the International Workers Order has raised the question of the relationship of the fraternal organizations to the labor movement.

FRATERNAL MOVEMENT OFTEN A CONSERVATIVE FORCE

The fraternal movement in America was never much considered a workers' movement. Superficially viewed, it is not a workers' movement. However, it does have more people in its ranks than any other single movement in the country. Among these people there are millions of workers. The importance of this is intensified by the fact that the fraternal movement has always played a considerable role in the public life of the land. It has unfortunately very often acted as a brake on efforts for social legislation. Its inner life has always been and still is a powerful instrument for breeding and maintaining the capitalist ideology in the masses. In many instances corrupt political machines maintain their leaders in position through their influence on and control of fraternal lodges. Reactionaries often use their positions as leaders of fraternal organizations to give weight to their individual campaigns against the labor movement. During the general offensive of capital against labor and its organizations immediately after the crash of 1929, this misuse of fraternal organizations became especially evident. The leaders of one important fraternal organization offered their drill groups for vigilante duties against striking workers. Another large fraternal organization started at the time an intense "antired" campaign, which in practice is a veritable antilabor campaign.

Thus we see that in spite of the masses of workers in its ranks, the fraternal movement has in the past very often functioned as a conservative and even an antilabor force in America; its composition, however, its development, and its basic function make it material for a progressive force. To make it such a progressive force is the task of the militant section of labor in America. To take the initiative and to guide the execution of this task are the major mission of the I. W. O.

PREVAILING MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT FRATERNALISM

The reactionary role played by many leaders of fraternal organizations has created and nourished the idea that the whole fraternal movement is a "reactionary mass." Aside from being condemned as politically reactionary, it has also been pooh-poohed as a mere business undertaking in the insurance field.

A close analysis of the fraternal movement will prove that both of these conceptions must be discarded as fundamentally wrong. Policies or tactics based on these conceptions are wrong. These conceptions are not based on an undertaking of workers' needs and workers' interests.

The fraternal movement in the United States is not a uniform movement. The composition, the forms, and the functions of the organizations in this move-

ment are so varied that the common application of the term "fraternal movement" to all of its organizations and forms is in a sense a misleading expedient. It is certainly woefully insufficient as a guide for a realistic political approach.

The diverse bodies of the fraternal movement in America represent various phases of its development and function. Let us analyze the dynamics of this development.

Probably the oldest of the original fraternal organizations is the Masons. This organization had the most decisive influence on the forms and functions of the modern fraternal movement. The Masons did not have their origin in an urge for protective insurance. They sprang rather from political needs. The Masons grew to their original importance in the feudal days. In those faraway days they developed as an organization for the protection of the economic and political interests of guild members. They became a sort of protective organization of the rising class of burghers. Through this organization the burghers, the handicraftsmen in the developing cities, endeavored to resist the pressure of the feudal lords. They started to fight aggressively for their own rule in the rising cities.

Only comparatively recently did fraternalism develop a practice of supplying insurance protection. This later transformation of the function of the more modern fraternal organizations also changed their composition. The originally exclusive bourgeois membership of this movement changed in the newer organization into a primarily proletarian one. Through all of these changes, however, the shells of its previous identities kept clinging to the body of the fraternal movement. That is why this modern instrument of insurance protection is still wrapped up in various remnants of medieval and mystic mummery.

FRATERNALISM ADOPTS MUTUAL INSURANCE FUNCTIONS

The first demand within the fraternal movement for instituting insurance protection came from the petty bourgeoisie. With the development of capitalism, the bourgeoisie became divided into a petty and a big bourgeoisie. After achieving political power, the bourgeoisie was taught by practical experience that the progress of a petty into a big bourgeois was not a natural and inevitable metamorphosis. It turned out to be quite an exceptional and rarely completed process. Of course, capitalist propaganda makes very much noise about the exceptional "success." At the same time it keeps persistently silent about the rule of the mass of failures. Especially does it keep silent about the evident fact that the one exceptional success necessarily causes the rule of the thousands of failure. Thus the noise about the exceptional success drowns out the groans caused by the thousands of failures.

The product of this miseducation is a political-optical illusion. The everyday rule of failures is transformed into the rare exception. The responsibility for the failure is then placed on the victims' shoulders and, of course, the capitalist system appears as the best possible and most beneficent social order.

However, this legerdemain changes nothing in the actual conditions of existence of the petty bourgeoisie. This existence was and is made ever more precarious by capitalist development. The petty bourgeoisie reacted to this by using fraternal organization for cooperative efforts toward helping their members establish greater economic security. Thus the supplying of insurance of the I. W. O.

CONDITIONS MAKE WORKERS DOMINANT IN FRATERNALS

Up to that period the dominant yearning of the petty bourgeois was toward becoming part of the big bourgeoisie and being accepted as an equal by the few big bourgeois above him. But before long he learned something new. He found a point of contact with the problems of the masses below. This new realization opened the doors of the fraternal movement to the toilers. Gradually this gave the fraternal movement the general character of a united effort of the poorer petty bourgeoisie with the working masses for the solution of a common economic problem.

The conditions which forced a reorientation of some old fraternalists toward mutual aid also forced the working masses to turn toward fraternalism. Workers' mutual aid societies came into being. They patterned their forms and lives after the existing fraternal organizations. Some of the earlier of these societies became the forerunners of unions; others developed away from their proletarian base, at least ideologically, and retained nothing of their proletarian past but their worker-members and an indication in their names.

In some cases the developing unions took over the functions of mutual aid. They maintained an existence half as unions and half as fraternal organizations. Experience proved, however, that most of the time the function of the one half seriously interfered with the function of the other.

At any rate, aside from the influx of proletarian elements into the bourgeois fraternal movement, a definitely proletarian fraternal movement grew. But it remained proletarian only in composition. It never raised its own banner and its own program. It marched with the existing fraternal movement without making efforts to turn that movement into channels of service to the working masses. Instead, it made the working masses within that movement of service to the political objectives of its bourgeois leadership.

The founders of the International Workers Order recognized the fatal weakness of workers' influence in the American fraternal movement. Therefore, they raised the banner and formulated the program of a definite workers' purpose in fraternalism. They started organizing so that the working masses in the fraternal movement might assert themselves. They are working toward a condition and a time when the labor movement will claim the fraternal movement as its own. The need for this is obvious. The development of its basic function into a helper against insecurity has made the fraternal movement primarily a movement of the class of people to whom economic insecurity clings inseparably as a social inheritance. These people are the wage earners. They depend for their income on the wages realized from the sale of their labor power. But they have no control over the market of labor power. Therefore, their income is extremely uncertain.

This insecurity of the existence of the toilers is not only a problem for the individuals of that class; it is a blight on society. It is clear, therefore, that the promise of the fraternal movement to help its members in case of economic need obligates it also to become a social force for the removal of this blight. It must become a force for the solution of the social problems of the toiling masses. To be such a force the fraternal organizations must approach all of their tasks, must orientate all of their functions from the standpoint of workers' needs.

The International Workers Order realizes fully that even in spite of this, the fraternal movement is not and cannot be purely a movement of workers. It is true, of course, that insecurity of existence is inseparable only from the members of the working class; but it transcends that class. It threatens groups in other classes as well. Poor farmers, small shopkeepers, little tradesmen, professionals, and other categories live under the shadow of this threat. Mutual help as practised by fraternalism is an effort at immediate emergency help to victims of this insecurity. The fraternal movement must appeal to all threatened victims. It must, therefore, have room in its ranks for all who need its help, no matter what their social class.

WHY DO FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS BELONG TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT?

If that is so, why should the fraternal movement claim a place in the family of the labor movement? Simply because the labor movement is the natural ally of the fraternal movement. It helps it to achieve greater economic security for its members. It will and can help in the exact degree to which the fraternal movement allies itself with the labor movement and helps it to achieve its objectives.

Concretely this means that a fraternal organization must make itself a factor in all efforts of the working class to destroy the germ of economic insecurity. It must help the workers to secure their existence by achieving greater job security; better and more abundant income from the job; greater security of health, limb, and life on the job. It must, therefore, support the struggles of the workers and their unions in shops and industries. It must help the workers to organize unions. It must help them secure social legislation as a means of making their existence more secure. It must become a fighter for more effective public and social hygiene. It must help secure for the working masses and their children ever-ready medical help. In short, it must be an ally of the workers and their organizations and an integral part of their movement in all of their economic and political efforts to reduce the threat of their economic insecurity.

The International Workers Order has from its inception accepted responsibility for functioning as a factor in all endeavors of the working class. It has worked toward an acceptance of this responsibility by the broader fraternal movement. It has demanded and is demanding now that the fraternal move-

ment at long last acknowledge its development from outspoken organizations of the bourgeoisie into primarily proletarian organizations for protection against economic insecurity. It urges that the workers' fraternal take their place in the family of organizations battling for and serving the welfare of the working masses.

Lack of attention by militant labor has heretofore retarded and even prevented the organization and the exercise of proletarian influence in the fraternal movement. Because of this, though no longer primarily a bourgeois movement in composition and purpose, the fraternal movement is still predominantly bourgeois in ideological and political domination. The International Workers Order points out in one of the resolutions passed at its fourth convention that the hour demands and that the condition makes possible the ending of this anachronism.

PAST FAILURES OF PROGRESSIVE FRATERNALISM

Off and on in the history of the fraternal movement of the last half century there have been efforts to achieve the outward recognition of the changes wrought by the development of that movement. Thus, for instance, groups of Socialist workers attempting to build working class fraternal organizations. Their efforts, however, were not very effective. To be sure, some formidable organizations were built. But they did not influence the fraternal movement and its trend. Their conception was too narrow. They started out with the same abstract prejudices against the general fraternal movement that still characterize wide circles of militant labor. They considered this tremendous movement just one "reactionary mass." They failed in the important differentiation of the objectives of the masses in the fraternal movement and of the objectives of the small dominant groups in it. This failure made it impossible for them to design policies for drawing the millions of workers organized in the traditional fraternal organizations into the sphere of the labor movement.

The conception of these organizers of a new fraternal movement was narrow in another direction. Instead of trying to build a broad workers' fraternal movement, they confined their recruitment to adherents of one political creed. The result was inevitable—the new movement remained narrow, unable to gain influence among the working masses already organized in fraternal and equally unable to compete with the old fraternal in their appeal to the masses still fraternally unorganized.

In spite of their professed radicalism these organizations have done little to mobilize their members for effective economic and political struggles. Instead of becoming an integral and active part of the labor movement they have confined themselves to platonic declarations of love for it. As the problems of the workers increased and their struggles became more intense, the leaders in some of these organizations have even decided not to allow the noise of these struggles to penetrate the privacy of their lodges or branches. On the theory that politics are a disturbing and disuniting factor and must be kept out of the organization, these leaders are refusing to unite their membership for effective action in their own interests. Thus, while demanding of the membership adherence to a prescribed political belief, they do not allow them collectively to indulge in political action.

These politics of reformist socialism show their fundamental agreement with impotent and abstract petty-bourgeois liberalism. This reformism is always ready to profess in most verbose terms its love for democracy and freedom. But it is even more ready to prevent the masses from using their democratic rights and from using the privileges of their organized freedom to fight for the solution of their problems. It loves democracy as a museum piece to be exhibited to an admiring public. But it fears the masses in action. It dreads the thought that the masses might take the sword of democracy off the museum walls and use it for their own purposes and in their own interests. When reaction takes that sword off the museum walls to break it over its knees and throw the pieces into the faces of the masses, this reformism and liberalism has ready tears to shed. But there its efforts end. However, when the masses reach for that sword to use it in their own behalf, this liberalism and reformism becomes militant and fights. It fights against the masses, accompanied by the applause of reaction.

The history of numerous workers' fraternal organizations has proved that a policy based on such reformist fears and vacillations removes all possibilities of making the masses organized in them a social force in the solution of the

very problems which they try to solve by joining. These problems are social problems. They cannot be successfully attacked by groups of individuals. They cannot be solved by voluntary financial efforts. The burden of their solution rests with society as a whole. The solution of these problems must therefore be made a task of the government. Consequently the efforts to solve these problems must necessarily become political efforts.

A NEW FRATERNALISM REQUIRED

Militant labor can bring the fraternal movement in line with the activities and aspirations of the labor movement if it approaches the problem politically. Such a political approach will show the way to fit the fraternal movement into its place as an auxiliary force for all efforts of the toiling masses to secure their economic existence. At the same time it will supply the means to make the fraternal movement an independent force in the efforts for legislation protecting the existence, the health, the life, and the limbs of the workers.

The International Workers Order is organizing the practice of this new fraternalism. It practices it within its own ranks. It propagates it within the larger fraternal movement. It solicits support for it from the labor movement in general. It works for a recognition in fact of the historic transformation of the fraternal movement from a bourgeois into a workers' movement.

The fourth convention of the order, aside from registering its physical growth, demonstrated its growing successes in this field of endeavor. It accomplished what it did by building its own organization into a powerful model of a proletarian fraternal organization. At the same time it realized that this alone is not enough. Of course, some hundreds of thousands of new recruits join the fraternal movement yearly. The I. W. O. can attract a considerable part of them by functioning effectively as a workers' fraternal organization. But that effort alone would abandon the millions of toilers and progressives already organized in the fraternal movement. These masses must also be reached. The I. W. O., therefore, has never looked at its task merely as one of building a new fraternal organization. It recognizes its job to be the effecting of a change in the whole fraternal movement.

History has changed the material from which that movement is built, from exclusively bourgeois to predominantly proletarian. The action of militant labor must complete this process and change the political face of the fraternal movement. That movement has gradually risen higher and higher as a structure of labor designed to solve a problem of labor. But that structure remained standing within the sphere of organization, power, and interest of the enemies of labor. It is imperative that it be moved. It must be pushed out of the sphere of capitalist domination and influence into the sphere of labor, its organizations, its interests, and its power. The I. W. O. takes responsibility for the initiative and organization of that big push.

Such a push requires action within the whole fraternal movement. It requires mobilization of the progressive and pro-labor forces in all fraternal organizations. In all of them action must be organized in support of labor's efforts to organize itself in the big industries, to achieve decent earning and working standards, to achieve more adequate protection through social legislation and to become a force in the political life and machinery of the land as the only fundamental guarantee for the protection of labor's interests.

A GREAT AIM—BUT WITHIN REACH

This job may seem gigantic. However, the forces willing and strong enough to carry through this job are already functioning. Even in such predominantly bourgeois organizations as the Masons outspoken progressive and pro-labor tendencies come to the fore. In a recent article written by a leading Mason in this country the activities of the Masons are critically reviewed. The writer complains that the Golden Rule is being supplanted by the rule of gold as the guiding principle of the Masons:

"If the problems confronting the American people should become so acute as to threaten the stability of our developing democracy, a thing which has happened three times during the past 161 years, American Masons will be found fully prepared, as in the past, to contribute their share to the solution of those problems. Their mass action will be spontaneous and democratic and will be the result of pressure from below rather than of Grand Lodge edicts from above."

Another, a thirty-second-degree Mason, writing about the opposition of leading bodies of the Masons to progressive ideas, complains:

"The real purposes of Masonry are subordinated to big business interests who do not want any reforms at all in the profit, wage slavery, competitive, capitalistic system under which we suffer."

Another leading Mason, commenting upon the growing lack of interest of the rank and file in the life and work of the organization, declares:

"Nothing is clearer to me than that the lack of interest of Masons in our organization is due to the fact that we are owned, body and soul, by a group of reactionary, industrial, and financial parasites who have constantly exploited the people and are using Masonry only for their own benefit."¹

These examples of progressive thought and tendencies in traditional fraternal organizations can be multiplied. We quote from the Masons primarily because it is the oldest, the best known, and traditionally the most conservative, because most definitely bourgeois, fraternal organization.

The study of the relationship of the fraternal to the labor movement made by the I. W. O. has made two things clear. First, those fraternal organizations which function as a helper against the economic insecurity of the men and women of the toiling masses belong to the family of the labor movement. In their endeavors they must become helpers and must be assured the help of all labor organizations. They must make themselves part of the progressive forces which work for and achieve protective legislation for the workers. They must become a force in the organization of a united people's movement, the democratic front, building a bulwark for democracy and peace against reaction, fascism, and war.

Second, the forces to accomplish this change are already present in these fraternal organizations. The working masses in them not only demand but also make possible the change of these organizations from conservative into progressive forces.

The experiences which the International Workers Order accumulated in its eight years of efforts and activities have also proved that many of the frills traditionally associated with old-time fraternalism can very well be adapted to workers' needs and workers' uses. In this recognition, workers' fraternalism breaks with another "principle" of reformism. This reformism, while it contributed little or nothing toward the development of an effective mass fraternal movement of the toilers, pursued with blind hatred all outward forms of relationship of the old fraternal movement. A particular object of this hatred was ritualism.

The ritualistic mummery and mysticism of the fraternal movement are inherited from its medieval predecessors. This mummery is an important reason why militant labor has always considered the fraternal movement with a generous measure of suspicion. This suspicion must be dropped. The problem of ritualism must be considered realistically.

The toiling masses are impelled into the fraternal movement by their own economic insecurity. They seek a solution of this major problem of their existence by securing the protective insurance of a fraternal organization. If the workers were to pursue their thoughts and desires for a solution of this problem, they would inevitably come to the conclusion that it is necessary to organize a political movement for the abolition of economic insecurity. Such a conclusion, which would benefit the masses, would not be beneficial to the beneficiaries of the economic insecurity of the masses.

A workers' fraternal movement must serve the masses and their interests by helping them to reach that conclusion. It must undertake to make its members a part of such a political movement. The aim of the antiworking class leaders in the fraternal movement, of course, lies in a different direction. They try to prevent the development of action by the masses against economic insecurity. Times have changed since the day of original fraternalism; the immediate functional purpose of the fraternal organization has changed. But the dominant political ideology of the traditional leaders of that movement remains the same. These leaders still consider it a fundamental duty of fraternalism to fight for the political dominance of the capitalist class. They use ritualism as a means to their end. They have designed it to subordinate the ideology, the thoughts, the desires, and the dreams of the toilers to the dominance of the ideology of the ruling class. Through mystic ritualism they try to draw the members away from realistic thoughts. These thoughts might lead them to efforts to end their conditions of economic insecurity; instead, these leaders try to lead into the realm of imagination and illusions.

¹ These quotations are from a circular entitled "Freemasonry and the Democratic Ideal," by Newton Van Dalsem, secretary of the Association of Liberal Freemasons in Los Angeles, California.

This function of ritualism is not at all inevitable and unchangeable. Nothing prevents the proletarian fraternal movement from utilizing ritualism for an entirely opposite purpose. It can adapt ritualism to its own aim of establishing a spirit of unity among its worker-members, of fostering a sense of responsibility toward each other, of generating solidarity actions and developing a fundamental workers' consciousness.

Of course, the question may be asked, Why bother with ritualism at all? The answer is simple: bother with it because the masses have been influenced by capitalist education. The most outstanding achievement of this education is the maintenance of a mystic ignorance about the social forces which create the most puzzling, the most hurtful, and, therefore, the most fundamental problems of the masses. An example will illustrate:

Capitalism teaches the worker that diligence, perseverance, willingness to work, speed in work, and top productivity are the road to his success. When the worker follows this road he finds that it leads to overproduction. He loses his job. The very road which was to lead him to prosperity and economic security leads him to unemployment, hunger, and misery. His capitalist teachings do not enable the worker to penetrate this mystery. Only Marxism can dissolve the fog of this "fetishism of commodities."

Is it any wonder, then, that so many retreat, if not consciously at least subconsciously, into the realm of mysticism? Even though they do it in vain, they seek the explanations there. This very natural fact is exploited by bourgeois ritualism. A proletarian ritualism would at one and the same time utilize this affinity for ritualism and attack it through rituals with a content and a purpose of their own.

An example of how a proletarian ritualism can serve the purposes of a workers' fraternal organization is demonstrated by the ritual adopted and carried through in one of the lodges of the I. W. O. in Philadelphia. The lodge operates in a Negro neighborhood. The candidates for membership are led into the room loaded down with a chain. Each link of the chain represents a basic problem of the Negroes: Segregation, race prejudice, lynching, discrimination, and so forth. During the initiation ceremonies the united efforts of the order are figuratively applied to various sledgehammers representing unity, solidarity, political action, etc. With these hammers, impelled by the force of a mass united in the order, the links of the chain are alternately smashed until the candidate is free. This signifies the absence of prejudices and segregation within the order. The rest of the ceremony pledges the united efforts of the order and of the candidate to smash these chains in the social structure of the community and the country.

A general basis of a proletarian ritual can be supplied by symbols representing the riches and the poverty that live side by side in our country. The ceremony must indicate that within the organization mutual solidarity helps the member to overcome the most serious sufferings, while the order as a whole, in mutual solidarity with the working class, can help the masses as a whole to overcome this contrast by united action in the field of political and economic endeavors.

This and many other problems of workers' fraternalism were the subjects of the week's deliberation and work of the fourth convention of the I. W. O. The first years of existence of that organization represented a period of fruitful apprenticeship. The fourth convention and its work formulated and issued a certificate of craftsmanship. A program of true workers' fraternalism has finally been crystallized. Experiences have helped select and sharpen the instruments with which this program can be put into effect. The I. W. O. will at once throw itself into its work. The experiences of the labor movement of the last ten years will surely secure for our order the cooperation of the progressives and militants in the general fraternal and labor movement. With its program and with this cooperation, the International Workers Order is on the road to make the toiling masses in the American fraternal movement an integral part of and an effective force in the progressive and labor movement of the country.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing). And will you kindly identify an article in the Communist of March 1929, "The Sixth Convention of Our Party. By Max Bedacht"?

Mr. BEDACHT. (After examining.) Yes; that seems to be my article.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And will you also identify an article in the December 1929 issue of the Communist, entitled "A Labor Party Or?" by Max Bedacht?

Mr. BEDACHT. Probably I wrote that, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you look at it and say if you did?

Mr. BEDACHT (after examining). Yes; it sounds very much like me.

The CHAIRMAN. You are getting a little definite now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That concludes the questions I have to ask the witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Mr. WHITLEY. Just one or two questions.

Mr. BEDACHT, were you acquainted with Juliet Stuart Poyntz?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have known her.

Mr. WHITLEY. Over what period of time?

Mr. BEDACHT. Oh, I believe I made her acquaintance sometime in the twenties, the exact date I could not say; maybe 1923 or 1924.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was she a very prominent and active worker in the Communist Party?

Mr. BEDACHT. She was for a period of time and then she disappeared out of the party work.

Mr. WHITLEY. About what year did she cease her activity in the party work?

Mr. BEDACHT. I could not give you the exact date, but I think for 8 or more years I have not heard of her and have not seen her for 8 or even 10 years. I am now in New York for 9 years and I do not recollect having seen her since that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not heard in official Communist circles where she is at the present time?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not, as the result of your connection with the national committee, ever heard any discussion or comments?

Mr. BEDACHT. I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. She disappeared, and you don't know—

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, disappeared out of my view; I don't know whether she disappeared otherwise.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether the Daily Worker, following the announcement of her disappearance, made any statements as to whether she had ever been a member of the party or not?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't recall they denied she had been a party member?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't remember the statement.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bedacht, does the I. W. O. support the activities of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. BEDACHT. The I. W. O. youth section participates in the work of the Youth Congress; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the Youth Congress?

Mr. BEDACHT. Or the Youth Federation, rather.

Mr. WHITLEY. And does the I. W. O. participate in parades and demonstrations organized by the Communist Party—for instance, the May Day demonstrations?

Mr. BEDACHT. The May Day demonstration has not been a party demonstration, to my knowledge, since it exists. It was always a broad labor demonstration and it was always a united-front committee—a committee of various organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the I. W. O. participate in them?

Mr. BEDACHT. The I. W. O. participated in them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has it ever participated in any parades or demonstrations of any kind which were sponsored by the Communist Party, or in which it participated?

Mr. BEDACHT. It participated in parades of many sorts. There was a big parade in New York, for instance, at the time of the surrender of Czechoslovakia to Hitler, and there was a parade organized that they participated in.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever make an appeal to the membership of the I. W. O. to attend demonstrations, the proceeds from which were to be sent to the Communist Party in Germany?

Mr. BEDACHT. I might have done that; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You might have?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall you did?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't remember having done it, but I may have done it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In an article appearing in the Daily Worker of February 9, 1934, captioned, "I. W. O. head calls on members to aid German party work. Appeal of Max Bedacht, I. W. O. general secretary."

Mr. BEDACHT. Very probably I did. If they say so, if you have that there——

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't remember it?

Mr. BEDACHT. I don't remember it, but it is within the province of the things that I might have done.

Mr. WHITLEY. You would not say you did not do it?

Mr. BEDACHT. I certainly would not. I am quite proud of the solidarity that our members exercise toward the workers in trouble here, or anywhere else.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, did the I. W. O., at least in the past, advocate the doctrine of collective security in its publications and meetings?

Mr. BEDACHT. Well, we certainly were always for a united front, or for a people's progressive front, nationally and internationally.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, I had specific reference to the doctrine of collective security.

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has the organization taken a stand on that?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am not sure whether it has passed officially any decision, but surely, in the way of speaking and writing, we did endorse that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did endorse that?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And does the organization still have that viewpoint; is it still favorable to collective security?

Mr. BEDACHT. I am quite certain that a majority of the members still feel that way about the same question.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, collective security, insofar as democracies are concerned, as opposed to the Nazi regime?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You still advocate that?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are still in favor of that; there has not been any change in your attitude to such a thing since the Nazi-Soviet pact?

Mr. BEDACHT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bedacht, did you sign or agree to a resolution adopted by the political committee of the Communist Party on October 13, 1939, dealing with America and the international situation?

Mr. BEDACHT. I did not sign any such resolution. I am not a member of the political committee, but I read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You supported that resolution?

Mr. BEDACHT. I agree with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read one excerpt from the resolution:

The working class and exploited peoples of all the countries should not and must not support either side of the predatory, imperialistic war which is being waged by the ruling classes of Germany and of Britain and France for the dismemberment and enslavement of nations and peoples for monopoly profits and for greater oppression of the working people of their own countries.

You support that statement particularly or specifically?

Mr. BEDACHT. Yes, certainly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your view, then, that the working people of America must not support, as stated here, either side in this war, regardless of what the American Government should decide to do in that situation?

Mr. BEDACHT. This resolution is a political resolution for the guidance of the policy and means that we should work for the United States in not entering the war.

Mr. STARNES. Cannot you answer the question more specifically? You were asked the question if America entered this war, did you consider it the duty of the American working people to stay out, regardless of their Government's action?

Mr. BEDACHT. I will answer that question when the condition arises. I don't answer any hypothetical questions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to know the significance of the categorical statement that they make—whether that applies only to the present war, or whether it has any significance for tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow.

Mr. STARNES. Is that a categorical statement there, Dr. Matthews, that the working class or working people of America must not support the Government, regardless of the action of the Government?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; it does not say must not support the Government; it says "must not support either side." I want to know the significance—whether it is binding only for today, or for any other contingency; if this statement, in other words, had validity only the day it was issued, or does it have validity for the period of the international crisis?

Mr. BEDACHT. It seems to me the same statement was made on the floor of the Senate by a number of people in the neutrality discussion. If it was a crime to make it, why don't you call the Senators here that make such statements?

Mr. STARNES. It is not a crime to make the statement, Mr. Witness, but we are trying to ascertain your views and your attitude, and that of your organization, toward this question.

Mr. BEDACHT. My personal attitude is we should work as best we can and as effectively as we can to keep America out of this war; because democracy is not at stake.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked the witness this morning time and time again if he would say he would support the American Government in

(The membership book and constitution and bylaws referred to are as follows:)

Name _____
 Lodge _____
 Joined _____ 19____ Cert. No. _____
 Life Insurance, \$ _____ Weekly Sick Benefit, \$ _____
 Entitled to:
 Funeral Benefit _____ Cemetery Benefit _____
 (Yes or No) (Yes or No)
 Medicinal Service _____
 (Yes or No) (Single or Family)
 Monthly Dues _____

Dues payments in 19----

Amount paid	Paid for	Balance	Rec'd by	Date R'd
	Jan			
	Feb			
	March			
	April			
	May			
	June			
	July			
	Aug			
	Sept			
	Oct			
	Nov			
	Dec			

Demand a Receipt for Each Payment.

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER, INC.

As amended by the Fourth National Convention held in Pittsburgh, Pa.,
April 23-30, 1938—In effect July 1, 1938

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The International Workers Order is a fraternal benefit society. Its principles and practices are guided by the experiences and progressive traditions of American fraternalism.

The Order provides sick, disability, and death benefits. It organizes for its members medical aid and other forms of fraternal help. It pledges its members to aid and comfort each other in case of need. It endeavors to make its lodges a source of joy and happiness for the members and their families.

The International Workers Order is founded on the principles of democratic fraternalism. Its doors are open to all regardless of sex, nationality, race, color, creed, or political affiliation.

The cultural heritage of every one of the many national and racial groups which make up the American people has contributed to and enriched the life and the traditions of our country. Our Order endeavors in its fraternal life to make the same culture and traditions a source of Americanization, of education, recreation, and happiness for its members. The Order thus hopes to become a stronghold of unity and progress of mankind, fostering the ideals of a brotherhood.

Around this program the Order undertakes to organize adults, young people, and children. It helps to promote sports life, musical organizations, dramatic and educational groups for social entertainment.

The fraternal service of the International Workers Order aims primarily to help the toiling people. Their only source of income is their own labor. Fraternal benefits are for them an indispensable emergency aid. The Order recognizes, however, that emergency aid alone cannot solve the problem of economic insecurity. The activities of labor unions contribute to that solution by striving for job security, for better working conditions, and for adequate wages. Progressive movements of the people contribute to that solution by securing adequate social legislation. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and the safeguard of the democratic institutions of the land.

Armed with these principles, the International Workers Order pledges to mobilize its members for the support of labor's economic and social efforts. The I. W. O. assumes the great traditional obligation of the fraternal movement to win its members for unity of the people in city and country, as a means of preserving and extending our American democracy and of maintaining world peace. Everywhere and at all times the International Workers Order shall make itself a part of democracy and progress which make for the continuous improvement of the economic security of the people and for the development of a better America.

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER, INC.

NAME

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the International Workers Order, Inc.

JURISDICTION

SECTION 2. The International Workers Order, Inc., is organized pursuant to Article 7 of the Insurance Law of the State of New York entitled "Fraternal Benefit Societies." It shall endeavor to secure licenses to carry on its business in the various states of the United States of America and shall have, possess, and exercise all rights and privileges accorded to fraternal benefit societies.

NATIONAL CONVENTION

SECTION 3. The National Convention is the highest authority of the Order and has complete and absolute jurisdiction and power to determine all questions involving the affairs of the Order.

Election of General Executive Board

SECTION 4. The National Convention shall elect a General Executive Board of not more than forty-seven (47) members with approximate proportional representation of all major language sections. The exact number of members on the General Executive Board and the exact basis of representation shall be determined by each Convention. Each language section having a membership of two thousand (2,000) or more is entitled to at least one representative on the General Executive Board.

SECTION 5. Every member of the Order is eligible for election to the General Executive Board, provided he has been a member in good standing for at least one year prior to the date of the holding of the National Convention where such election takes place.

Election of Officers

SECTION 6. The National Convention shall elect the following officers, who must be members of the General Executive Board:

National President.
National Vice President.
National Treasurer.
National Recording Secretary.

The National Convention shall also elect the following officers, who shall have a voice but no vote in the General Executive Board:

General Secretary.
Youth Director.
Junior Director.
General Counsel.

Appeals

SECTION 7. The National Convention shall have the right and power to take up and dispose of all appeals from the decisions of the General Executive Board.

Power to Fix Rates

SECTION 8. The National Convention shall have the right and power to fix the amount and system of payments required from members of the Order, which in each state, however, shall not be below the minimum standards required by the insurance laws of that state.

Voting at National Convention

SECTION 9. Every delegate to a National Convention, or alternate replacing such delegate, shall be entitled to only one vote at the National Convention.

SECTION 10. A majority of the delegates entitled to vote at the National Convention shall be made up of members of the Order other than those who have received any compensation, emolument or commission from the National Office during the twelve months immediately preceding the Convention.

REGULAR CONVENTIONS

SECTION 11. The regular National Convention shall convene in every even year in the month of May on such day and in such place and for such period of time as shall be decided by the General Executive Board.

SECTION 12. At least five months prior to the date set for the opening of the regular Convention the General Executive Board shall advise every lodge of the time, place, proposed agenda, and duration of the Convention.

Representation to Regular National Conventions

SECTION 13. The National Convention shall consist of four hundred (400) voting delegates (or alternates) elected by the members of the Order.

SECTION 14. Any member of the Order is eligible for nomination and election as a delegate to the National Convention provided he has been a member in good standing for at least six months prior to the date of nomination.

Lodge Nominations

SECTION 15. The General Executive Board shall instruct the lodges to make their nominations for delegates to the National Convention in the month of December preceding the Convention.

SECTION 16. Every lodge having a membership up to 100 is entitled to nominate a candidate for delegate to the National Convention; an additional nominee may be made for every additional 100 members or major fraction thereof. A nominee need not be a member of the lodge that nominates him.

District Election Conferences

SECTION 17. During the month of February preceding the National Convention the General Executive Board shall call district conferences. Every lodge having up to fifty (50) members is entitled to one (1) delegate to the district conference of the district in which it is included, and to one additional delegate for every additional fifty (50) members or any fraction thereof. Delegates to district conferences must be members of the lodge which elected them and which they represent. Delegates present at district conferences shall have only one vote each.

SECTION 18. The cost of the delegations to the district conferences shall be borne by the lodges included in the territory covered by the district conference.

SECTION 19. The number of delegates to the National Convention to be elected by the various district conferences shall be apportioned by the General Executive Board on the basis of the approximate membership figures of each district as of December 1st preceding the National Convention.

SECTION 20. Each district conference shall apportion the number of delegates assigned to it among the various language sections in accordance with the instructions issued by the General Executive Board.

Election of Delegates

SECTION 21. Delegates to the National Convention shall be chosen from the nominees of the lodges, but each district conference shall decide for itself whether it will elect the delegates or submit the nominees to a referendum vote of the membership included within the territory covered by the district conference.

SECTION 22. The required number of candidates in each language section receiving the highest number of votes shall be deemed elected as delegates, and the candidates with the next highest number of votes shall be deemed elected as alternates.

SECTION 23. Voting for delegates to the National Convention shall be by secret ballot on forms prepared and furnished by the General Executive Board.

SECTION 24. Whenever, in the discretion of the General Executive Board, extended territories make district conferences impractical or whenever a district conference so decides, the General Executive Board shall submit the election of the delegates to the National Convention within such territory to a referendum vote of the members residing in that territory.

Nonvoting Delegates

SECTION 25. All members of the General Executive Board shall be delegates to the National Convention, with voice but no vote.

SECTION 26. Each National Language Committee with a membership up to ten thousand (10,000) shall be entitled to one fraternal delegate to the National Convention and to one additional fraternal delegate for every ten thousand (10,000) additional members or major fraction thereof. These delegates shall have a voice but no vote in the National Convention.

Challenge of Delegates

SECTION 27. All challenges of delegates to a National Convention must be submitted to the Credentials Committee elected at the Convention, which shall report its findings to the Convention for decision by the latter.

Expense Allowance of Delegates

SECTION 28. Every voting or nonvoting delegate or alternate replacing a delegate to the National Convention shall receive from the General Executive Board

transportation cost to and from the Convention, sleeping accommodations in the city of the Convention—unless residing in said city—and five (\$5.00) dollars per day in addition for expense allowance. This expense allowance shall be payable for the total number of days the National Convention is in session and the days needed for travel to and from the Convention city.

SPECIAL CONVENTIONS

SECTION 29. A special National Convention of the Order must be called whenever the General Executive Board so decides by at least a two-thirds vote of its members present and voting, provided the call for the special National Convention is approved by a referendum of the membership.

SECTION 30. A special National Convention of the Order must be called by the General Executive Board when at least twenty lodges from five different states demand it in writing, and provided that this demand is approved by a majority vote in a referendum of the membership. Such demand must be submitted for a referendum vote by the General Executive Board within thirty days after same has been received by it. Special National Conventions approved by a majority vote in a referendum must be held not later than sixty days after the date of approval.

SECTION 31. No special National Convention shall be held within six months prior or subsequent to a regular National Convention.

SECTION 32. Subject to the limitations defined in Section 30, the General Executive Board shall have full power to decide the time, place, and duration of the special National Convention, and shall furnish this information to all lodges not later than thirty days before the date set for the opening of such Convention.

SECTION 33. The delegates to the special National Convention shall be those who were the delegates to the regular National Convention preceding the special National Convention.

SECTION 34. All By-Laws and rules applying to powers, duties, expense allowance, sleeping and traveling accommodations of delegates to regular National Conventions shall likewise apply to delegates to special National Conventions.

LANGUAGE CONFERENCES

SECTION 35. Time shall be allowed and fixed by the National Convention for the holding of language conferences during the period of the Convention. Each delegate to the Convention shall be assigned to attend the conference of the section of which he is a member.

Duties of Language Conferences

SECTION 36. Each language section conference must take up the organizational and educational problems of its section.

SECTION 37. Each language section conference shall elect a National Language Committee and a Language Section Secretary.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Powers and Duties

SECTION 38. The General Executive Board elected by the National Convention shall, within the limits of the Constitution and By-Laws, have the right, power, authority, and duty of carrying on all the business of the Order between National Conventions.

The General Executive Board shall have the rights, powers, and duties of directors of a fraternal benefit society accorded by the insurance laws of the State of New York.

SECTION 39. The General Executive Board shall meet at least twice a year at a time and place fixed by it. In addition to the regular meetings, the General Secretary must call a special meeting of the General Executive Board whenever a majority of its members so demand in writing. Notice of meetings of the General Executive Board shall be given at least fifteen days in advance by mail to all of its members.

SECTION 40. Twenty members of the General Executive Board shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION 41. The General Executive Board has the authority and power to decide upon and change the form of benefit certificates, membership certificates,

application blanks, seals, or any other blanks or forms used to conduct the business of the Order.

SECTION 42. The General Executive Board shall entertain and pass upon all appeals of members against decisions of lodges.

SECTION 43. The General Executive Board has the right, if it finds it necessary, to dissolve any city, state, or district committee and to set dates for new elections for representatives to such bodies.

SECTION 44. The General Executive Board has the right to call special meetings of the lodges, to decide to hold new elections of lodge officials, and to conduct the same; it has the right to demand of any lodge official or member that he submit to the General Executive Board or its representative for auditing all books, papers, records, vouchers, or receipts of the lodge which may be in the possession of said official or member, or of which he may have control, and if compliance with such demand is refused, the General Executive Board has full power to take possession of these materials and to otherwise enforce its demands.

SECTION 45. In case of proposals of merger or re-insurance with the Order by other fraternal organizations, the General Executive Board shall fix the terms of the contract in accordance with the terms of the Insurance Law of the State of New York and the various other states involved governing such contracts, and submit such contract to a referendum vote. Any such merger or plan of re-insurance can go into effect only if approved by a referendum vote of the Order and of the merging or re-insuring organizations, and upon approval of the plan of merger or re-insurance, by the necessary insurance authorities.

SECTION 46. The General Executive Board shall employ a General Medical Examiner.

SECTION 47. The General Executive Board, with the approval of the actuary, shall have the power to waive assessments or pay dividends if the annual valuation shows a satisfactory margin of safety. The General Executive Board shall also have the power to levy special assessments or increase the mortuary fund payments.

Vacancies in General Executive Board

SECTION 48. Whenever any member of the General Executive Board shall fail to attend three consecutive meetings of the General Executive Board or of any standing subcommittee to which he has been assigned, without excuse satisfactory to the General Executive Board, his office as a member of the General Executive Board may by the latter be declared vacant and thereupon the proper alternate shall take his place.

Standing Committees

SECTION 49. The General Executive Board shall elect from its members residing in New York City four standing committees as follows:

- a. Organization Committee.
- b. Administration Committee.
- c. Education and Activities Committee.
- d. Appeals Committee.

The General Executive Board may create as many other temporary or permanent subcommittees as it may deem necessary.

SECTION 50. One-half of the number of members of any standing subcommittee shall constitute a quorum of such committee.

Resident Board

SECTION 51. The members of the four standing committees mentioned in Section 49 shall be called the Resident Board, and in order to assure coordination of their functions, all members of the Resident Board shall meet jointly at least once a month or more often if required by the Resident Board or the General Executive Board.

SECTION 52. Subject to the supervision of the General Executive Board, the Resident Board shall have power and authority to do all things necessary for the carrying out of the policies of the General Executive Board and shall supervise all such actions. It shall organize the semiannual regular meetings of the General Executive Board and shall call special meetings of that body whenever demanded by at least one-third of the members of the Resident Board.

SECTION 53. Fifteen members of the Resident Board shall constitute a quorum of said Board.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF OFFICERS

National President

SECTION 54. The National President presides at all meetings of the National Convention and at all regular and special meetings of the General Executive Board; he signs, together with the General Secretary, all charters and other documents requiring his signature; in general, he performs all the duties of his office and all duties required of him by the Constitution and By-Laws, subject to the decisions of the General Executive Board.

National Vice President

SECTION 55. The National Vice President, subject to the decisions of the General Executive Board, shall perform all duties of the National President in the absence of the latter.

National Treasurer

SECTION 56. The National Treasurer receives all moneys and invests same, together with the General Secretary, in accordance with the decisions of the General Executive Board; he signs all checks jointly with the General Secretary; if and when the volume of work shall so require, the General Executive Board at his request may assign some of his duties, including the signing of checks and warrants for withdrawals of money, to some other officer or assistant, who shall perform same under the treasurer's supervision and direction. In general, the National Treasurer shall perform the duties of his office subject to the decisions of the General Executive Board.

National Recording Secretary

SECTION 57. The National Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the General Executive Board and generally perform all the duties of his office, subject to the decisions of the General Executive Board.

General Secretary

SECTION 58. The General Secretary shall be the administrator of the National Office. He shall be responsible for regular keeping of books and accounts for the National Office, as well as for the compilation and delivery of all reports and documents required by various insurance laws. He shall be responsible for the preparation of all necessary official documents and reports of the Order and shall countersign the same. Together with the Treasurer he shall be responsible for the signing of checks and warrants for the withdrawal of moneys and for the administration and investment of the reserves of the Order.

On checks and warrants for withdrawal of money from the Sick Benefit Fund, the General Secretary may affix his signature by facsimile.

If and when the volume of his work shall so require, the General Executive Board at his request may assign some of his duties, including signing of checks and warrants for withdrawal of moneys, to some other officer or assistant, who shall perform such duties under the supervision and direction of the General Secretary.

The General Secretary shall carry out all duties assigned to him by the General Executive Board and shall be subject to its decisions.

National Youth Director

SECTION 59. The National Youth Director shall be in charge of and responsible for the activities among the Youth members of the Order, subject to the decisions of the General Executive Board.

National Junior Director

SECTION 60. The National Junior Director shall be in charge of and responsible for the activities among the Junior members of the Order, subject to the decisions of the General Executive Board.

General Counsel

SECTION 61. General Counsel shall render all legal services required by the Order subject to the decisions of the General Executive Board.

General Medical Examiner

SECTION 62. The General Medical Examiner shall have the power and authority to approve or reject all applications approved by any local physician and to modify the amount of insurance or other benefits applied for if he finds it necessary; he shall be consulted on the appointment of local medical examiners before such appointments shall be deemed effective.

Bond

SECTION 63. The General Secretary, National President, and National Treasurer shall be bonded at the expense of the Order in bond of not less than five thousand (\$5,000.00) dollars each.

Tenure of Office

SECTION 64. All officers and members of the General Executive Board shall remain in office until their successors are duly elected and qualified.

Vacancies of National Offices

SECTION 65. Vacancies of National Offices shall be filled by the General Executive Board, and officers so elected shall hold office until the next regular or special National Convention following their election.

NATIONAL OFFICE

SECTION 66. The National Office of the Order is hereby designated as the place where the national business of the Order is transacted and where its books, records, and correspondence are kept and maintained.

The National Office shall be in New York City in a place designated by the General Executive Board.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE COMMITTEES

SECTION 67. The National Language Committees shall conduct all campaigns of the Order within their respective language sections, and shall carry on organizational and cultural work within the scope of the purposes of the Order and of the decisions of the General Executive Board. They shall have the power to make all decisions required by the needs of their respective language work, subject to and subordinate, however, to the powers and decisions of the General Executive Board.

SECTION 68. The Language Section Secretary shall carry out all the decisions of the National Language Committee concerning the organizational and cultural activities of his language section; he shall attend to the correspondence between the language section and the National Office and the respective language lodges and shall in general comply with all instructions and decisions of the General Executive Board and of the General Secretary.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEES

SECTION 69. In localities with three or more lodges of the Order there shall be organized a City Central Committee.

SECTION 70. The City Central Committee is the highest authority in a given city or locality and is the direct representative of the General Executive Board in that city. Its rulings and decisions are binding on all lodges and language city committees unless otherwise provided for by these By-Laws or by decision of the General Executive Board.

SECTION 71. The City Central Committee shall be organized on the basis of direct representation of the lodges in cities where there are no more than

fifteen lodges. In cities with more than fifteen lodges, the City Central Committee shall be elected for a period of one year at an annual city convention of representatives of all the lodges in the city; the number of members of the City Central Committee is to be fixed by these conventions. Each language city committee shall have at least one representative on the City Central Committee.

SECTION 72. The City Central Committee shall organize and direct the functioning of a language city committee for every language section having two or more lodges in that locality.

SECTION 73. The City Central Committee shall be responsible for the work of the language city committees and shall coordinate their activities. It shall give guidance to all the lodges in the conduct of all activities of the Order. It shall represent the Order on such occasions as may be necessary or proper.

SECTION 74. In cities where medical departments are established the City Central Committee has full jurisdiction over them.

SECTION 75. City Central Committees shall have no right, authority, or power to bind the Order in any matters whatsoever or to subject the Order to any contractual or financial obligation of whatsoever kind, nature, or description.

CHARTERS

SECTION 76. The General Executive Board shall have the right to issue a charter to any new lodge having not less than fifteen members. All charters shall be signed by the National President and General Secretary, with the seal of the Order affixed.

LODGES

SECTION 77. Lodges may be organized in any locality, providing there are no other lodges of the same language and provided further that there are at least fifteen acceptable candidates who apply for admission to the Order. In special cases the General Executive Board has jurisdiction to vary this requirement.

SECTION 78. If a lodge votes to dissolve or if it is dissolved by the order of the General Executive Board, then all its property, funds, documents, supplies, seals, records, etc., of whatsoever kind, nature or description, all of which are hereby declared to be the property of the National Office of the I.W.O., shall be immediately forwarded to the General Secretary thereof.

SECTION 79. Every lodge shall elect the following officers: President, Vice President, Financial Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, Sick Benefit Director, Educational and Social Director, Youth Director, Junior Director, Trustees, and as many other officers as it may find necessary. These officers shall constitute the Executive Committee of the lodge.

No lodge or any officer of any lodge has the right to bind the Order in any matter whatsoever or to waive any provisions of this Constitution and By-Laws or any rules, regulations, or decisions of the General Executive Board or to subject the Order to any contract or financial obligation of whatsoever kind, nature, or description.

Lodge Meetings

SECTION 80. The lodges of the Order shall have at least two regular meetings a month.

SECTION 81. Seven members of the lodge in good standing, present at the time and place designated for the meeting, shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION 82. The General Executive Board may delegate to any member of the Order the power to attend and take charge of the meeting of a lodge wherever it considers such a step necessary for the interest of the Order. A member thus delegated shall present proper credentials signed by the General Secretary or National President and attested by the seal of the Order.

Order of Business at Meetings

SECTION 83. The order of business at lodge meetings shall be as follows:

1. Reading of the minutes of the previous meeting.
2. Reading of communications.
3. Report of the lodge executive committee.
4. Reports of other committees.

5. Unfinished business.
6. New business.
7. Collection of dues.
8. Report on sick and needy members.
9. Proposal of new applicants for membership.
10. Initiation of applicants approved for membership.
11. Special features arranged for the meeting.
12. Adjournment.

Duties of Lodges

SECTION 84. The lodge shall see to it that all moneys collected for the National Office shall be kept separate and apart from moneys collected for other purposes of the lodge. No funds collected for the National Office shall be used for any purpose other than to pay the bills owed to the National Office.

SECTION 85. All moneys due to the National Office for dues, assessments, and supplies shall be due and payable on the 25th of each month.

Dissolution of Lodge

SECTION 86. A lodge may be dissolved by the General Executive Board and its members transferred to other lodges of the Order, or be placed in the status of members-at-large, unattached to any lodge, if:

- a. The membership of the lodge decreases to less than ten;
- b. Its actions are inconsistent with the Constitution, By-Laws, principles, rules, regulations, or interests of the Order as determined by the General Executive Board.

Lodge Dues

SECTION 87. Each lodge shall have the right, besides the dues it collects for the National Office, to levy on its members such local dues as may be necessary to cover the expenses of maintaining the lodge. Such local dues shall be binding on all members and be payable monthly. These local dues shall not exceed 25 cents per month.

Bonding of Officers

SECTION 88. Every lodge must bond its financial officers with the bonding fund maintained by the National Office and pay the bonding charge fixed for this service by the General Executive Board.

MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 89. Any person of good health, mentally sound, and of good moral character, between the ages of 16 and 60 years next birthday, regardless of nationality, religion, race, sex, color, or political opinion, is eligible for membership in the Order.

Amount of Benefits

SECTION 90. Applicants may be admitted to membership for the following benefits:

16 to 45 years next birthday: \$100, \$150, \$250, \$500, \$1,000, \$2,000, or \$3,000 insurance; and sick benefits of \$4.00, \$6.00, \$8.00, or \$10.00 per week.

46 to 50 years next birthday: maximum of \$1,000 insurance but no sick benefits.

51 to 60 years next birthday: maximum of \$500 insurance but no sick benefits.

Within the foregoing limits, these benefits will be granted in such amounts as the General Executive Board in its discretion may decide, provided, however, that the applicant passes a satisfactory medical examination by a physician approved by the General Medical Examiner.

Initiation Fees

SECTION 91. Every applicant must pay an initiation fee, according to his age, as follows:

16 to 25 years—50 cents.

26 to 45 years—\$1.00.

46 to 60 years—\$2.00.

SECTION 92. All initiation fees must be collected in advance and sent to the National Office, together with the applications. In case the applicant is rejected, the initiation fee shall be returned.

The income from initiation fees shall be deposited in the Expense Fund of the Order.

Regulations for Applicants

SECTION 93. All applicants for membership must comply with the following rules and regulations:

- a. Be proposed for membership at a lodge meeting by a member thereof;
- b. Fill out and sign a membership application on the form provided by the Order, and give true and correct answers to the questions therein;
- c. Pass a health examination by a physician approved by the General Medical Examiner;
- d. Pledge to comply with and be bound by the principles, laws, Constitution, rules, and regulations of the Order.

SECTION 94. No member of a police force, public or private, and no professional strikebreaker, shall be accepted as a member of the Order.

SECTION 95. An applicant rejected by a local medical examiner or by the General Medical Examiner may reapply for membership after the expiration of six months from the date of rejection.

SECTION 96. An applicant may be rejected as a member when a majority of the lodge members present and voting reject his application at the meeting where he is proposed for membership.

SECTION 97. Regardless of whether the applicant is approved or rejected by the local medical examiner, or at the lodge meeting, the application shall nevertheless be completed and sent to the National Office.

SECTION 98. The General Executive Board may reject any and all applications for membership in the Order for any reason satisfactory to it.

Initiation of Member

SECTION 99. After receiving from the National Office notice of approval of an applicant, the lodge secretary shall immediately notify the applicant by mail to appear at the next meeting of the lodge for initiation. At the meeting the chairman shall acquaint the applicant with the principles of the Order and his duties as a member. Each applicant shall pledge to uphold the principles of the Order and faithfully carry out his duties as a member before he shall be deemed to be a member of the Order. These proceedings shall be in accordance with the ritual of the Order. No person shall be considered a member, and entitled to benefits prior to his initiation.

Entrance Date

SECTION 100. The membership of all approved applicants shall begin on the first day of the month following the approval of the application by the General Executive Board. This date shall be known as the entrance date.

Cancellation of Membership

SECTION 101. The General Executive Board in its discretion may cancel any membership within six months after entrance date, and in such event the initiation fee and other dues paid shall be refunded.

SECTION 102. Applicants for membership shall answer truthfully all questions put to them by the examining physician and by the lodge financial secretary; if it should appear that the applicant has made false or misleading statements in his application he shall not be entitled to receive any benefits from the Order, and shall be subject to expulsion at any time subsequent to the discovery of the misleading and false statements.

SECTION 103. If the applicant does not appear for initiation within four weeks after having been notified by the financial secretary of the lodge of the approval of his application, or in the event that said applicant becomes ill prior to the time set for his admission or initiation, he must undergo another examination at his own expense; he shall not be recognized as a member of the Order until

the new application required in connection with the further medical examination is approved by the General Medical Examiner and he has been properly initiated.

Rights and Duties

SECTION 104. Each member shall, upon being initiated, pay to his lodge his monthly dues and assessments. He shall thereafter continue and be liable to pay the said dues and assessments and lodge dues in advance, as required by the Constitution and By-Laws, until and including the month in which his membership may be terminated by resignation, suspension, dropping from the rolls, expulsion, or death.

SECTION 105. A new member is entitled to receive benefits according to his option from the first day of the fourth month after his entrance date, provided he has paid at least three full monthly assessments. He is not entitled to receive any benefits of whatever kind, whether sick, disability, or death, if the sickness, disability, or death occurs during the first three months of membership. If death occurs within three months of membership, all dues paid by the deceased member shall be returned to the beneficiary.

BENEFIT CERTIFICATES

SECTION 106. A benefit certificate shall be issued to each member setting forth the amount of insurance which has been approved for him.

Reduction in Benefits

SECTION 107. Every member may apply for and receive reductions in the benefits for which he has been paying.

Increases in Benefits

SECTION 108. Every member may apply for an increase in his benefits, subject, however, to the age limitations applying to new members, as set forth in Section 90; such application must be made on forms prescribed by the National Office and must contain the findings of a physical examination made by a physician duly approved by the General Medical Examiner. All such applications are subject to approval or rejection by the General Executive Board. When such an application is approved by the General Executive Board, the increased benefits become payable only three months after the increased dues have been charged.

BENEFICIARIES

SECTION 109. The death benefit certificate issued to a member shall contain the name of the beneficiary. As beneficiary a member may designate the father, mother, brother, sister, children, legally adopted children, husband, wife, or persons legally dependent upon the member, or the lodge of which he is a member, provided he is dependent upon that lodge; and, further, provided that such designation is permitted by law of the state in which the insured resides.

Change of Beneficiary

SECTION 110. If a member desires to change the beneficiary previously named, he must request this change in writing. The request must either be signed by witnesses or be notarized; it must be forwarded to the General Executive Board by registered mail.

OPTIONS AND PAYMENTS

SECTION 111. The following options are hereby established:

1. Option AM. This option carries life insurance only and does not entitle the member to any other benefits.

2. Option A. This option is given only to wives of members and carries no sick benefit; members in this option are entitled to consumption and disability (cripple) benefits as provided for in Sections 151-163.

3. Option AY. This option carries consumption benefit at the rate of ten dollars per week for thirty weeks, and disability (cripple) benefits as provided

in Sections 151-163; members in this option are entitled to no other sick benefits; student members up to the age of twenty-five years are confined to this option.

4. Options B and BY carry four dollars weekly sick benefits, consumption benefits, and disability (cripple) benefits.

5. Options C and CY carry six dollars weekly sick benefit, consumption and disability (cripple) benefits.

6. Options D and DY carry eight dollars weekly sick benefits, consumption and disability (cripple) benefits.

7. Option E carries ten dollars weekly sick benefits, consumption and disability (cripple) benefits.

SECTION 112. Options AY, BY, CY, and DY are granted only to applicants between the ages of 16 and 25 years. All such members, upon passing their 25th year, will be transferred to the corresponding adult option AM, B, C, or D.

SECTION 113. Options B, C, D, and E are granted only to members up to the age of forty-five years next birthday.

Housewives

SECTION 114. Women occupied as housewives shall be admitted only to Options A or AM, which carry no sick benefit.

SECTION 115. Women members belonging to options other than A, AM, or AY, when their sole occupation becomes that of a housewife, shall be transferred to either Option A, AM, or AY, and it shall be their duty to notify the secretary of their lodge of the change in status, and the secretary in turn shall notify the National Office to that effect.

Payments

SECTION 116. Monthly payments for the foregoing options, exclusive of mortuary assessment dues for all members carrying up to and including \$2,000 insurance, are as follows:

Option	Sick-benefit fund	Expense fund	Monthly dues	Option	Sick-benefit fund	Expense fund	Monthly dues
AM -----		\$0.33	\$0.33	C -----	\$0.35½	\$0.40½	\$0.76
A -----	\$0.06½	.12½	.19	CY -----	.35½	.25½	.61
AY -----	.03½	.22½	.26	D -----	.47½	.42½	.90
B -----	.23½	.37½	.61	DY -----	.47½	.25½	.73
BY -----	.23½	.25½	.49	E -----	.69½	.48½	1.81

Members carrying \$3,000 insurance are required to pay, in addition to the payments above provided, ten cents additional to the Expense Fund in all options.

SECTION 117. Whenever the dues charged for the mortuary or sick benefit insurance fail to cover the payments for the corresponding benefits granted by the Constitution and By-Laws, in accordance with the various options set forth, the General Executive Board has the right to levy a special assessment or to increase the dues to cover such deficiency.

DEATH BENEFIT FUND PAYMENTS

SECTION 118. Payments for life insurance (Mortuary Fund) for members who joined the Order prior to January 1, 1939, and in the State of Illinois prior to January 1, 1938, are payable monthly in advance and rerated according to the age of the member and based on the National Fraternal Congress Mortality Tables, with an interest assumption of four per cent, both step and level rates. Reserves shall be maintained on this basis.

SECTION 119. Payments to the Mortuary Fund by members who join the Order after January 1, 1939, and in the State of Illinois after January 1, 1938, shall be not less than those provided by the American Men Ultimate Table of Mortality, with an interest assumption of 3½ per cent. Reserves shall be maintained on this basis.

The life insurance benefits are divided into classes according to the amount granted

MORTUARY RATE TABLES

TABLE No. 1.—National Fraternal Congress, 4%—Step Rate

Age next birthday	Class 6, \$100	Class 4, \$150	Class 3, \$250	Class 2, \$500	Class 1, \$1,000	Class 0, \$2,000	Class X, \$3,000
16	\$0.05	\$0.07	\$0.11	0.21	\$0.12	\$0.84	\$1.26
17	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
18	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
19	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
20	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
21	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
22	.05	.07	.11	.22	.43	.86	1.29
23	.05	.07	.11	.22	.43	.86	1.29
24	.05	.07	.11	.22	.43	.86	1.29
25	.05	.07	.11	.22	.44	.88	1.32
26	.05	.07	.11	.22	.44	.88	1.32
27	.05	.07	.12	.23	.45	.90	1.35
28	.05	.07	.12	.23	.45	.90	1.35
29	.05	.07	.12	.23	.46	.92	1.38
30	.05	.08	.12	.24	.47	.94	1.41
31	.05	.08	.12	.24	.48	.96	1.44
32	.05	.08	.12	.24	.48	.96	1.44
33	.05	.08	.13	.25	.49	.98	1.47
34	.06	.08	.13	.26	.51	1.02	1.53
35	.06	.08	.13	.26	.52	1.04	1.56
36	.06	.08	.14	.27	.54	1.06	1.59
37	.06	.09	.14	.28	.55	1.10	1.65
38	.06	.09	.14	.28	.56	1.12	1.68
39	.06	.09	.15	.29	.58	1.16	1.74
40	.06	.09	.15	.30	.60	1.20	1.80
41	.07	.10	.16	.32	.63	1.26	1.89
42	.07	.10	.17	.33	.65	1.30	1.95
43	.07	.11	.17	.34	.68	1.36	2.04
44	.08	.11	.18	.36	.71	1.42	2.13
45	.08	.12	.19	.37	.74	1.48	2.22
46	.08	.12	.20	.39	.78	1.56	2.34
47	.09	.13	.21	.41	.82	1.64	2.46
48	.09	.13	.22	.43	.86	1.72	2.58
49	.10	.14	.23	.46	.91	1.82	2.73
50	.10	.15	.24	.48	.96	1.92	2.88
51	.11	.16	.26	.51	1.02	2.04	3.06
52	.11	.17	.27	.54	1.08	2.16	3.24
53	.12	.18	.29	.58	1.15	2.30	3.45
54	.13	.19	.31	.62	1.23	2.46	3.69
55	.14	.20	.33	.66	1.32	2.64	3.96
56	.15	.22	.36	.71	1.42	2.84	4.26
57	.16	.23	.38	.76	1.52	3.04	4.56
58	.17	.25	.41	.82	1.64	3.28	4.92
59	.18	.27	.45	.89	1.77	3.54	5.31
60	.20	.29	.48	.96	1.91	3.80	5.71
61	.21	.32	.52	1.04	2.07	4.14	6.21
62	.23	.34	.57	1.13	2.25	4.50	6.75
63	.25	.37	.62	1.23	2.45	4.90	7.35
64	.27	.41	.67	1.34	2.67	5.34	8.01
65	.30	.44	.73	1.46	2.91	5.82	8.73
66	.32	.48	.80	1.59	3.18	6.36	9.54
67	.35	.53	.88	1.75	3.49	6.98	10.47
68	.39	.58	.96	1.91	3.81	7.62	11.43
69	.42	.63	1.05	2.09	4.18	8.36	12.54
70	.46	.69	1.15	2.30	4.59	9.18	13.77
71	.51	.76	1.27	2.53	5.05	10.10	15.15
72	.56	.84	1.39	2.78	5.55	11.10	16.65
73	.62	.92	1.53	3.06	6.11	12.22	18.33
74	.68	1.02	1.69	3.37	6.74	13.48	20.22
75	.75	1.12	1.86	3.72	7.44	14.88	22.32
76	.83	1.24	2.06	4.11	8.21	16.42	24.63
77	.91	1.37	2.27	4.54	9.08	18.16	27.24
78	1.01	1.51	2.52	5.03	10.05	20.10	30.15
79	1.12	1.67	2.79	5.57	11.13	22.25	33.39
80	1.24	1.86	3.09	6.17	12.34	24.68	37.02
81	1.38	2.06	3.43	6.86	13.71	27.42	41.13
82	1.53	2.29	3.81	7.62	15.23	30.46	45.69
83	1.70	2.55	4.24	8.48	16.95	33.90	50.85
84	1.89	2.84	4.73	9.45	18.89	37.78	56.67
85	2.11	3.17	5.27	10.54	21.08	42.16	63.24
86	2.36	3.54	5.89	11.78	23.56	47.12	70.68
87	2.64	3.96	6.60	13.20	26.40	52.80	79.20
88	2.97	4.45	7.41	14.81	29.61	59.22	88.83
89	3.33	5.00	8.33	16.65	33.30	66.60	99.90
90	3.76	5.63	9.38	18.76	37.52	75.04	112.56
91	4.25	6.37	10.62	21.33	42.45	84.90	127.35
92	4.81	7.22	12.02	24.04	48.08	96.16	134.24
93	5.50	8.25	13.75	27.49	54.97	109.94	164.91
94	6.27	9.40	15.67	31.33	62.66	125.32	187.98
95	7.13	10.70	17.83	35.65	71.29	142.58	213.87
96	8.05	12.07	20.11	40.22	80.43	160.86	241.20
97	8.88	13.32	22.20	44.40	88.80	177.60	266.40

TABLE No. 2.—*American men ultimate table, 3½%—Step rate*

Age next birthday	Class 6 \$100	Class 4 \$150	Class 3 \$250	Class 2 \$500	Class 1 \$1,000	Class 0 \$2,000	Class X \$3,000
16	\$0.05	\$0.07	\$0.11	\$0.21	\$0.42	\$0.84	\$1.26
17	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
18	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
19	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
20	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
21	.05	.07	.11	.21	.42	.84	1.26
22	.05	.07	.11	.22	.43	.86	1.29
23	.05	.07	.11	.22	.43	.86	1.29
24	.05	.07	.11	.22	.43	.86	1.29
25	.05	.07	.11	.22	.44	.88	1.32
26	.05	.07	.11	.22	.44	.88	1.32
27	.05	.07	.12	.23	.45	.90	1.35
28	.05	.07	.12	.23	.45	.90	1.35
29	.05	.07	.12	.23	.46	.92	1.38
30	.05	.08	.12	.24	.47	.94	1.41
31	.05	.08	.12	.24	.48	.96	1.44
32	.05	.08	.12	.24	.48	.96	1.44
33	.05	.08	.13	.25	.49	.98	1.47
34	.06	.08	.13	.26	.51	1.02	1.53
35	.06	.08	.13	.26	.52	1.04	1.56
36	.06	.08	.14	.27	.53	1.06	1.59
37	.06	.09	.14	.28	.55	1.10	1.65
38	.06	.09	.14	.28	.56	1.12	1.68
39	.06	.09	.15	.29	.58	1.16	1.74
40	.06	.09	.15	.30	.60	1.20	1.80
41	.07	.10	.16	.32	.63	1.26	1.89
42	.07	.10	.17	.33	.65	1.30	1.95
43	.07	.11	.17	.34	.68	1.36	2.04
44	.08	.11	.18	.36	.71	1.42	2.13
45	.08	.12	.19	.37	.74	1.48	2.22
46	.08	.12	.20	.39	.78	1.56	2.34
47	.09	.13	.21	.41	.82	1.64	2.46
48	.09	.13	.22	.43	.86	1.72	2.58
49	.10	.14	.23	.46	.91	1.82	2.73
50	.10	.15	.24	.48	.96	1.92	2.88
51	.11	.16	.26	.52	1.03	2.06	3.09
52	.12	.17	.28	.55	1.12	2.24	3.36
53	.13	.19	.31	.61	1.22	2.44	3.66
54	.14	.20	.34	.67	1.33	2.66	3.99
55	.15	.22	.36	.72	1.44	2.88	4.32
56	.16	.24	.40	.79	1.57	3.14	4.71
57	.18	.26	.43	.86	1.71	3.42	5.13
58	.19	.28	.47	.93	1.86	3.72	5.58
59	.21	.31	.51	1.02	2.03	4.06	6.09
60	.23	.34	.56	1.11	2.21	4.42	6.63
61	.25	.37	.61	1.21	2.41	4.82	7.23
62	.27	.40	.66	1.32	2.63	5.26	7.89
63	.29	.43	.72	1.43	2.86	5.72	8.58
64	.32	.47	.78	1.56	3.12	6.24	9.36
65	.34	.51	.85	1.70	3.40	6.80	10.20
66	.37	.56	.93	1.85	3.70	7.40	11.10
67	.41	.61	1.01	2.02	4.03	8.06	12.09
68	.44	.66	1.10	2.19	4.38	8.76	13.14
69	.48	.72	1.20	2.39	4.77	9.54	14.31
70	.52	.78	1.30	2.60	5.19	10.38	15.57
71	.57	.85	1.42	2.83	5.65	11.30	16.95
72	.62	.92	1.53	3.07	6.14	12.23	18.42
73	.67	1.01	1.67	3.34	6.63	13.36	20.04
74	.73	1.09	1.82	3.63	7.26	14.52	21.78
75	.79	1.19	1.98	3.95	7.89	15.78	23.67
76	.86	1.29	2.15	4.29	8.57	17.14	25.71
77	.94	1.40	2.33	4.66	9.31	18.62	27.93
78	1.01	1.52	2.53	5.05	10.10	20.20	30.30
79	1.12	1.67	2.79	5.57	11.13	22.26	33.39
80	1.24	1.86	3.09	6.17	12.34	24.68	37.02
81	1.38	2.06	3.43	6.86	13.71	27.42	41.13
82	1.53	2.29	3.81	7.62	15.23	30.46	45.69
83	1.70	2.55	4.24	8.48	16.95	33.90	50.85
84	1.89	2.84	4.73	9.45	18.89	37.78	56.67
85	2.11	3.17	5.27	10.54	21.03	42.16	63.24
86	2.36	3.54	5.89	11.78	23.56	47.12	70.68
87	2.64	3.96	6.60	13.20	26.40	52.80	79.20
88	2.97	4.45	7.41	14.81	29.61	59.22	88.83
89	3.33	5.00	8.33	16.65	33.30	66.60	99.90
90	3.76	5.64	9.38	18.76	37.52	75.04	112.56
91	4.25	6.37	10.62	21.23	42.45	84.90	127.35
92	4.81	7.22	12.02	24.04	48.08	96.16	144.24
93	5.50	8.25	13.75	27.48	54.97	109.94	164.91
94	6.27	9.40	15.67	31.33	62.66	125.32	187.98
95	7.13	10.70	17.83	35.65	71.29	142.58	213.87
96	8.05	12.07	20.11	40.22	80.43	160.86	241.29
97	8.88	13.32	22.20	44.40	88.80	177.60	266.40
98	8.88	13.32	22.20	44.40	88.80	177.60	266.40
99	8.88	13.32	22.20	44.40	88.80	177.60	266.40
100	8.88	13.32	22.20	44.40	88.80	177.60	266.40
101	8.88	13.32	22.20	44.40	88.80	177.60	266.40
102	8.88	13.32	22.20	44.40	88.80	177.60	266.40

TABLE NO. 3.—*National Fraternal Congress, 4%—Level rate*

Age next birthday	Class 6 \$100	Class 4 \$150	Class 3 \$250	Class 2 \$500	Class 1 \$1,000	Class 0 \$2,000	Class X \$3,000
16	\$0.10	\$0.14	\$0.24	\$0.47	\$0.93	\$1.86	\$2.79
17	.10	.14	.24	.47	.94	1.86	2.79
18	.10	.14	.24	.47	.93	1.86	2.79
19	.10	.14	.24	.47	.93	1.86	2.79
20	.10	.14	.24	.47	.93	1.86	2.79
21	.10	.14	.24	.47	.93	1.86	2.79
22	.10	.15	.25	.48	.96	1.92	2.88
23	.10	.15	.25	.49	.98	1.96	2.94
24	.10	.16	.26	.51	1.01	2.02	3.03
25	.11	.16	.26	.52	1.04	2.08	3.12
26	.11	.17	.27	.54	1.07	2.14	3.21
27	.11	.17	.28	.56	1.11	2.22	3.33
28	.12	.18	.29	.57	1.14	2.28	3.42
29	.12	.18	.30	.59	1.18	2.36	3.54
30	.12	.19	.31	.61	1.22	2.44	3.66
31	.13	.19	.32	.63	1.26	2.52	3.78
32	.13	.20	.33	.66	1.31	2.62	3.93
33	.13	.21	.34	.68	1.35	2.70	4.05
34	.14	.21	.35	.70	1.40	2.80	4.20
35	.15	.22	.37	.73	1.45	2.90	4.35
36	.15	.23	.38	.76	1.51	3.02	4.53
37	.16	.24	.40	.80	1.57	3.14	4.71
38	.16	.25	.41	.82	1.63	3.26	4.89
39	.17	.26	.43	.85	1.69	3.38	5.07
40	.17	.27	.44	.88	1.76	3.52	5.28
41	.18	.28	.46	.92	1.83	3.66	5.49
42	.19	.29	.48	.86	1.91	3.82	5.73
43	.20	.30	.50	1.00	1.99	3.98	5.97
44	.21	.32	.52	1.04	2.07	4.14	6.21
45	.22	.33	.55	1.09	2.17	4.34	6.51
46	.23	.35	.57	1.14	2.27		
47	.24	.36	.60	1.19	2.37		
48	.25	.38	.62	1.24	2.48		
49	.26	.39	.65	1.30	2.60		
50	.27	.41	.68	1.36	2.72		
51	.29	.44	.72	1.43			
52	.30	.45	.75	1.50			
53	.32	.48	.79	1.58			
54	.33	.50	.83	1.66			
55	.35	.53	.87	1.74			
56	.37	.56	.92	1.84			
57	.39	.59	.97	1.94			
58	.41	.62	1.02	2.04			
59	.43	.65	1.08	2.16			
60	.46	.60	1.14	2.28			

TABLE NO. 4.—*American men ultimate table, 3½%—Level rate*

Age next birthday	Class 6 \$100	Class 4 \$150	Class 3 \$250	Class 2 \$500	Class 1 \$1,000	Class 0 \$2,000	Class X \$3,000
16	\$0.08	\$0.12	\$0.21	\$0.41	\$0.81	\$1.62	\$2.43
17	.08	.12	.21	.42	.81	1.68	2.52
18	.09	.14	.22	.43	.86	1.72	2.58
19	.09	.14	.23	.45	.89	1.78	2.67
20	.09	.14	.23	.46	.91	1.82	2.73
21	.09	.14	.24	.47	.94	1.88	2.82
22	.10	.15	.25	.49	.97	1.94	2.91
23	.10	.15	.25	.50	1.00	2.00	3.00
24	.10	.15	.26	.52	1.03	2.06	3.09
25	.11	.17	.27	.53	1.06	2.12	3.18
26	.11	.17	.28	.55	1.10	2.20	3.30
27	.11	.17	.29	.57	1.13	2.26	3.39
28	.12	.18	.30	.59	1.17	2.34	3.51
29	.12	.18	.31	.51	1.21	2.42	3.63
30	.13	.20	.32	.63	1.26	2.52	3.78
31	.13	.20	.33	.65	1.30	2.60	3.90
32	.14	.21	.34	.68	1.35	2.70	4.05
33	.14	.21	.35	.70	1.40	2.80	4.20
34	.15	.23	.37	.73	1.46	2.92	4.33
35	.15	.23	.38	.76	1.51	3.02	4.53
36	.16	.24	.40	.79	1.58	3.16	4.74
37	.16	.24	.41	.82	1.64	3.23	4.92
38	.17	.26	.43	.86	1.71	3.42	5.13
39	.18	.27	.45	.89	1.78	3.56	5.34
40	.19	.29	.47	.93	1.86	3.72	5.58
41	.19	.29	.49	.97	1.94	3.88	5.82
42	.20	.30	.51	1.02	2.03	4.06	6.09
43	.21	.32	.53	1.06	2.12	4.24	6.36
44	.22	.33	.56	1.11	2.22	4.44	6.66

TABLE NO. 4.—*American men ultimate table, 3½%—Level rate—Continued*

Age next birthday	Class 6 \$100	Class 4 \$150	Class 3 \$250	Class 2 \$500	Class 1 \$1,000	Class 0 \$2,000	Class X \$3,000
45	\$0.23	\$0.35	\$0.58	\$1.16	\$2.32	\$4.64	\$6.96
46	.24	.36	.61	1.22	2.42		
47	.26	.39	.64	1.28	2.55		
48	.27	.41	.67	1.34	2.67		
49	.28	.42	.70	1.40	2.80		
50	.29	.44	.74	1.47	2.94		
51	.31	.47	.77	1.54			
52	.32	.48	.81	1.62			
53	.34	.51	.85	1.70			
54	.36	.54	.90	1.79			
55	.38	.57	.95	1.89			
56	.40	.60	.99	1.98			
57	.42	.63	1.05	2.09			
58	.44	.66	1.10	2.20			
59	.46	.69	1.16	2.32			
60	.49	.74	1.23	2.45			

Mortuary Tables Nos. 1 and 3 are to apply to members who joined the Order prior to January 1, 1938, in the State of Illinois and to members who joined in all other states prior to January 1, 1939.

Mortuary Tables Nos. 2 and 4 apply to members who joined the Order from January 1, 1938, in the State of Illinois and to members who join the Order in all other states from January 1, 1939.

SECTION 120. If the stated periodic contributions of the members are insufficient to pay claims and to provide for the maintenance of the necessary reserve, or in case the annual valuation of all membership certificates in force shall fall below the 100 per cent minimum required by law, an additional contribution shall be collected from the members to meet such deficiency.

DIVISION OF FUNDS

SECTION 121. The following funds are hereby established:

1. Mortuary Fund
2. Sick Benefit Fund
3. Expense Fund
4. Minors Trust Fund

Mortuary Fund

SECTION 122. In this fund shall be deposited all net mortuary dues and assessments, including all accretions of this fund; withdrawals from this fund shall be for payment of death benefits only.

Sick Benefit Fund

SECTION 123. In this fund shall be deposited all sick benefit dues and assessments, including all accretions of this fund; withdrawals from this fund shall be for payment of various sick benefits and disability (cripple) benefits only.

Expense Fund

SECTION 124. In this fund shall be deposited all moneys received other than required to be deposited in the special Mortuary, Sick Benefit, and Minors Trust Funds, above mentioned; and from this fund, as apportioned by the General Executive Board, shall be paid all necessary disbursements for the following purposes:

- a. Administration
- b. Organization
- c. Education
- d. Official organ.
- e. Publicity
- f. Conventions
- g. All other necessary expenses of the Order.

Minors Trust Fund

SECTION 125. In this fund shall be deposited all moneys due to minor beneficiaries. A separate account in the Minors Trust Fund shall be opened for each

minor beneficiary, in which shall be deposited moneys belonging to said beneficiary. The title of said account shall be as follows: "The International Workers Order, Inc., in trust for (name of minor beneficiary)." Moneys deposited in such individual trust account shall become payable to the beneficiary for whose benefit said account has been opened upon said beneficiary becoming of legal age, and at that time said beneficiary shall receive the principal sum and interest accumulated thereon. Moneys deposited in the Minors Trust Fund may also be paid to any duly appointed guardian of said minor.

SICK BENEFITS

SECTION 126. Any member carrying either Option B, BY, C, CY, D, DY, or E shall, when totally disabled from following any gainful occupation as a result of illness or accident, be entitled to sick benefits according to his option, which sick benefit shall be payable from the first day of examination by an attending physician.

SECTION 127. A member shall be entitled to sick benefits only after he has been a fully paid up member of the Order for three continuous months and shall not be entitled to any benefits for the first three months of membership.

SECTION 128. No member shall be entitled to receive sick benefits for a condition that arises from sickness or accident originating before he was a member of the Order or before his first month's dues were paid.

SECTION 129. Members are not entitled to any sick benefits:

- a. When disability is caused by venereal disease, its attendant ailments, complications, or consequences;
- b. When disability is caused by the habitual use of narcotics or poisonous drinks;
- c. When the member does not carry out instructions of his attending physician;
- d. When a member, though ill, follows his occupation, even though only partially;
- e. When women members are disabled because of an illness connected with pregnancy, childbirth, menstruation, or menopause disturbances, or their attendant complications or consequences.

SECTION 130. Sick benefits are payable only for seven full days of consecutive disability.

SECTION 131. Sick benefit according to option shall be paid for a period of not more than fifteen weeks to any member during any one period of twelve consecutive months, which shall commence from the first day of the member's sickness and disability.

SECTION 132. If a member's disability due to the same or connected sickness continues directly or intermittently after the member has received fifteen weeks' sick benefit, he shall be entitled to receive not more than fifteen weeks' sick benefit rated at one-half of the amount of his weekly sick benefits, in accordance with his option, payments to commence twelve months from the beginning of his disability; and if the illness continues or recurs subsequently, the member shall be entitled to receive not more than ten weeks' sick benefit at the one-half rate commencing twenty-four months from the beginning of his disability. After receiving these benefits a member during his lifetime is not entitled to any more sick benefits for the same or connected illness.

SECTION 133. Increases in sick-benefit option shall take effect only three months after the date of increase.

METHODS OF CLAIMING SICK BENEFITS

SECTION 134. A member who becomes sick and disabled shall immediately notify the financial secretary or the sick-benefit director of his lodge, who shall immediately supply him with sick-benefit claim blanks provided for that purpose by the National Office. The lodge officer shall instruct the committee of the lodge to visit the sick member at least twice a week.

SECTION 135. A separate claim must be filed for each seven days of disability.

SECTION 136. Each claim blank must be signed by the attending physician, who is required to answer each question on the blank.

SECTION 137. The claim must be countersigned by the visiting committee of the lodge.

SECTION 138. Each claim must be reported to the lodge, attested by the financial secretary and sick-benefit director of the lodge, and have the seal of the lodge affixed.

SECTION 139. Sick-benefit claims shall be forwarded to the National Office not later than thirty days from the date of the first weekly claim.

SECTION 140. When a member is treated in a hospital or similar institution he may, instead of the weekly claims signed by the attending physician, supply the lodge with a statement on the stationery of the institution covering the whole period of the disability or part of the period, and forward it together with the weekly claims, properly attested, to the National Office, not later than fifteen days after the last date covered by the claim. If the member is confined in an institution, no signatures of visiting committees are necessary.

SECTION 141. If a member is ordered by his attending physician to an out-of-town resort on account of sickness and resulting disability, he must, in order to secure sick benefit, furnish the attending physician's statement to that effect and also secure a notarized statement of the management of the place where he is staying indicating his date of arrival and departure, and this statement must be sent to the National Office with the regular weekly claim submitted by the lodge.

SECTION 142. If a member becomes disabled while away from his city of residence, and his lodge cannot take care of his claim, he shall immediately notify the National Office, which shall instruct a lodge, if there be one in the locality where the member finds himself, to take care of his claim in the same manner as if it were a claim of one of its own members. If there is no lodge in that locality, the National Office shall forward to the member the necessary claim blanks, which shall be filled out by the attending physician, who shall acknowledge his statements before a notary public.

SECTION 143. If a member at large becomes disabled, he shall act in the same manner as provided in the Section 142.

SECTION 144. In all cases where claims are not properly filled out or where the nature of the statement is such that additional information is necessary, the National Office may require, and the claimant member of the lodge shall assist, in procuring such additional information. No claim shall be paid until satisfactory answers to the inquiries of the National Office are received and all necessary requirements are fully complied with.

SECTION 145. Whenever a signature of a physician is required by this Constitution and By-Laws, then only signatures of persons licensed by their states to practise internal medicine shall be accepted.

PAYMENT OF SICK BENEFIT CLAIMS

SECTION 146. All sick benefit claims approved by the National Office shall be paid by checks drawn to the order of the claimant member and shall be sent to the secretary of his lodge; members at large shall be paid by checks mailed directly to the claimant member.

SECTION 147. The financial secretary of the lodge shall, at the time of delivery of the check due to the member, demand any amount which the member owes for dues and assessments, and shall withhold delivery of the check if payment by the member is not forthcoming.

SECTION 148. A lodge has no right to deposit a member's sick benefit check in its treasury without the member's endorsement.

SECTION 149. In cases of members at large the National Office may deduct from the sick benefit claim any amount which the member owes for dues or assessments.

SECTION 150. Sick benefits due to members mentally incapacitated or diseased shall be paid to their beneficiaries in accordance with member's direction on his application.

CONSUMPTION BENEFITS

SECTION 151. All members of the Order, except those in Option AM who become afflicted with consumption (pulmonary tuberculosis), shall be entitled to consumption benefits. The presence of pulmonary tuberculosis must be established by the member at his own expense, based upon the findings of a specialist or an institution acceptable to the General Medical Examiner. Wherever the word "consumption" is used in this Constitution and By-Laws it shall mean pulmonary tuberculosis (tuberculosis of the lungs) only.

SECTION 152. All members except those in Option AM or AY who are disabled by consumption shall be entitled to consumption benefits of twenty dollars per week for a total of thirty weeks; members in Option AY shall be entitled to a total of ten dollars per week for a total of thirty weeks.

SECTION 153. A member is entitled to receive the full amount of consumption benefit only once during his lifetime.

SECTION 154. Members are not entitled to any other sick benefits while receiving consumption benefits; such members are not entitled at any time to receive sick benefits for a condition connected with consumption and if they have received any sick benefits for such disability previous to the approval of the consumption benefit, the amount so paid shall be deducted from the consumption benefit.

SECTION 155. No member is entitled to consumption benefit or sick benefit for disability arising from consumption if he has contracted tuberculosis prior to the time he became a member, or before the expiration of six months of his membership.

SECTION 156. Claims for consumption benefit shall be filed on special blanks provided for that purpose, and upon presentation shall be payable for not more than five weeks in advance.

SECTION 157. Should the death of a member occur before the expiration of the time for which consumption benefits were paid, then the overpayment shall be deducted from the mortuary benefit.

SECTION 158. Consumption benefits can be claimed only over the signature of the claimant, and no consumption benefit shall be paid for periods not claimed by the member while alive.

DISABILITY (CRIPPLE) BENEFITS

SECTION 159. Every member of the Order, excluding those carrying Option AM, shall be entitled, in addition to his sick benefits, to disability (cripple) benefits, provided if, as a result of accident occurring after three months of fully paid up membership, he suffers a permanent loss, as set forth in the following schedule:

\$25: Loss of half, or whole finger, or mortification of a finger, except the thumb; loss of first joints of any two fingers, except thumb.

\$50: Loss of half or whole thumb, or its mortification.

\$200: Loss or mortification of any hand or arm; loss or mortification of any foot or leg; loss of sight of an eye.

\$400: Loss of two limbs, or both eyes.

SECTION 160. The term "loss," "mortification," or "loss of sight," as used in the foregoing section, means a 75 percent or more permanent total disability of the injured organ.

SECTION 161. The total amount of disability (cripple) benefits payable to any one member during his lifetime shall not exceed four hundred dollars, irrespective of the number or extent of his injuries or disability.

SECTION 162. Claims for disability (cripple) benefits must be filed on special blanks provided for that purpose. Such claims must be signed by a physician, acknowledged before a notary public, and approved by the lodge.

MEMBERS ABROAD

SECTION 163. Members are not entitled to receive sick benefits, disability (cripple) benefits, or consumption benefits for any period during which they are outside the United States or Canada.

PAYMENT OF DEATH BENEFITS

SECTION 164. In the event of the death of a member the beneficiary shall immediately advise the financial secretary of the lodge thereof, and the lodge secretary in turn shall immediately inform the General Executive Board.

SECTION 165. Death benefit claims shall be payable within ninety days after receipt of all necessary documents and proof of death required by this Constitution and By-Laws.

Proof of Death

SECTION 166. The secretary of the lodge or the lawful beneficiary shall supply the General Executive Board with a photostat or certified copy of the death certificate and the original membership certificate of the deceased, as well as all other information or documents which the General Executive Board may require or demand.

Minor Beneficiary

SECTION 167. If the beneficiary is a minor, then the amount due to such beneficiary shall be deposited in the Minors Trust Fund, as provided in Section 125.

Funeral Expenses

SECTION 168. If no amount has been set aside by the deceased members for funeral expenses, then there may be deducted from the death benefit payment, without the consent of the beneficiary, an amount not exceeding one hundred dollars to apply towards the cost of the funeral expenses of the deceased member.

Misstatement of Age

SECTION 169. If it shall be found at any time before the final settlement of the death benefit that the age of the member has been misstated, and the discrepancy and the assessment payments involved have not been adjusted, then the amount payable to the beneficiaries shall be such as the assessment would have purchased at the correct age, provided that if the correct age was not an insurable age under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Order, then only the net mortuary payments shall be returned; and provided further that if the age has been overstated, no additional amount of insurance or value shall be granted for any excess assessment paid but such excess mortuary assessments paid shall be returned to the beneficiary without interest.

Suicide

SECTION 170. Regardless of the amount of insurance carried, the only amount payable to the beneficiary of any member, sane or insane, who, within two years of commencement of membership, commits suicide, shall be a sum equal to the net mortuary payments previously paid by the deceased member, with interest thereon at the rate of four percent per annum.

Lapse of Beneficiary

SECTION 171. In the event that the original designation of beneficiary becomes illegal or the beneficiary has died before the member and no other designation has been made, then the death benefit shall be payable to the following relatives or next of kin surviving, in the following order: husband or wife, children and legally adopted children, father and mother, brother and sister; if there is no such next of kin surviving, then to the person legally dependent upon the member; and if there be no next of kin as above mentioned or such person legally dependent upon the member surviving, then to the lodge of which the deceased was a member, providing that the lodge actually rendered material services to the member, and provided further that such payment is permitted by law.

SECTION 172. If there are no persons surviving the deceased member who come under the categories set forth under the laws of the State of New York who may be designated as beneficiaries in a membership certificate issued by the Order, or in the event that any legal or other necessary documents or instruments required by the General Executive Board are not supplied within one year of the death of the member, then the death benefit shall revert into the Mortuary Fund of the Order.

SUSPENSION OF MEMBERS

SECTION 173. A member stands automatically suspended if he owes for dues or assessments an amount equal to three times his monthly dues.

SECTION 174. A member may also be suspended for any of the following reasons:

- a. If he fails to submit to any resolution or decision of his lodge made in accordance with this Constitution and By-Laws;
- b. If he neglects within thirty days from the date of his transfer to surrender his transfer card to the lodge to which he has been transferred.

SECTION 175. A suspended member is not entitled to any benefits for the period of his suspension, nor shall any insurance be paid for the death of a suspended member who dies during the period of his suspension.

Lifting of Suspension

SECTION 176. A member who has been suspended for nonpayment of dues, or whose resignation has been accepted by the National Office, may be reinstated within two months after his suspension or resignation provided he pays up all his arrears. He shall be considered reinstated from the date his arrears are re-

ceived by the financial secretary of his lodge, and only from that date on shall he be entitled to the benefits of his membership in the Order.

TERMINATION OF MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 177. A member who has not been reinstated after expiration of two months from the date of his suspension shall be considered automatically dropped from the membership rolls and all his rights in the Order terminated.

Reinstatement

SECTION 178. One whose membership has been terminated for nonpayment of dues may thereafter be reinstated at any time within three years after date of termination of membership on payment of all arrears and dues accruing prior to date of reinstatement, provided he is in good health; his readmittance is subject to the approval of the General Executive Board, which may require that he submit to and pass satisfactorily a medical examination. Should the medical examination prove unsatisfactory to the General Medical Examiner, the application for reinstatement shall be deemed rejected, and any reinstatement dues paid shall be returned. Such applicant for reinstatement shall not be entitled to any benefits or insurance.

SECTION 179. If the application for reinstatement is approved by the General Executive Board, a member shall only be entitled to benefits accruing from the date of the payment of his arrears to the financial secretary of the lodge. Should it at any time thereafter be proved that the member was sick or disabled during his period of suspension or membership termination, then he shall not be entitled to any benefits for such sickness or disability, and the General Executive Board may, on that ground, cancel his reinstatement. Should death occur as a consequence of a condition which originated during the period of his suspension or membership termination, then no insurance shall be paid on his death.

Readmittance

SECTION 180. A member whose membership has been terminated for nonpayment of dues may at any time be again proposed for membership in the Order, and such application shall be subject to the general regulations applying to new applicants.

TRANSFER CARDS

SECTION 181. A member desiring transfer into another lodge shall apply for and receive a transfer card from the secretary of his lodge, provided the member has paid his dues in full, including the month in which the transfer card is issued.

SECTION 182. The issuance of a transfer card by any lodge shall be reported immediately to the National Office.

SECTION 183. A member receiving a transfer card shall, within thirty days after receipt of same, deliver it to the secretary of the lodge to which he is being transferred, or to the National Office if the transfer is to make him a member at large.

SECTION 184. The secretary of the lodge receiving the transfer shall report same to the National Office within ten days after receipt.

SECTION 185. The General Executive Board has full power and right to transfer any member to the class of a member at large, or from a member at large to a lodge, whenever in its judgment, such procedure is deemed advisable.

SECTION 186. If a lodge refuses to issue a transfer card on the application of a member or refuses to accept a transfer thereto of any member, such member may appeal to the General Executive Board, whose decisions in such cases shall be final and not subject to further appeal.

SECTION 187. The General Executive Board shall not compel a lodge to receive a member by transfer when the member is drawing disability benefit, is under the care of a physician, or is suffering from a chronic disease or ailment.

SECTION 188. Upon request of the member the lodge, within thirty days, may recall any transfer issued and reinstate the member in the lodge. In such case the financial secretary of the lodge shall report the recall of the transfer to the National Office.

TRAVELING CARDS

SECTION 189. When a member leaves the United States for a foreign country, Canada excepted, for a period of three months or more, he shall take out a

traveling card which is valid for six months, and which is renewable for three additional periods at six months each or a total of two years; if after the expiration of the two-year period the member does not return, his membership in the Order terminates automatically.

SECTION 190. A member taking out a traveling card shall pay his dues in advance for a period of six months. With every renewal of his traveling card he shall forward to the National Office an amount equal to six months dues.

SECTION 191. Members with traveling cards are not entitled to sick benefits and are not required to pay dues for same.

SECTION 192. After their return, payments for sick benefits shall be resumed and such members shall be entitled to sick benefit only after the expiration of three months from the date that sick benefit payments have been resumed; provided that they have paid three monthly assessments into the Sick Benefit Fund.

CHARGES

SECTION 193. Charges against members of the Order shall be submitted in writing to the financial secretary of the lodge to which the accused member belongs.

SECTION 194. Copies of the charges shall be sent to the accused member by registered mail by the financial secretary of the lodge receiving the same, and the accused member and such witnesses as he desires to bring in his defense shall be given an opportunity to be heard.

SECTION 195. Charges against members of the General Executive Board shall be sent to the General Secretary, who shall refer them to the Appeals Committee of the General Executive Board for hearing and decision, subject to the approval of the General Executive Board.

SECTION 196. The General Executive Board or any lodge before whom charges are pending shall afford a fair opportunity to both sides to any controversy to be heard, shall call such witnesses as they may deem necessary, and shall advise the accuser and the accused of its decision in writing.

EXPULSIONS

SECTION 197. A member found guilty of having committed any of the following offenses may be expelled:

- a. Making false statements in his application for membership or to the examining physician during his medical examination;
- b. Obtaining or converting unlawfully money or other property belonging to the Order or to any lodge or any committee thereof;
- c. Deriving or attempting to derive unlawfully any benefit from the Order or from any lodge;
- d. Making complaint to any state or government official except the Commissioner of Insurance, or for instituting legal proceedings against the Order or any of its lodges or subordinate bodies without first having exhausted all remedies provided by this Constitution and By-Laws and by the procedures and customs of the Order;
- e. Acting contrary to the Constitution, By Laws, principles or interests of the Order or any of its lodges;
- f. Refusing or failing to pay to the lodge or to the National Office any special assessments or any local fines that may be levied against him;
- g. Becoming a strikebreaker or a member of any police or detective force, public or private.

APPEALS

SECTION 198. Appeals from decisions of a lodge may be taken to the General Executive Board, whose decision shall be final except in cases where the decision directs expulsion of a member from the Order. In such event the accused may appeal to the National Convention, and from the decision of the latter to a general referendum of the Order, which last decision shall be final and binding. The expenses of an appeal through a general referendum shall be borne and paid for in advance by the aggrieved member.

SECTION 199. The notice of appeal from a decision from a lower to a higher body must be filed within thirty days with the body to whom the appeal is addressed.

SECTION 200. A member who appeals to the General Executive Board from a decision of expulsion shall nevertheless retain his membership in the Order until his appeal has been decided by the General Executive Board; if the

latter affirms the decision of expulsion, he shall thereafter remain expelled unless the National Convention or a referendum reinstates him.

RESIGNATIONS

SECTION 201. Resignations from the Order shall be submitted to the General Executive Board, which has sole discretion and authority to accept or reject the same.

REFERENDUM

SECTION 202. Any proposal shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the Order provided:

- a. The majority of the present voting delegates at any National Convention, regular or special, decides so to do;
- b. The General Executive Board so decides;
- c. Twenty lodges from five different states make such demand in writing.

SECTION 203. Referendum voting shall be on ballots provided for that purpose by the General Executive Board and shall be forwarded to every lodge not later than thirty days before the date set for voting.

SECTION 204. Referendum voting shall take place at special meetings called by the lodge for that purpose.

SECTION 205. Sixty days shall be allowed for voting on a referendum.

SECTION 206. Lodges that have been in existence less than three months prior to the date of a referendum call shall not be entitled to vote in that referendum.

SECTION 207. A particular proposal may be submitted to a referendum vote only once in any twelve-month period.

SECTION 208. All referendum votes shall be counted by the General Executive Board, which shall inform the lodges of the results.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

SECTION 209. This Constitution and By-Laws may be amended as follows:

- a. By decision of a majority of the present voting delegates at a Convention, regular or special;
- b. By a referendum vote when so decided upon by the National Convention, regular or special, by the General Executive Board, or when requested in writing by twenty lodges from five different states.
- c. By the General Executive Board whenever any provisions of this Constitution and By-Laws conflict with any law of any state of the United States, or of the United States or any country in which the Order may be transacting business, including the right to amend and change the rates of premiums so as to conform with any such law.

SECTION 210. Notice of all amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws passed by the General Executive Board in accordance with the provisions of Section 209 shall be published in the official organ of the Order, and from and after the date of such publication, such amendments shall be deemed in full force and effect and shall be binding on every member of the Order, and upon all those deriving any legal rights from any such member; amendments passed by the General Executive Board shall remain in full force and effect until amended or repealed by a National Convention.

SCOPE OF CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

SECTION 211. This Constitution and By-Laws shall be binding on all members and bodies of the International Workers Order.

SECTION 212. References in this Constitution and By-Laws to members in the masculine gender shall apply equally to female members.

SECTION 213. No subordinate body, officer or member of the Order shall have the right to waive or change any provision of this Constitution and By-Laws.

JUNIOR SECTION

SECTION 214. Children under the age of fifteen years next birthday are eligible for insurance in the Junior Section of the Order.

SECTION 215. The Junior Section shall operate through Junior lodges to train the Junior members in keeping with the spirit, principles, and customs of the Order. It shall conduct activities of a recreational and educational character, publish literature, conduct schools and classes, sponsor and encourage all activities which advance the ideals of the Order.

Membership

SECTION 216. Any child below the age of fifteen years next birthday may become a member of the Junior Section upon written application by a parent or guardian of the child; the signature of the parent or guardian shall be witnessed by an adult member of the Order, who shall sign his name in the space provided for that purpose.

SECTION 217. All applicants shall be examined or approved, and their applications signed by a physician.

Initiation Fee

SECTION 218. An initiation fee of twenty-five cents shall be paid, together with the application, this fee to be deposited in the Expense Fund of the Junior Section.

Dues and Benefits

SECTION 219. The following two classes of life-insurance benefits are hereby established in such states where the law so permits and the monthly payments required are as follows: Class 1, twenty-five cents, and Class 2, fifteen cents monthly.

The insurance in force for these two classes follows:

Up to the Age (Next Birthday) (years)	Class 1 Amount of Insur- ance	Class 2 Amount of Insur- ance	Up to the Age (Next Birthday) (years)	Class 1 Amount of Insur- ance	Class 2 Amount of Insur- ance
2.....	\$40.00	\$20.00	7.....	\$290.00	\$145.00
3.....	70.00	35.00	8.....	350.00	175.00
4.....	130.00	65.00	9.....	420.00	210.00
5.....	180.00	90.00	10-16.....	500.00	250.00
6.....	230.00	115.00			

SECTION 220. The contribution to the Children's Mortuary Fund shall be fourteen cents per month per child in Class 1, and seven cents per month per child in Class 2. The balance shall be deposited in the Expense Fund of the Junior Section of the Order.

SECTION 221. All Junior members who joined before July 1, 1938, shall retain their previous insurance benefits (maximum of \$350); those nine years old and over shall pay fifteen cents per month; those under nine years shall pay twelve cents per month. Of these monthly payments seven cents per child per month shall go into the Children's Mortuary Fund; changes to and from Class 1 or Class 2 may be made upon application by a parent or guardian.

Children's Mortuary Fund

SECTION 222. There shall be established a Children's Mortuary Fund, which shall be maintained and accounted for separately from all other funds of the Order. In this fund shall be deposited all the mortuary dues and assessments as well as all accretions of this fund. The Children's Mortuary Fund shall be calculated on the basis of the Standard Industrial Mortality Table, plus $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest; should this fund fall below the legally required 100 per cent, the General Executive Board shall have the right to levy an assessment or increase the payments for the children's insurance.

Payment of Insurance Benefits

SECTION 223. Insurance benefits shall be payable upon proper proof of death of the member, provided at least three monthly assessments have previously been paid. The insurance shall go into effect only three months after the date the membership certificate is issued by the General Executive Board.

Suspension and Membership Termination

SECTION 224. Dues shall be paid monthly. A member three months in arrears is automatically suspended; if five months in arrears, he is automatically dropped from the membership rolls. He can thereafter be reinstated by the General Executive Board, subject to the regulations governing reinstatement of adults, as set forth in Sections 176, 178, and 179.

Junior Magazine

SECTION 225. Each Junior member nine years of age or over shall receive monthly a copy of such Junior magazine as may be designated by the General Executive Board.

Junior Graduation

SECTION 226. Upon reaching the age of sixteen years a Junior member shall be graduated into the adult section; no initiation fee shall be charged. If insurance higher than was previously carried or if additional benefits are desired, then a physician's examination is required, and the higher insurance or additional benefits shall be granted only if the examination is satisfactory to and approved by the General Medical Examiner. The National Office shall pay up to one dollar for such examination.

Junior Lodges

SECTION 227. A Junior lodge having at least fifteen members may, upon application by the adult lodge, be chartered by the General Executive Board to carry on Junior activities. The parent lodge shall be responsible for the proper functioning of the Junior lodge.

SECTION 228. A Junior lodge shall be known by the number of the parent lodge, with the letter "J" added.

Junior Leadership

SECTION 229. Each adult lodge shall elect a Junior Director and a Junior Committee. The Junior Director shall function as the financial secretary of the Junior lodge. Together with the Junior Committee he shall be in charge of the work of the Junior lodge.

SECTION 230. The parent lodge may designate other Junior officials, such as leader, assistant leader, instructor. The name, address, and office of all Junior officials shall be registered with the National Office.

SECTION 231. Each District Committee shall appoint a District Junior Director and a committee to supervise and advance the work of the Junior Section in its jurisdiction.

SECTION 232. The General Executive Board shall supervise the work of the National Junior Director and shall appoint a National Junior Committee to conduct and supervise the work of the Junior Section.

National Conference

SECTION 233. At the same time and place of each regular Convention of the Order a National Conference on Junior Work shall be convened. The basis of representation to this conference shall be decided upon by the General Executive Board.

Limitation of Junior Section

SECTION 234. All provisions of the Constitution and By-Laws of the International Workers Order, Inc., are binding upon the members, lodges, and other bodies of the Junior Section, except as modified by the foregoing special provisions referring to the Junior Section.

**TESTIMONY OF MISS ANNA DAMON, NATIONAL SECRETARY,
INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE, ACCOMPANIED BY HER
ATTORNEY, ABRAHAM J. ISSERMAN**

Raise your right hand, Miss Damon. You solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

MISS DAMON. I do.

MR. ISSERMAN. I would like to appear as counsel for the witness, with the permission of the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is all right. I want to get the name. What is your name, now; will you spell it?

MISS DAMON. Miss Anna Damon, secretary of the International Labor Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is your name?

Mr. ISSERMAN. My name is Isserman. I am appearing as counsel for the witness—Abraham J. Isserman, of Newark.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an attorney at law?

Mr. ISSERMAN. Yes, sir; a member of the bar of the State of New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. You appear at the request of the witness?

Mr. ISSERMAN. Oh, yes; of course.

The CHAIRMAN. And the request of the organization she represents?

Mr. ISSERMAN. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, have you gone under or been known by any other name than Anna Damon?

Miss DAMON. I beg your pardon?

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever used or been known by any name other than Damon?

Miss DAMON. I have been known under the name of Mrs. Anna E. David, also.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Which is your correct name?

Miss DAMON. That is my married name.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your married name—Mrs. Anna E. David is your married name?

Miss DAMON. I am in the—my work is as Anna Damon and I am known as Anna Damon; my married name is Mrs. Anna E. David. I must say this: That my hearing is very bad and I am very sorry to inconvenience you gentlemen, but it is going to be equally as difficult for me; and unless we speak very loud and very distinct, it will be impossible for me to hear.

The CHAIRMAN. We will speak loud and distinct, and you do the same thing so that we can hear you.

Miss DAMON. What?

The CHAIRMAN. I say, you speak loudly and distinctly.

Miss DAMON. All right; thank you.

Mr. WHITLEY. What name were you born under, Miss Damon?

The CHAIRMAN. He asked you what is the name you were born under?

Miss DAMON. My name was Anna Cohen.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name was Cohen?

Miss DAMON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is your present address, Miss Damon—your present address?

Miss DAMON. My present address, my residence?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Miss DAMON. 200 East Sixteenth Street, the residence; the address of the organization is 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, that latter is your business address?

Miss DAMON. That is my business address.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, Miss Damon?

Miss DAMON. 1898, in Latvia.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1898, in Latvia?

Miss DAMON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you come to this country? When did you come to the United States?

Miss DAMON. 1906.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was your port of entry?

Miss DAMON. Boston, Mass.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you married or single?

Miss DAMON. Right now?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Miss DAMON. I would rather not answer any of those questions. I do not think that they are in scope with the resolution here, and the investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. What question do you object to, Miss Damon?

Mr. WHITLEY. I asked her if she was married, Mr. Chairman.

Miss DAMON. I am here to testify as the secretary—

The CHAIRMAN. I say what question is it you object to answering?

Miss DAMON. The question whether I am married or single.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is that material to anything?

Mr. WHITLEY. Not at all. It has merely been customary by way of identifying the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. If you do not care to answer it—

Miss DAMON. I do not care to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not interested in any family affairs.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is just merely routine.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; go ahead. Let us proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Miss DAMON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where were you naturalized?

Miss DAMON. I became a naturalized citizen through my father.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what occupations have you followed in the United States since you came to the United States?

Miss DAMON. What occupation—my father?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; you.

Miss DAMON. My occupation?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Miss DAMON. I am secretary of the International Labor Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other occupations have you followed?

The CHAIRMAN. He wants to know what occupations you have followed since coming to the United States. Just give us your occupations.

Miss DAMON. I am here as secretary of the International Labor Defense and, as such, I will answer questions. I don't see what that has anything to do with the investigation here.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if it is connected, if it pertains to any Communist activities of yours, it does. We are not interested in any activities outside of the Communist Party.

Miss DAMON. Well, I don't call—you would not classify that as an occupation, would you? He is asking me my occupation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever worked for the party, that is, at any occupation with the party? Have you worked and received pay?

Miss DAMON. No; I have no such occupation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had?

Miss DAMON. I have worked for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you been a member of the Communist Party, Miss Damon?

Miss DAMON. How long have I been a member?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

Miss DAMON. I am a charter member.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are a charter member?

Miss DAMON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what official positions have you held with the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. I have been the head of the women's work, or work among women, for the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when did you join the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. I joined the party at its very inception. I am a charter member.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first hold office or do any work for the party? I am trying to get the years.

Miss DAMON. I cannot exactly say, but I have been quite active for many years. In 1929, I have been in the employment of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Since 1929?

Miss DAMON. From 1929 to 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. You were employed by the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, prior to 1929, did you do any work for the Communist Party in organizing?

Miss DAMON. Not exactly organizing, but I did work for the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to 1929; but you were not paid for it; is that correct?

Miss DAMON. No; that is not so.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just trying to get it correct.

Miss DAMON. Well, we have plenty of time. I began to work for the Communist Party in 1929, at the very end of 1929, and remained working with the Communist Party until 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do prior to 1929 in connection with the party—in connection with any work of the party, whether you were paid or not?

Miss DAMON. Prior to that, you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss DAMON. General activities, such as—I cannot say now what; such as participating in meetings, and whatever—

The CHAIRMAN. But were you in charge of any committees, chairman of any committee?

Miss DAMON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or did you act in any official capacity prior to 1929?

Miss DAMON. In a smaller capacity, I did, in Chicago.

Mr. STARNES. What was that, what work did you do, Miss Damon?

Miss DAMON. Just work in a committee, as a member of a committee.

Mr. STARNES. What kind of a committee and what kind of work?

Miss DAMON. Well, it is just work, for example, like organizing a meeting, or something like that; mostly work among women.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with what work? You say work among women; you mean organizing women and getting them into the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that?

MISS DAMON. Work among women in editing a paper, writing articles on women, explaining the position of women to the general movement, and so forth.

MR. WHITLEY. Now, have you occupied any position in the Communist Party other than being in charge of its women's work? Have you occupied any other official position in the Communist Party?

MISS DAMON. I have not.

MR. WHITLEY. Were you ever a candidate for the central committee of the Communist Party?

MISS DAMON. I was a candidate to the central committee, as I have explained in our last interview I have had with you.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, a candidate to the central or national committee is the same thing as an alternate member; is that correct? In other words, explain what a candidate to the national committee is, Miss Damon.

MISS DAMON. As far as I know, it has no voting power, and it is not the same qualification or the same position as that of a regular member of the central or national committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. It is an alternate, is it not?

MISS DAMON. Because of the nature of the work, you are called in for meetings and as such are classified as a candidate to the central committee. That is the best of my ability in explaining it.

MR. WHITLEY. How long were you a candidate for the Central Committee?

MISS DAMON. From 1929-1930 to 1933.

MR. WHITLEY. About 4 years?

MISS DAMON. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Have you held any other official position in the Communist Party?

MISS DAMON. No.

MR. WHITLEY. Other than those you have named?

MISS DAMON. No.

MR. WHITLEY. And your present occupation is that you are secretary of the International Labor Defense?

MISS DAMON. That is right.

MR. WHITLEY. And you have been secretary since 1933?

MISS DAMON. I have been secretary of the International Labor Defense since 1934.

MR. WHITLEY. Since 1934. Did you have any connection with the International Labor Defense prior to 1934?

MISS DAMON. I did not.

MR. WHITLEY. Official or otherwise?

MISS DAMON. I did not.

MR. WHITLEY. And what is your present salary as secretary of the International Labor Defense?

MISS DAMON. \$27.50 a week.

THE CHAIRMAN. I wonder if she could tell us how she happened to become secretary. (To the witness:) You said that prior to the time you were made secretary of the International Labor Defense you had no connection with it at all; is that correct?

MISS DAMON. With the International Labor Defense, I did not.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have never had any connection with it?

MISS DAMON. Not connection. That does not mean that I did not make a contribution now and then.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I am not speaking about that.

Miss DAMON. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. What I want to know is, how did you happen to be selected as secretary? Who asked you to be secretary? How did it happen?

Miss DAMON. The committee, the governing body of the International Labor Defense elected me to work, not as national secretary, but as organizational secretary, and it was during the 3 years, from 1934 to June 1937, I worked in the capacity of organization secretary and as acting secretary, and was chosen as national secretary of the International Labor Defense here in Washington at a conference that was held here on June 22, I believe, 1937. That is how I became secretary of the International Labor Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, going back just a little, did you apply to the committee for the position in the beginning?

Miss DAMON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You, along with others, applied for the job; is that right?

Miss DAMON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. There were other applicants besides you?

Miss DAMON. What do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. I say, was there a vacancy in the beginning?

Miss DAMON. There was a vacancy of organization secretary when I stepped in. When the secretary took ill, I became acting secretary. When there were new elections, I was elected regular secretary. Is that clear?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Who was on the board or the committee that selected you?

Miss DAMON. I can't say right now who the members of the committee were at the time. They had quite a committee, but that can be easily ascertained.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you ascertain that for us and put it in the record?

Miss DAMON. I will try.

I should like to state this for the information of the committee: I should like to give you copies of the proceedings of the International Labor Defense, of this recent conference that was held here in Washington, D. C., which, in my opinion, gentlemen, will answer many of your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; hand it to the committee.

Miss DAMON. Because that gives you the officers of the national committee and the constitution. And I should also like to give you, for your information, this record of 1936 and 1937, in Equal Justice, where our cases are listed, and where our officers, such as they were, are also listed.

I should also like to give you a copy of our present organ, Equal Justice, where you will see that Congressman Sabath spoke at one of our conferences of the I. L. D., and will give you some information that you may like to have.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; we will be glad to receive it.

(The documents referred to were submitted to the committee.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, when was the I. L. D. founded?

Miss DAMON. I don't know the exact date, but I think it was in June 1925.

Mr. WHITLEY. And where was it founded?

Miss DAMON. Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. And by whom was it founded?

Miss DAMON. Mr. Whitley, on June 9 I had sent you a letter giving you that information, because at the time you asked me at the hearing I did not have it available, and I told you I would send it to you. If you will refer to your records, you will find the list of those people as I found them in our records.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you want to incorporate this list that you sent me in the record as the list of the first officers? That is the information you sent me.

Miss DAMON. Doesn't it say "the founders"?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; it says "the first officers."

Miss DAMON. Let me see that; will you please?

(The paper referred to was handed to the witness.)

Miss DAMON. Well, I take it that the officers might have been the founders; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you, for the sake of the record, read the names of the officers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The first officers of the I. L. D. were, in 1925, Andrew T. McNamara, chairman; Edward C. Wentworth, vice chairman; James P. Cannon, executive secretary. Mr. Cannon was the first executive secretary of the I. L. D. Was Mr. James P. Cannon, the first executive secretary of the I. L. D., a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the position you occupy at the present time, of course. Now, the national committee—there are quite a few of them. Would you like all of them read, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The first national committee were: Upton Sinclair, Eugene V. Debs, Clarence Darrow, William Z. Foster, Robert W. Dunn, A. T. McNamara, Fred Merrick, Edward C. Wentworth, Bishop William M. Brown, Rose Karsner, Harrison George, William F. Dime, George Maurer, Alice Stone Blackwell, Helen Hayes, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Robert Minor, Rose Barron, William Mollenhauer, Henry Corbishley, Mandell Schuchter, Dan Stevens, Benjamin Gitlow, Robert Whitaker, Cora Meyers, David Rhys Williams, Fred Mann, John Edenstrom, Lovett Fort Whitman, Jacob Dolla, J. P. Cannon, E. R. Meitzen, J. O. Bentall, Ralph Chaplin, and Max Bedacht.

The CHAIRMAN. They, then, were probably the founders of the organization; is that right? So far as you know, they were probably the founders of it?

Miss DAMON. I imagine so; that they had some connection with it; since they were the ones who were the original members of the committee, it seems so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, a moment ago I asked you if the first executive secretary of the International Labor Defense, Mr. James P. Cannon, was a member of the Communist Party.

Miss DAMON. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated you did not know. I thought maybe you misunderstood the question. As a matter of fact, didn't you know that Mr. Cannon was the secretary of the Communist Party in this country for a number of years?

Miss DAMON. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean chairman, not secretary. I mean chairman.

Miss DAMON. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. The same position that Mr. Foster occupies at the present time.

Miss DAMON. Are you asking my personal opinion?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; I am asking for your information as a charter member—

Miss DAMON (interposing). I don't see, gentlemen, how—

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me finish my question. I am asking you a question which you can answer or otherwise, as a member of the Communist Party.

Miss DAMON. What is your question, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. I asked you if the first executive secretary of the I. L. D. was a member of the Communist Party—Mr. James P. Cannon. You said you did not know. Do you mean to say that you did not know Mr. Cannon was chairman of the Communist Party in the United States—the national chairman?

Miss DAMON. I don't know why you ask me that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member, were you not? You were active, as you said, in the party. Wouldn't you know who the chairman of the party was?

Miss DAMON. He was—I believe he was. I am not sure. I don't know. How long was he chairman of the party? Was he the first chairman of the party? Do you want to ascertain from me whether he was or not?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; I asked you the simple question, Was he a member of the Communist Party? You said you did not know. Do you want that answer to stand, Miss Damon—that you do not know whether Mr. James Cannon was a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. James P. Cannon was an official of the Communist Party when it was first organized.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; and he was the first executive secretary of the I. L. D. That is the point I want to make.

Miss DAMON. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was expelled from the Communist Party in 1928. Now, who were some of the other executive secretaries of the I. L. D. prior to your assuming that office, Miss Damon? Who were your predecessors in office in addition to Mr. James Cannon?

The CHAIRMAN. He wants to know who were the secretaries before you were secretary.

Miss DAMON. The one when I came in was William L. Patterson.

Mr. WHITLEY. You replaced him. Was Mr. Patterson a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. I do not know whether he was a member of the Communist Party or not, but his record can easily be looked up.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; I just asked you if you knew him as a member yourself.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did work with him in the Communist Party, you said; you never worked with Mr. Patterson?

Miss DAMON. Just a minute. I did not say that. I came in as the organization secretary of the International Labor Defense at the time when Mr. William L. Patterson was secretary of the International Labor Defense. Mr. Patterson took sick, and later on I became act-

ing secretary of the International Labor Defense. I though I had stated that.

The CHAIRMAN. He asked you if Mr. Patterson was a member of the Communist Party.

Miss DAMON. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you don't know. Now, what I am asking you is this: While you were active in the Communist Party, did you ever work with Mr. Patterson in the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. Not work with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever sit with him in any Communist meetings?

Miss DAMON. No; I have not. I have seen him, but I can't say now where or when.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen him, but you cannot say whether you ever saw him at a Communist meeting?

Miss DAMON. I am sorry, gentlemen, but I will have to ask you to please confine me to the business I am here for. I am here as the secretary of the International Labor Defense. I came here at my own expense and as a voluntary witness.

The CHAIRMAN. All we are asking you—

Miss DAMON (interposing). I am perfectly willing to cooperate with your committee, to facilitate the work of the committee, but please don't ask me questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how are we going to find out anything if we do not ask you questions? What we are trying to do is to find out who the secretaries of the International Labor Defense were. Now, certainly that is pertinent.

Miss DAMON. Is it not better—I don't know. Haven't these people got a record?

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, if this witness cannot give the answer voluntarily, I suggest that she be placed under subpoena, and then she can answer the questions that the committee asks her. The difficulty can be obviated very easily by issuing a subpoena.

Mr. ISSERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I do not think this is any question of a subpoena. I think it is a matter of the witness not understanding the question, and she makes the point that information which does not come within the scope of her work might better be ascertained elsewhere. She said she did not know about Mr. Patterson.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was J. Louis Engdahl at one time an executive secretary of the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mr. Engdahl a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. He was known as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he die in Moscow?

Miss DAMON. That is right, as far as I know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Juliet Stuart Poyntz at one time an executive secretary of the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. I don't know whether she was executive secretary. I know she was an official of the I. L. D. I don't remember all the secretaries that they have had, but I do know that she was an official of the I. L. D.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether she was a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. What is that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether she was a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know any other? Will you name the other executive secretaries of the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know any others? As far as you know, these are the only ones?

Miss DAMON. There might have been more. There might have been many more. But I have been concerned with the work of the I. L. D. during the time that I was there, and I should—

The CHAIRMAN. All right; we will not have any trouble here, if you will just answer the questions. If your attorney objects to some of the questions, let him object; but make your answers responsive.

All right; proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who are the present officers of the International Labor Defense?

Miss DAMON. May I have a copy of that? [Referring to pamphlet.] The present officers of the International Labor Defense are Congressman Marcantonio, chairman—

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has he been chairman?

Miss DAMON. He has been chairman since June 1937. He was elected at the conference in Washington held in June 1937, and has been reelected at the recent conference held in July 1939.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the other officers?

Miss DAMON. Robert Dunn, treasurer; William L. Patterson, vice chairman; and Anna Damon, secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are those the only officers at the present time?

Miss DAMON. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. The national officers?

Miss DAMON. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say Mr. William L. Patterson, who was formerly executive secretary, is now what?

Miss DAMON. He is now one of our vice presidents of the International Labor Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is a vice president now?

Miss DAMON. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Mr. William L. Patterson is at the present time a member of the national committee of the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. I don't get the question.

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you if you know, of your own knowledge, whether or not at the present time Mr. William L. Patterson is a member of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

Miss DAMON. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; that is the answer.

Mr. STARNES. Let the record show, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Browder, the present secretary of the party in this country, stated that Mr. Patterson is a member.

Miss DAMON. All right; thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. She said she did not know.

Mr. STARNES. But I want it to go in the record at this point that he is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, what are the purposes of the I. L. D.?

The CHAIRMAN. You did not get these others. Is Robert Dunn a member of the party? Is there evidence before the committee on that point?

Mr. WHITLEY. There has been no testimony on that point, according to my recollection, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Matthews, is there any evidence on that that you know of?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is no testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are the only officers, that she has already named.

Mr. STARNES. Four of them, and two are Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the purposes of the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. The aims and purposes of the I. L. D. are stated here in the constitution of the I. L. D., and I should like to read them to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Give them to us just briefly, and let us have the documents.

Miss DAMON. It is very brief, and if you will permit me, I think it would be of good use to all of us if I would read this statement as to the purposes of the I. L. D.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have a brief statement in your own language as to the purposes of the organization.

Miss DAMON. The purpose of the organization is to aid labor and political prisoners and victims of reactionary violence, regardless of race, color, nationality, religious or political convictions, and the defense of democratic and civil rights.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Miss DAMON. Now, I could read on—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that gives it pretty well.

Miss DAMON. That is one part of it. Then we have:

The I. L. D. organizes this aid and defense seeking to draw the greatest possible number of people into the fulfillment of these aims.

The International Labor Defense aids labor and political prisoners, victims of reactionary violence, families of prisoners, widows and orphans—

we give relief to them—

the victims of labor struggles and struggles for democratic rights all over the world.

The International Labor Defense, as part of its struggle for democratic and civil rights, aids and supports the fight against war and fascism.

The International Labor Defense organizes for the defense of Negro people and all national minorities against lynching, oppression, discrimination, and for the defense of the foreign-born against deportation and discrimination, and for the right of political and religious asylum.

The International Labor Defense cooperates with other groups and organizations for aid to labor prisoners and for the defense of democratic, civil, and individual rights of the people.

The International Labor Defense unites all people interested in these aims, and tolerates no discrimination or distinction in its ranks on account of race, nationality, color, or political convictions.

Now, that states the aims, and it is in the document that you have.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, what is the total membership of the International Labor Defense?

Miss DAMON. Approximately 300,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that individual membership?

Miss DAMON. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or affiliated membership?

Miss DAMON. It is made up mostly of affiliated organizations—A. F. of L. trade unions, C. I. O. unions, and other organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many branches does it have throughout the United States?

Miss DAMON. How many branches?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Miss DAMON. Of the I. L. D.?

Mr. WHITLEY. Or local groups; whatever you call them.

Miss DAMON. I can't say off hand. I would have to consult my records on that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Could you approximate it?

Miss DAMON. I don't know. But we issue charters to them. The reason I say I don't know is that I can't be accurate about that. We issue charters, and some of them appear and disappear in smaller groups.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see if I understand. You have affiliated groups with the International Labor Defense?

Miss DAMON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a loose affiliation, is it not? What do they do to affiliate? Do they pay dues?

Miss DAMON. They send in an application asking to be affiliated with the International Labor Defense. They pay a fee for that, and they pay a regular fee, monthly or yearly—it is not iron bound, or a specific fee; it is mostly on a voluntary basis.

The CHAIRMAN. Whatever they can afford to contribute?

Miss DAMON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But in addition to that you have members of the I. L. D.; in addition to the affiliated group?

Miss DAMON. Yes; there are also individual members who are members of the branches of the I. L. D. There are two types of membership—affiliated and collective membership, and individual membership, that is made up in I. L. D. branches, like they have local unions; so we have branches of the I. L. D.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how many individual members do you have?

Miss DAMON. I can't say. That is very difficult to ascertain.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us that information, Miss Damon, for the record?

Miss DAMON. I will try. I will tell you why it is difficult. Our officers function on a voluntary basis. It is not a very strict, rigid organization. Practically all of them are functioning on a voluntary basis, and as such the records are none too accurate. But I will do whatever I can.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, what are the sources of income for the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. The source of income is based on voluntary contributions from the affiliated membership, individual membership, and campaigns. We have two yearly campaigns. One is for Christmas and one is for a milk drive for children of labor prisoners, that we conduct during the summer.

The CHAIRMAN. We can get along better if you will just answer the questions. We will bring it all out in the course of the examination.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are the only sources of income—those that you have named; voluntary contributions primarily, and then the result of your campaigns? Those are the only sources of income for the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. Well, the campaigns that we conduct are during Christmas; we send relief to the families regularly of imprisoned men. We send money regularly to men when they are in jail, for tobacco, for their special shaving needs, and so on. We even help to pay the mortgages for some of the people.

Mr. WHITLEY. The question is, are those the only sources of income—the ones you have named?

Miss DAMON. The sources of income are, as I stated, the voluntary contributions from people who generally contribute to the I. L. D., either on an appeal that is made during Christmas, during the milk drive, or during a special campaign in which we might send out an appeal for money, and the membership dues.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, does the I. L. D. receive subsidies or large contributions from any other groups or organizations?

Miss DAMON. Only in the form of those organizations that are affiliated with us, which send in at times additional money for their affiliation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are all of the transactions of the I. L. D. handled through banking institutions?

Miss DAMON. The national office.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are they handled through banking institutions?

Miss DAMON. At the Amalgamated.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Amalgamated; that is their banking connection?

Miss DAMON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What publications does the I. L. D. sponsor or put out, Miss Damon?

Miss DAMON. The only publication that we have is the one that I have just given you—this Equal Justice.

Mr. WHITLEY. That comes out how often?

Miss DAMON. That is—what I understood by publication was the regular monthly. Outside of that we have special pamphlets that we issue, and also this publication [indicating], if you call this a report.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the I. L. D. formerly put out a publication called Labor Defender?

Miss DAMON. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was that discontinued?

Miss DAMON. That was discontinued, I believe, either at the beginning or sometime in 1937. I can't say offhand, but I can look that up.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at the present time this is your only regular publication?

Miss DAMON. At the present time this is our only regular monthly publication.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is the circulation of that, approximately?

Miss DAMON. About 5,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does it go to all members?

Miss DAMON. No; it is being sent to the State offices, and they distribute it, and when there is some publicity in it, it goes to some other people.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, is the I. L. D. affiliated with or connected with the International Red Aid, with headquarters in Moscow?

Miss DAMON. It is not.

Mr. WHITLEY. No connection at all?

Miss DAMON. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it the American section of M. O. P. R., which is another name for the Red International Labor Defense? Does that have any affiliation with it?

Miss DAMON. I have no affiliation; I have no connection with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of any kind?

Miss DAMON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. She said "I." You mean that the International Labor Defense has no connection with the Red International, or with this other organization he named?

Miss DAMON. The International Labor Defense is an organization that has no affiliation—I will read you from my statement:

The International Labor Defense is not affiliated with any national political or any international organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. That answers the question.

Miss DAMON. I am not through.

Its only affiliations, in accordance with section 4, article 2, of the constitution, are: The American League for Peace and Democracy and the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born.

Those are the only affiliations that the I. L. D. has.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, when did the I. L. D. terminate its affiliation with the International Red Aid or the M. O. P. R.?

Miss DAMON. I don't think that it was ever affiliated with it. As far as I know, during the time that I was secretary, we not only were not affiliated but we had absolutely no connection with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you will not say that it never had such connection?

Miss DAMON. As far as I know. They might have had connections, but during the time of my secretaryship there has been no affiliation or connection with any organization except that which I have stated.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, what is the connection between the Communist Party of the United States and the I. L. D.? Does the Communist Party of the United States, directly or indirectly, in any way exercise any control over the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. It does not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say, without any reservation, that it has no control over or connection with the International Labor Defense?

Miss DAMON. I do not know what you call "connection." It has no affiliation or connection, and exercises no power over the International Labor Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, a situation of this kind has never, to your knowledge, existed, where the Communist Party National Committee would decide who the officers of the I. L. D. would be,

and then through their influence with the organization have those officers elected?

Miss DAMON. Not to my knowledge. I do not see how they could, because our organization elects its own officers, and makes its decisions by the national committee itself. This national committee represents our highest body and makes all of the decisions for it. It elects its officers, and the policies of the I. L. D. are governed by its officers, under the direction of the chairman, Hon. Vito Marcantonio.

Mr. WHITLEY. To your knowledge, such a situation as this has never existed: Whereas a district committee of the Communist Party in a certain district decides who the local secretary of the I. L. D. shall be, and that secretary is sent by the district committee to take charge of that I. L. D. It may not be in that district, but he will run it, without being a member of the I. L. D., and then when he was ready to leave, he would submit his resignation to the district committee of the Communist Party, and not to the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. To my knowledge, there has been no such thing. I do not know how that could be.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been to Moscow?

Miss DAMON. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. At any time?

Miss DAMON. No, sir. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if you will permit me to make my statement in part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We have declined that privilege to everyone who has appeared.

Miss DAMON. Will you permit that?

The CHAIRMAN. No; we have refused to allow anybody to submit such statements on any side of the question. We have always declined that, and that is the policy of the committee.

Miss DAMON. The reason I asked that permission is because it would clarify some of these questions.

The CHAIRMAN. We have declined to permit that. Everything can be brought out in the examination.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, are you acquainted with an individual by the name of John Jenkins?

Miss DAMON. I am sorry; I would like for you to repeat that name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with an individual named John Jenkins?

Miss DAMON. I think I wrote to you about Mr. Jenkins. You wrote to me about him, and I replied to you. I do not know Mr. Jenkins. I may have met him a few times during the Mooney campaign.

Mr. WHITLEY. You met him in meetings of the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. Never to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. I do not know; not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he attend the last convention of I. L. D. in Washington?

Miss DAMON. I wrote to you about that. I looked through the records very carefully, and he was not registered either as a fraternal delegate or any other kind of a delegate.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say he was not there officially. Did you see him at the convention?

Miss DAMON. I do not recall.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not recall having met him at the convention?

Miss DAMON. No, sir. He may have been there. There were many people there, and I was very busy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you recognize his handwriting if you saw it, or have you ever had occasion to see his handwriting?

Miss DAMON. I do not know. I do not think I have seen his handwriting. It may be that I have, but I do not recall it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have a note here which is written on one of the circulars of the I. L. D., and which was picked up at the time of the last convention, or the last conference in Washington, in one of the meeting rooms. I notice that it is signed "John Jenkins," and I would like to ask you if you ever saw this note or whether you received this note.

Miss DAMON. I do not recollect.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say that you did not receive it?

Miss DAMON. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you might have received it?

Miss DAMON. I might have.

Mr. WHITLEY. The note reads as follows:

ANNA. Come with me on W. P. A. I am getting fat. This is the best depression I ever was in.

JOHN JENKINS.

That was picked up at the late convention. Do you know the Mr. Jenkins who signed that note? You have already testified that you know him.

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir; I have seen him a few times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has the International Labor Defense ever borrowed money from the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. Not borrowed money. The Communist Party has put up defense money for its cases.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That would be a loan, would it not?

Miss DAMON. It might be an advance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or a gift?

Miss DAMON. Whether in the form of a loan or an advance, it was in some cases that we handled for the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. It is a fact that you have handled cases for the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have they made a contribution or an advance to the I. L. D. for that purpose?

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir; they pay us for them. They have given us money to cover the expenses of their cases. I have particularly in mind the *Strecker case*.

Mr. STARNES. Have they made other contributions to the I. L. D., as contributing members?

Miss DAMON. Not contributions.

Mr. STARNES. As fees, gifts, or whatever you call it?

Miss DAMON. There is a sum of money that we are paying to the American Civil Liberties Union. We pay them every year \$360 toward the Atlanta cases.

Mr. STARNES. My question was, Did you ever receive any money from the Communist Party?

Miss DAMON. I have just stated that we have received money from the Communist Party for the particular cases that we handle for them.

Mr. STARNES. Have you received any other money from the Communist Party for any purpose whatsoever?

Miss DAMON. Only for services rendered.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I wish to read from an article by Earl Browder entitled "The Party Must Support and Build the I. L. D." as follows:

At the most crucial point of the *Scottsboro case*, for example, financial collapse was only averted by the I. L. D. calling directly upon the Communist Party and borrowing several thousand dollars out of the party's meager funds which were vitally needed elsewhere. The same condition exists more or less in other cases in every locality.

That is from the *Daily Worker* of Saturday, June 23, 1934, page 5.

Miss DAMON. I did not get the quotation.

Mr. CASEY. He said that a financial collapse would have occurred if the Communist Party had not loaned the I. L. D. several thousand dollars for the defense of the *Scottsboro cases*.

Miss DAMON. I can state this: That was before my time. I do not know whether that is so, or not. I can look into it. It may be that the Communist Party did contribute to the *Scottsboro cases*, and that again brings up the point of getting money from people for services rendered, or getting money for them for services rendered Communist Party members. That was not during my time.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no knowledge of that?

Miss DAMON. No, sir; not of that particular thing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated that William L. Patterson is vice president of the International Labor Defense?

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall having seen this article by William L. Patterson in the *Communist* of July 1934, entitled "The I. L. D. Faces the Future," by William L. Patterson, at present vice president of the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. That was not an official writing of Mr. Patterson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to have this statement by William L. Patterson, entitled "The I. L. D. Faces the Future" incorporated in the record. It is published in the *Communist* for July 1934.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

THE I. L. D. FACES THE FUTURE

(By William L. Patterson)

By the time this article appears in print, the ninth anniversary of the International Labor Defense will have been celebrated. In cities stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, from the Canadian to the Mexican borders and the Gulf coast, the history of the I. L. D. will have been dealt with in hundreds of anniversary meetings. These meetings will have indicated the widespread influence of the I. L. D. in linking up current struggles of local, national, and international scope, and bringing forth concretely the I. L. D.'s relation to these, and still further deepen that influence. They will record the achievements and the shortcomings of the I. L. D. throughout a period of nine years of continuous activity.

Therefore, it is unnecessary to examine closely the major events around which the I. L. D. has, in the past, engaged in struggles, so as to aid in reaching conclusions regarding the tasks ahead and the possibilities for accomplishing these tasks. Also, it will, of course, be necessary to deal with past events in such a manner as to show the inseparable relation of the growth and development of the I. L. D. to that of the revolutionary movement as a whole,

particularly to that of the leadership of the revolutionary movement, the Communist Party.

The I. L. D. is one of a number of class struggle organizations of the working class. A division of labor has been established within the working class, with a definite assignment of tasks. But there exists no Chinese wall between these organizations. Their work interlocks, like the fingers of clasped hands. The policies of the I. L. D. are based upon the class struggle, and its program is a program of class against class. It must be obvious that only the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, which guides and coordinates the activities of the class struggle organizations, guarantees consistency to such a policy and such a program.

Due to the unevenness of the development of class struggles, one front may be a relatively quiet sector, while another is desperately engaged in struggle. Every effort must be made, however, at such a time, to galvanize into action the first sectors in support of the activities on the militant struggle front.

Behind this battle front, there are numerous organizations which assume at times a sympathetic and even helpful attitude. They participate under certain circumstances, and at certain moments, in one or another of the campaigns of the class-struggle organizations. But they are not necessarily organizations of the working class.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

For example, there is the American Civil Liberties Union. I speak of it because of its relation to the I. L. D. It has rendered extremely valuable assistance to the I. L. D. in many of our struggles. The I. L. D. has accepted, and under certain conditions, will continue to accept this assistance. Nonetheless, the leadership of the A. C. L. U. demands, in the name of "civil liberties," that the agents of Hitler be allowed freely and openly to propagate here the fascist program of brutal reaction, of murder, race hatred, degradation of womanhood, and of imperialist war.

This the A. C. L. U. leadership has done in the name of a struggle for civil liberties. The question of civil liberties for whom?—is negated. The class essence of civil liberties is completely obscured. The term becomes abstract, hence, meaningless. The result is that a membership which may be desirous of fighting for civil liberties for those to whom they are denied, finds itself fighting in the interest of those who deny civil liberties to the masses. From the standpoint of its class character, the A. C. L. U. is clearly distinguishable from the I. L. D. Certainly an attitude such as it assumes can have nothing in common with that of a working class struggle organization. The role of the leadership of such organizations as the A. C. L. U. is to create confusion and thus retard the development of class consciousness.

FACING TWO MAIN PROBLEMS

If it is true that only the leadership of the Communist Party can guarantee for the class struggle organizations a consistently revolutionary program, the weaknesses of these organizations must to a great degree reflect the weaknesses of that leadership. I shall deal with this question from two standpoints: Coordinating the campaigns and gaining powerful allies. I shall treat of these two issues from the standpoint of their peculiar significance to the I. L. D.

There is no attempt here to escape from, or gloss over, the indisputable fact that the Communists within the I. L. D. represent the party within the I. L. D. It therefore becomes their revolutionary duty to call to the attention of the party the weaknesses of the I. L. D. This is by no means the limit of their revolutionary obligation in this respect. It is their duty to analyze these weaknesses and to propose to the party concrete methods for remedying them. The analysis and the remedial measures are, of course, to be worked out in cooperation with the leading cadres of the party itself.

The tasks of the I. L. D. arise from the activities of the other class struggle organizations and from the struggles of the Communist Party. Its tasks arise also out of the struggles of the toiling, though nonproletarian masses in the city and the country-side against ruling-class oppression.

It is an axiom that the greater the terror to which the exploiting class resorts to smash the struggles for liberation, the louder does it speak of the necessity to maintain "law and order" and to "administer justice." The murder of starving men, women, and children, seeking relief, is justified to maintain "law

and order." The slaughter of innocent men, seeking to exercise their constitutionally guaranteed rights, to picket, to strike, to organize in an organization of their own choice, for the freedom of assemblage and the freedom of the press, is justified in the same manner. Under the term, "the necessity to maintain law and order" a justification is found for the terror provoked against the emancipatory struggles of the Negro people against its class and national oppression. In this latter instance, of course, the incitement to violence is further justified by the ruling class on the basis of the alleged inferiority of the Negro people. The historic task of the I. L. D. is to lead the struggle against ruling class terror everywhere. The more intense the class struggle, the more savage and bloody, the more murderous the terror of the ruling class, the more does it endeavor to cloak this program of terror behind a curtain of legality and the more desperate must be the efforts of the I. L. D. to tear away this curtain. There is no other means by which the ruling class can maintain the illusions of impartial democracy and secure the sanction of its courts to its program of terror and violence. When it moves away from the protection provided by this curtain, the illusions of justice and democracy are soon dispelled from the eyes of the workers. It therefore will not move away or desert the field of parliamentarianism until the sharpness of the class struggle forces it to disregard its so-called institutions of democracy and justice.

The injunction, though depriving the working class and nonproletarian masses of the constitutional right to picket, even of the right to strike, becomes an "impartial expression of democracy and justice," according to the courts. The nullification of civil rights and the introduction of martial law, as in the miners' strike in Gallup, New Mexico, is fitted into the circumferences of their elastic democracy and justice, which the ruling class says stands above the class struggle. The covering statement is issued, that these forms of restricting workers' rights, are for the "public" welfare. State and Federal authorities, State and Federal courts, the police and armed forces of the Government, the hired thugs of the employers, in "the interest of public welfare," move with the blessings of church and press against the welfare of the working class and toiling masses. There is almost perfect coordination in the performance of their role. Thus do the gears of the machinery of propaganda, persecution, and terror of the ruling class fit together. This is an indication of the division of labor within the ruling class.

To lead the struggle against ruling-class terror is to lead the struggle against ruling-class democracy and justice. In the United States at the present moment it is the struggle against the trend toward fascism. To lead a consistent struggle against ruling-class "democracy" and "justice" is to lead a struggle for workers' rights, for democratic rights, for the enforcement of constitutional guarantees.

To define the tasks of the I. L. D. as a struggle for workers' rights alone, is to ignore the struggle for the rights of the nonproletarian masses. This would not only narrow down the I. L. D. program, but would destroy its united-front character. This position, it is clear, must therefore be rejected. The acceptance of such a position would have a retarding influence upon the movement of the proletariat as a whole, for in the struggle for democratic rights and the enforcement of constitutional guarantees, millions of the nonproletarian elements will be won for conscious struggle, together with the working class, for Soviet power; and millions more who are now under bourgeois influence will be neutralized.

THE I. L. D. AND THE OTHER WORKING-CLASS ORGANIZATIONS

It is correct to say that the struggles of the I. L. D. arise out of the activities of the working-class organizations. One need only examine the demands of the striking miners, the steel workers, the marine workers, the Negro masses, to appreciate this. To realize these demands, the struggle of these masses end in clashes with the State apparatus. The task of the I. L. D. is to destroy the illusions of a democracy and justice above classes, and to expose their class character. To do this is to awaken and further stimulate class consciousness in the oppressed and exploited masses. To stimulate class consciousness is to prepare the bridge work to the political party of the working class. Therefore, the party must guide the I. L. D., both locally and nationally. "The levers and belts are the mass organizations of the proletariat, without whose aid the dictatorship cannot be realized in practice." (Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, vol. I, emphasis mine.—W. L. P.)

To accomplish this destruction of the illusions of democracy and justice it must be clear that there must be coordination between the programs of the other class-struggle organizations of the working class and the program of the I. L. D. The party must, it is obvious, be the coordinating center:

"Its function is to unify the work of all the mass organizations, without exception, and to guide their activities toward a single end, that of the liberation of the proletariat. Unification and guidance are absolutely essential. There must be unity in the proletarian struggle." (Ibid. Emphasis mine.—W. L. P.)

Yet there are those who declare that we overstress the question of coordination. Undoubtedly there is the danger of mechanical approach, of "left-sectarianism." The question of coordination, of course, must not be abstractly raised. But a major weakness of the I. L. D. is that it has not sufficiently sought to coordinate its struggles with those of other mass organizations. This is a weakness of the American movement as a whole.

Let us come to the relation of the question of coordination with the question of finding allies. In the United States the Negro masses constitute one of the historic allies of the working class. The white superiority ideology of the ruling class has created a division between these historic allies which the revolutionary movement is only now in the process of destroying. Here we see concretely the effect of party guidance and leadership. It is no accident that not until after 1928 did the mass organizations seriously turn to winning this ally. In 1928, the Comintern began its momentous clarification of the Negro question with an historical analysis which disclosed the Negro question as the question of an oppressed nation. The reaction of the party to the C. I. resolution on the Negro question was an extremely healthy one. A sweeping attack was made upon white chauvinist tendencies in the party.

The Yokinen trial became the spearhead in this attack. Comrade Yokinen, a member of a very large language organization, was opposed to the presence of Negroes in the home of that organization. He was expelled from the party after a trial, which had a very deep influence throughout the party ranks. It is interesting to note that after Comrade Yokinen saw his mistake, and repudiated his position, the United States Government immediately ordered his deportation. No more crass example of the leadership of the Government in attacks upon the rights of the Negro people could be found.

The mass organizations reacted more slowly to the struggle of winning the Negro masses, of transferring them from a reserve of forces for the American bourgeoisie, to a reserve of forces for the proletariat. In 1931, the I. L. D., under the guidance of the party, began in real earnest the struggle for the defense of the rights of the Negro people, with the Scottsboro case, and raised this struggle, under the leadership of the Comintern and the International Red Aid (I. R. A.), to the level of an international issue.

COORDINATION WAS LACKING

But the issue, with few exceptions, was not linked up, coordinated with the struggles of the other class struggle organizations. Particularly noticeable was the reflection of this weakness on the trade-union field. Yet the great potentialities of the Scottsboro case were brought out in trade-union work, with the greatest concreteness and clarity. For example, Negro miners, in large numbers, in 1931, joined the National Miners' Union, because "it actively supports the I. L. D. campaign for the defense of the Scottsboro boys" and the United Mine Workers of America does not. Beyond a doubt, had this campaign been systematically and persistently pushed throughout the revolutionary trade-unions, the composition of their membership would today be different, an indefinitely greater number of Negroes would be organized, and the political enlightenment of the white masses in the spirit of internationalism would be further advanced.

Innumerable cases of our failure to coordinate the struggles of the I. L. D. with the struggles of the other mass organizations, and vice versa, may be cited. The failure of the I. L. D. to link itself up with the Detroit auto strike must be sharply called to the attention of the party and the mass organizations, and the lessons from this must be clearly drawn.

It is because of such weaknesses that the I. L. D. has failed to recruit great numbers of masses into its rank; to increase the circulation of its official magazine, "The Labor Defender," in keeping with the favorable objective conditions; to turn the discontent of the masses of the organizations whose members it defends as victims of capitalist class justice and democracy into active fighters

in the struggle against the "democracy" of the exploiting class. Literally millions of the exploited and oppressed toiling masses are looking for the I. L. D. They do not find it. This can only be explained by the fact that the I. L. D. has carried on mass work inadequately, and that the party has not given it adequate leadership in its mass work. An immediate turn must be made.

To make this turn, more attention must be given to the I. L. D. by the Central Committee of the party. The statement of Comrade Stassova, leader of the International Red Aid, parent body of the I. L. D., to the thirteenth plenum of the E. C. C. I., applies in the main to our party. Comrade Stassova declared:

"Only because the parties underestimate the political role of the Red Aid and because of the fact that we do not get any good forces for our work, is it possible to have so little attention paid to such a great cause as the struggle against fascism."

The leadership of the I. L. D. has not yet learned how to maneuver on the basis of the antagonisms and conflicts within the ruling class and among the nonproletarian classes, and to turn these to account in order to weaken the enemy and broaden its own social base. The struggle against the injunction as a restriction upon the rights of workers and as a violation of constitutional guaranties, must be carefully prepared and decisively carried out. Wide strata of the petty bourgeoisie can be won for this struggle. Its appeal to the working class is clear and need not be discussed here. The same is true of the campaign for the recognition of the status of political prisoners and for relief for political prisoners; also of the campaign for the protection of the foreign-born. The approach of the I. L. D. to the national question must be broadened out to include Cuba, the Philippines, and the other colonial and semi-colonial possessions of American imperialism. Through this method of broadening out its activities, the appeal of the I. L. D. will become greater, the influence more far-reaching, the organization numerically stronger, and a check will be given the tremendous fluctuation.

These issues must not only be linked together; their place in the program of a defense organization fighting for workers' rights, democratic rights, etc., must be carefully shown to the masses. The methods of approach must be that of a defense organization of the working class. The relation of the imperialist policy of colonial oppression to that of the denial to the masses at home of their rights must be made very clear.

This extension of the program of the I. L. D. must include the popularization of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. This should not be done in a general manner. The popularization should be of the work which more nearly approximates that of the I. L. D. There is, of course, very little that is identical except patronage over political refugees, the sheltering of released or escaped victims of capitalist terror, the establishment of homes for the children of the victims of capitalist terror, etc. The American section of I. R. A. does little of this character of work now. It must enlarge its activities in these directions. The party must see to this.

But the I. L. D. must bring out distinctly the essential differences between a political prisoner in the Soviet Union and those in America. The class nature of legal processes in the Soviet Union is openly proclaimed. Here the ruling class seeks to hide them simply because it is an exploiting class. The political prisoners there are those who seek to disrupt the building of socialism, a classless society where man cannot exploit or degrade his fellow man. The prisoners are therefore those who have an antisocial, anti-working-class attitude. The prisons there are schools where such an attitude is corrected through work and study. The pay of the prisoner is the union rate for that character of work done. The building of the White Sea Canal with such labor and the complete regeneration of thousands should be popularized here. This is a task of the I. L. D.

There is a line to be followed in the struggle for the status of political prisoners here which has hardly been scratched. Such a campaign would, in addition, be the means of winning over to the struggle considerable numbers of liberals and intellectuals.

ON WINNING OVER PETTY BOURGEOIS STRATA

The task of working among the intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie is a subsidiary one. There can be no question about our main orientation. Nevertheless, work among the intellectuals is assuming increasing importance for the I. L. D. The extent to which these elements can be drawn into such struggles as those for

the release of Ernst Thaelmann, the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, and for relief for political prisoners in the capitalist world is constantly growing greater with the development of fascism and the retreat of the bourgeoisie from parliamentarianism.

For the development of I. L. D. work in this direction we must utilize such statements as were made by Mr. W. O. Thompson, of the National Recovery Review Board, of which Clarence Darrow is the head. Mr. Thompson said in part:

"The N. R. A. reflects the inability of so-called enlightened capitalism to operate a planned economy to improve the standards of the masses. Its development day by day reveals more clearly a marked trend toward fascism in the United States."

Here we are presented with tremendous possibilities for utilizing the basis of differences within the ranks of the exploiters and the nonproletarian classes. The I. L. D. makes too little of such possibilities. Its narrow, sectarian outlook chokes its growth organizationally and politically. It must be made clear that such possibilities can be realized only under the leadership of the party. The ruling class and its social-fascist agents within the ranks of the working class also fully appreciate this fact.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-FASCISM ON THE I. L. D. FRONT

It is not an accident that the so-called Non-Partisan Defense League now comes into being. The influence of the I. L. D. is widespread. The influence of the party within the I. L. D. is great. The camp of renegacy and social-democracy—all who defend the courts and speak of Scottsboro and Mooney as an "occasional miscarriage of justice," all the reformist groups, rally around the "Non-Partisan Defense League" to smash the I. L. D., the advocate of mass action and workers' self-defense. This is its avowed task. This is the role of the Non-Partisan Defense League. With the growth and development of any of the mass organizations of the working class, the reformist and Socialist Party leaders will resort to this splitting tactic. Already, on the field of unemployed relief they have done so. A relentless struggle against these enemies of the working class must be developed in every working class organization. The I. L. D. must see itself as an indispensable weapon of the working class in the struggle with the social-fascist agents of the ruling class and the Negro national reformists.

The struggle of class against class is a struggle to control the mass organizations. The winning of masses includes the winning of the mass organizations. The consolidation of party factions within the I. L. D. is a necessary organizational step toward this end.

The general crisis continues to deepen. All of the alphabetic juggling of the Roosevelt Administration has resulted in the New Deal carrying the working class to a lower standard than that in which the "old deal" had left it.

Feverish preparations for war have increased production in some war industries. This for the greater part has been brought about by the speed up. We are on the eve of a wave of tremendous struggles in the heavy industries. The workers in the automobile, aeroplane, steel, coal, and marine industries are in the first throes of struggles which must inevitably grow sharper, or are preparing for impending struggles.

The I. L. D. must carefully analyze the demands of these workers. It must expose the program of violence by which the ruling class will endeavor to smash the struggles; it must participate in preparing these struggles. If it approaches them from the standpoint of a defense organization of the working class, clearly and skillfully offering proof that the demands of the discontented workers are demands for the recognition of workers' rights, democratic rights, constitutional rights, it will gain mass support for these struggles.

Its sphere of action is clear. By a strict adherence to it, the I. L. D. can become a mass organization of hundreds of thousands.

The I. L. D. must be prepared to meet the terror launched by the ruling class as part of the fascistization program of the New Deal. In the courts, mass action must take on new and more effective forms. I. L. D. lawyers must and can perform great services in destroying the illusions of "impartial" democracy. Their defendants are the aggrieved parties. Their defendants have the right to stand as the accusers. The court is prepared to resort to any device, not only to smash the struggles out of which the court actions grow, but to maintain the air of "democracy" and "justice above classes."

Here the party has a tremendous role to play. Party members must defend themselves, bringing out forcefully and fearlessly the struggle of two worlds and the class character of the demagoguery of the courts.

In the development of these struggles, the questions of forces and finances will both be answered if the I. L. D. breaks from its narrow sectarianism and bureaucracy. The contribution of the I. L. D. to the revolutionary struggle can be of inestimable value. Its activities can be very far-reaching. It can influence thousands beyond the reach of almost every other front-line struggle organization of the working class. But the effective work of the I. L. D. depends on its role and tasks being well understood by every party member. The party is the leader of the mass organizations. It must strengthen its leadership in the I. L. D.

MR. MATTHEWS. I would like to read one excerpt from the article, as follows:

The task of the I. L. D. is to destroy the illusions of a democracy and justice above classes, and to expose their class character. To do this is to awake and further stimulate class consciousness in the oppressed and exploited masses. To stimulate class consciousness is to prepare the bridge work to the political party of the working class. Therefore, the party must guide the I. L. D. both locally and nationally. "The levers and belts are the mass organizations of the proletariat, without whose aid the dictatorship cannot be realized in practice."

That latter statement is a quotation from Joseph Stalin, from "Leninism."

THE CHAIRMAN. In other words, the present vice president of this organization testified there, or, at least, we have his word for it, that the primary task of this organization is to promote communism in the United States?

MR. MATTHEWS. Continuing the quotation:

To accomplish this destruction of the illusions of democracy and justice it must be clear that there must be coordination between the programs of the other class struggle organizations of the working class and the program of the I. L. D. The party must, it is obvious, be the coordinating center.

MISS DAMON. May I say that this was before my time, and that the program of the I. L. D., as it is now, does not hold that view.

THE CHAIRMAN. What do you mean?

MISS DAMON. We are guided in our organization.

THE CHAIRMAN. Was that ever the policy of the organization?

MISS DAMON. Since my time with the organization, it has never held that view. Our policies are embodied in the new constitution that was adopted in 1937 and amended in 1939. Also I would like to state that, so far as I know, this was Mr. Patterson's opinion.

THE CHAIRMAN. But Mr. Patterson is now your vice president, and he is on your board now.

MR. WHITLEY. He was speaking as an official of the I. L. D., was he not?

MISS DAMON. No, sir. Mr. Patterson has not been at any of our board meetings. He has been ill for some time. He may have written that article without any consultation.

MR. WHITLEY. You say you do not know what happened before your time?

MISS DAMON. No, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. At the present Mr. Patterson is on the board, and he is a known member of the Communist Party. He is on record as expressing the view that the I. L. D. is a subsidiary of the Communist Party. That, in substance, is his opinion.

MISS DAMON. Mr. Patterson has never expressed that view at any of our meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. You said that he did not attend any meetings for a long time, and that he has been sick.

Miss DAMON. He has been sick for some time.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long?

Miss DAMON. I do not remember how long he was sick.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is not sick now, is he?

Miss DAMON. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has been attending board meetings recently, has he not?

Miss DAMON. No, sir; he has not.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is that both you and Mr. Patterson are members of the Communist Party, and have been members of the Communist Party for many years. Mr. Patterson, the vice president of this organization, is on record as stating that the main purpose of the organization is to promote communism in the United States. Now, your opinion is that he is incorrect?

Miss DAMON. That was at a time—as stated there, that was written in 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether it was correct then or not? You were not connected with the organization in 1934?

Miss DAMON. I told you that I came in in 1934.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what month of 1934?

Miss DAMON. It was sometime around that time, between July and August.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it not in June?

Miss DAMON. It was sometime during that time. This article might have been written before that. It was not an article that was sanctioned by our board of the I. L. D., to my knowledge. I think he was sick at that time, in July.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he ever repudiate the article?

Miss DAMON. I had never seen the article until now, nor has the board seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no record to show that the organization has ever repudiated that statement, have you?

Miss DAMON. The organization has never seen the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any record to show where the organization has ever repudiated the statement?

Miss DAMON. I do not know, because I never heard of the statement until just now.

The CHAIRMAN. You said that you have gone on record many times: Have you gone on record opposing fascism? Has your organization opposed fascism?

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir; we have in the minutes of the organization. I have sent the minutes to Mr. Whitley.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever gone on record in opposition to communism?

Miss DAMON. We have never had occasion to. No one has raised that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never gone on record opposing communism?

Miss DAMON. No one has raised that question.

The CHAIRMAN. No one has raised the question of opposing communism?

MISS DAMON. No question as to the stand on communism has ever been brought up in the meetings. The question has not been brought up.

THE CHAIRMAN. How about the conventions?

MISS DAMON. I do not know why we should concern ourselves at our meetings with questions not before us.

THE CHAIRMAN. But you do denounce fascism and naziism?

MISS DAMON. When the question has been raised.

THE CHAIRMAN. Has that question ever been raised?

MISS DAMON. I feel that there have been so many misstatements about our organization that, unless you permit somebody to state what is the policy of the organization, I am afraid there will be a biased opinion on the part of the members of the committee. I would like the privilege of stating what the organization is like.

THE CHAIRMAN. Here is the vice president of the organization, who is on record, and we have no statement to show where the organization has repudiated his statement, or where the vice president has ever retracted his statement that the principal purpose of the I. L. D. is to promote communism in the United States. Mr. Patterson is the vice president and is one of the four members of the board. Now your organization has denounced fascism and nazi-ism many times, but nowhere do we have a record where you have ever denounced communism. I am trying to get an explanation of why you denounce one kind of dictatorship and not another kind. You regard the Soviet Union as a dictatorship, do you not? Do you not regard Stalin as a dictator?

MISS DAMON. Our constitution here——

THE CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do you not regard Stalin as a dictator, like Hitler?

MISS DAMON. Our organization has not been called to pass on that. Our board of directors meet, and, naturally, we do not take up issues that do not belong to the organization.

THE CHAIRMAN. Why did you take up fascism in the organization and denounce it?

MISS DAMON. Because we had at one board meeting to defend about 20 people who were beaten up by Coughlinites, so we were in a position to have a certain situation to arise that dealt directly with people that we were aiding.

MR. STARNES. It has never come up in connection with people who were beaten by Communists? That question has not been raised in the meetings?

MISS DAMON. We have had no such question there.

MR. STARNES. You have never defended any cases in Russia, have you, through the International Labor Defense? Did you ever have any cases for people who were thrown in prison, or who were refugees from the present regime in Russia?

MISS DAMON. We are not concerned in our organization with any politics.

MR. STARNES. Is not fascism a political order? Is fascism a political matter? Can you answer the question?

MISS DAMON. The only time——

MR. STARNES (interposing). Is it a political matter?

Miss DAMON. Just one minute. I will answer your question as well as I can, or to the best of my ability. When the question arose, because men were beaten up, and because that particular question did arise, we took a stand against fascism.

Mr. STARNES. I want to get an answer to a very simple question that I asked you, whether you considered fascism a political theory or a political form of government. Mr. Chairman, I insist upon an answer to my question.

Miss DAMON. I am here as secretary of the International Labor Defense, and, as such, I will answer any question pertinent to the organization, but insofar as my own personal opinion is concerned, I do not believe it falls within the scope of your resolution. I do not believe that the question of my personal opinions falls within the scope of it. I tell you, and I will tell again, again, and again that no official action was taken in our organization unless a question was raised. We do not question the personal opinions of anybody in our organization.

The CHAIRMAN. But your organization is on record in opposition to fascism and nazi-ism?

Miss DAMON. That was because the question was raised in our meetings.

Mr. STARNES. This is your constitution here?

Miss DAMON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. This is the constitution you operate under?

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I call your attention to section D, article 2, under the head of "Aims and Principles," as follows:

The International Labor Defense as part of its struggle for democratic and civil rights aids and supports the fight against war and fascism.

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir; because we have had dealings with fascism. I can cite dozens of cases where the question of fascism was raised.

Mr. STARNES. The answer to my question is that your organization looks upon fascism as a political theory. Is that right?

Miss DAMON. I do not know—I mean——

Mr. STARNES. This is the constitution of your organization?

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That denunciation of fascism is set out in the constitution?

Miss DAMON. Yes, sir; because we have had cases to handle time and time again involving that. Mr. Whitley got a record that I sent him of cases which are definitely connected with fascism, or Fascist and Nazi attacks.

Mr. STARNES. Is that a political theory or a political ideology?

Miss DAMON. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Why are you opposed to it?

Miss DAMON. I am not here to enter into any theoretical discussion about my opinions on one thing or another.

Mr. STARNES. I am not asking about your opinions.

Miss DAMON. The attitude of the organization was and is that when cases involving the abuse of people's rights are brought to the attention of the organization, the cases are taken up. Then, on the basis of our activities in the defense of cases, we have included that in our constitution.

Mr. STARNES. That does not answer the question. You evidently do not want to answer the question.

Miss DAMON. I would not say that.

Mr. STARNES. I have asked the question repeatedly, and you have refused to answer it.

Miss DAMON. I do not refuse to answer anything for the organization, but I refuse to enter into a political or theoretical discussion of political principles.

Mr. STARNES. I do not care anything about your personal opinions or personal views, but I want to know the organization's views.

Miss DAMON. I have told you about the organization.

Mr. STARNES. The organization has never condemned communism. has it? Can you answer that yes or no?

Miss DAMON. Why do you want to pin me down to such a question?

Mr. STARNES. I want the truth, and I do not want anything but the truth. I want to know whether your organization in all its history has ever condemned communism.

Miss DAMON. I would have to consult the records. I do not think so, because we have had no occasion to. Such a question was not raised at our board meetings.

Mr. STARNES. But the question of fascism has been raised, and you have condemned fascism in your organization. Did you ever have that question?

Isn't that true? You have condemned fascism, as an organization? Is not that right, Miss Damon?

Miss DAMON. That is the constitution of the organization (referring to document). You have it before you.

Mr. STARNES. Can you answer the question? I ask you again—can you answer it yes or no? Has or has not the International Labor Defense in its conventions or its assemblies condemned fascism? Has it or has it not?

Miss DAMON. Condemned fascism?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Miss DAMON. Of course it has. You have it right here before you.

Mr. STARNES. Good.

Mr. CASEY. I want to make it more concrete, if I may. You recall some time before this organization came into being a famine in southeastern Russia where thousands of people starved because of the agrarian policy of the Soviet Government; do you remember that incident? Do you recall that?

Miss DAMON. Do I recall—

Mr. ISSERMAN. I think the reporter ought to repeat the question again; I do not think the witness understood it.

(The reporter repeated Mr. Casey's question as above recorded.)

Miss DAMON. Here it comes, the same question, do I remember?

Mr. CASEY. All right, you do not remember. But let us assume as of the present time that there was a similar catastrophe in Russia where, as a result of an agrarian policy of the Soviet Government, a great many people starved. Would your organization be willing to go over there and assist them?

Miss DAMON. Our organization has never concerned itself with giving aid, outside of that for refugees, or something like that, which

came to our attention—we have never had any requests of this kind; that is, these questions have not been raised at our organization meetings.

Mr. CASEY. I was just discussing policy.

Miss DAMON. That is the policy. The policy is included in this [indicating constitution].

Mr. CASEY. Yes; I understand—

Miss DAMON. That is clear. Anything you want to find insofar as policy is included in this constitution. Anything that is not here cannot be read into this.

Mr. CASEY. But you say here in paragraph (c) article 2:

The International Labor Defense aids labor and political prisoners, victims of violence, of reaction, families of prisoners, widows and orphans of the victims of labor struggles and struggles for democratic rights all over the world.

If that means what it says, you would go to the aid of victims in Russia, you would go to the aid of victims in Germany.

Miss DAMON. It happens that the aid we give is when it comes to our attention; some international prisoner that has been attacked, or has been in a concentration camp in the Fascist camp—a case that comes to us for aid, and they ask our assistance in mobilizing public opinion on that. We issue a statement, or we speak about it; if that answers your question.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever helped anybody, any such victims, in Germany? Have you ever helped anyone in Germany who has been put in a concentration camp?

Miss DAMON. On the German question, on fascism?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss DAMON. Yes; we have had a number of appeals for the relief of people in concentration camps.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you helped them?

Miss DAMON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you helped the victims of Mussolini in Italy?

Miss DAMON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever helped anyone who was the victim of Stalin in Russia?

Miss DAMON. Did you ask me about meetings, whether we have taken action on it? We made appeals.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever help anyone of the thousands of people who were liquidated in Russia, who were purged in Russia; political exiles? Did you ever help a single case of that kind? Have you a single case where you took action in behalf of such a person?

Miss DAMON. You mean the organization?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss DAMON. The organization has had not one single case.

Mr. VOORHIS. You never helped anybody that was in a concentration camp in the Soviet Union, is that right?

Miss DAMON. None of these cases, so far as I know, as far as the organization knows, there has been no appeal from anybody made on that score. Therefore the organization took no official action of this kind.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has the organization ever taken any official action with reference to individuals in South America; any cases where the organization concerned itself with a situation in South America?

Miss DAMON. I do not know; I would have to look up the records. Offhand I cannot say. I remember we handled a case in support of Puerto Rican nationalists. That I remember. Offhand I cannot say.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about China? Has it ever taken any action with reference to individuals in China?

Miss DAMON. China? Not official action; I do not know what you mean. We have endorsed a campaign for funds, if it came to our attention. But I do not know of our having taken any official action during the last months. We might have, but I do not recollect.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, there is a little data in this letter which Miss Damon sent me last summer which should be in the record. Some of it answers your question, Mr. Starnes. So, with her permission, I will read part of it into the record. It is a letter dated June 9, 1939, addressed to me by Miss Damon.

Mr. ISSERMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question? Is it the intention of counsel for the committee to introduce the entire letter or merely a paragraph?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want the entire letter?

Mr. ISSERMAN. If he reads from it, I think the entire letter should go in.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is only fair that if you read part of it, that the whole letter should go in.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is what I want to call to your attention.

There is no record of the number of local branches of the I. L. D. We correspond with regional offices, which are listed below. Each of these regional offices has within its territory a number of branches, but there is no record of this in the national office.

I think that is what you asked a few minutes ago.

The regional offices listed are New York State, 112 East Nineteenth Street, and four or five others.

Our records at the present moment show that we have 4,372 individual members of branches.

I think that question was asked and Miss Damon did not recall the figure.

Nine hundred and fifty sustaining or supporting members, 126 organizations, with approximately 285,600 members, affiliated to the I. L. D.

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

National Office

112 EAST 19TH STREET
STUYVESANT 9-4552

NEW YORK CITY
Cable Address: ILDEF, New York

JUNE 9, 1939.

Mr. RHEA WHITLEY,

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives,

Special Committee in Un-American Activities, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WHITLEY: I have gone over the transcript of the testimony which I gave you on April 3. In this transcript there were several points at which I promised to look up records to find the answers to questions, or to supply material to you. I will take them up in the order in which they appear in the transcript.

1. The first officers of the I. L. D. were (1925): Andrew T. McNamara, chairman; Edward C. Wentworth, vice chairman; James P. Cannon, executive secre-

tary. National committee: Upton Sinclair, Eugene V. Debs, Clarence Darrow, William Z. Foster, Robert W. Dunn, A. T. McNamara, Fred Merrick, Edward C. Wentworth, Bishop William M. Brown, Rose Karsner, Harrison George, William F. Dunne, George Maurer, Alice Stone Blackwell, Ellen Hayes, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Robert Minor, Rose Baron, William Mollenhauer, Henry Corbishley, Mandel Schuchter, Dan Stevens, Benjamin Gitlow, Robert Whittaker, Cora Meyers, David Rhys Williams, Fred Mann, John Edenstrom, Lovett Fort Whitman, Jacob Dolla, J. P. Cannon, E. R. Meitzen, J. O. Bentall, Ralph Chaplin, Max Bedacht.

2. The national committee of the I. L. D. appears on this stationery [at end of letter].

3. There is no record of the number of local branches of the I. L. D. We correspond with regional offices, which are listed below. Each of these regional offices has within its territory a number of branches, but there is no record of this in the national office.

The regional offices are: New York State, 112 East 19th Street, New York City; northern California, 1005 Market Street, room 410, San Francisco, Cal.; southern California, 127 S. Broadway, room 317, Los Angeles, Cal.; Illinois, 192, N. Clark, room 610, Chicago, Illinois; Oregon, 711 S. E. 11th Avenue, Portland, Oregon; Florida, box 1676, Jacksonville, Florida.

4. Our records at the present moment show that we have 4,372 individual members of branches, 950 sustaining or supporting members, 126 organizations, with approximately 285,600 members, affiliated to the I. L. D.

5. The circulation of our monthly paper, Equal Justice, is 5,500.

6. I am enclosing the pamphlets published by the I. L. D. in 1938, and 1939 as follows: What the I. L. D. Does for Labor; We Accuse, by Vito Marcantonio; Attention Mr. Dies!; N. L. R. B. and Free Speech (reprint from the bulletin of the International Juridical Association); Deportation for Membership in the Communist Party (reprint from the bulletin of the International Juridical Association); Questions and Answers on Fair Labor Standards Law; You've Got a Right, by Sasha Small; Equal Justice—Yearbook, 1938, Southern California I. L. D.

7. I am enclosing copies of the resolutions passed at our national conference held in 1937, in Washington, D. C., together with minutes of board meetings in the past two years (February 17 and December 22, 1938, May 19, 1939, and legislative conference March 18, 1939), containing resolutions.

8. It is quite impossible to give a complete list of cases handled by the I. L. D., or in which the I. L. D. has interested itself over the past two years. In most cases, no particular record is kept. An attorney is assigned by telephone, the case is taken care of, and work begun on the next. Nearly all of these cases are handled by local offices or branches, and no detailed report is given to the national office. I am attaching a list of a number of cases which are mentioned in our records because of some correspondence or information which we received in connection with them.

Occasionally, our regional offices work up records of the cases they have handled over various periods. I am enclosing a copy of the yearbook recently published by our Los Angeles office, and a report made out by our Chicago office for the first eight months of 1938. These are the only two such records which I have available.

9. As shown on our stationery, Joseph Brodsky is a member of our legal advisory committee.

10. I have been unable to find any copy of What To Do When Under Arrest, a pamphlet which has been out of circulation for a number of years.

11. The International Labor Defense had no connection whatsoever with putting up bail for the Gastonia prisoners.

Finally I should like to call your attention to the fact that the transcript as you gave it to me is grossly inaccurate. It is incorrect even in such simple details as dates, addresses, telephone numbers, which can be readily checked. The date of my father's naturalization is given as "about 1930" instead of 1913. My telephone number is given as "Gramercy 8-1946" instead of Gramercy 7-1947. The address of the Scottsboro defense committee is given as "12 East 19th Street on the 30th floor" instead of 112 East 19th Street, 3rd floor. I cite these obvious inaccuracies merely as an indication of the inaccuracy of the entire document.

Very truly yours,

ANNA DAMON.

AD: ER

uopwa#16

P. S.—Pamphlets and resolutions are being mailed under separate cover.

National committee:

Rose Baron
 Elaine Black
 Ella Reeve Bloor
 Timothy Burr
 Winifred Chappell
 Gifford Cochran
 Louis Colman
 Anna Damon
 Ben Davis, Jr.
 John P. Davis
 Samuel I. Dlugin
 Robert Dunn
 Alfred L. Ellis
 Ralph Emerson
 Robert Fitzgerald
 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
 Leo Gallagher
 Rojelio Gomez
 Irvin Goodman
 Lillian Goodman
 Carl Hacker
 Clarence Hathaway
 Angelo Herndon
 Dirk de Jonge
 Rockwell Kent
 Hon. Vito Marcantonio
 La Rue McCormick
 Richard B. Moore
 Dwight C. Morgan
 A. R. Newhoff

Herbert Nugent
 Robert Parker
 William L. Patterson
 Henry Shepard
 Albert Simmons
 Lawrence Simpson
 Sasha Small
 Mary A. Sweres
 Errol White
 James Waterman Wise
 Jan Wittenber
 National advisory board:
 Max Bedacht
 Clara Bodian
 Dr. Arnold Donawa
 James W. Ford
 William Z. Foster
 Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer
 Jessica Henderson
 J. B. McNamara
 Bruce Minton
 Tom Meyerscough
 Tom Mooney
 Samuel Ornitz
 Joseph Pass
 Isobel Walker Soule
 Louise Thompson
 Maude White
 Anita C. Whitney
 Mrs. Ada Wright

Some cases defended by the I. L. D. or in which the I. L. D. has assisted in defense, 1937-38

Place	Date	Name	Charge
Hoboken, N. J.	January 1937..	3 striking seamen.....	Simple assault and battery.
San Francisco, California.	January 1937..	9 picketing Nazi Consulate	Disturbing peace.
San Francisco, California.	March 1937....	32 W. P. A. pickets.....	Disturbing peace.
Los Angeles, California.	December 1937.	26 Workers Alliance pickets.	Disturbing peace and parading without permission.
New Orleans, Louisiana.	January 1938..	Jack Turan.....	Deportation.
Westville, Ill.	January 1938..	3 United Mine Workers of America.	Criminal syndicalism.
Nevada County, California.	January 1938..	6 International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers.	Inciting to riot.
Jersey City, N. J.	March 1938....	4 Nat'l Maritime Union...	Disorderly conduct (having C. I. O. strikers on car).
Yuma, Arizona.	March 1938....	Lettuce picker strikers U. C. A. P. A. W. U.	Disturbing peace, etc.
Galena, Kansas.	April 1938....	10 Int'l Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers.	Murder (framed).
Little Rock, Ark.	April 1938....	Joseph Streecker.....	Deportation.
Chicago, Ill.	April 1938....	Mack Hickerson.....	Rape and murder (confessed under torture).
Chicago, Ill.	April 1938....	John Robinson.....	Was murdered by police. I. L. D. helped organize investigation.
Jersey City, N. J.	April 1938....	James Burkitt.....	Disorderly person.
Jersey City, N. J.	April 1938....	John R. Longo.....	Ballot fraud.
Bradenton, Fla.	May 1938....	3 A. F. L. union organizers	Conspiring to organize.
Fort Lauderdale, Florida.	May 1938....	18 at Communist Party meeting.	Vagrancy.
Seattle, Wash.	May 1938....	James J. Crane.....	Deportation.
Chicago, Ill.	June 1938....	Nixon and Hicks.....	Murder and assault (framed).
San Antonio, Texas.	June 1938....	Workers school students	Deportation.
Redding, Calif.	June 1938....	23 relief sit-downers	Staging sit-down in relief administrator's office.
San Francisco, Calif.	June 1938....	4 maritime workers demonstrating against Nazi Bund.	Disturbing peace.
New Orleans, La.	June 1938....	C. I. O. organizers longshore and transport workers.	Vagrancy, loitering.

Some cases defended by the I. L. D. or in which the I. L. D. has assisted in defense, 1937-38—Continued

Place	Date	Name	Charge
Newton, Iowa.....	July 1938.....	2 U. E. R. and M. W. of A. leaders—2 strikers, 1 union president.	Criminal syndicalism, kidnaping, violating injunction.
New Orleans, La.....	September 1938.	5 Negro I. L. D. members.	Disturbing peace.
Aransas Pass, Texas..	September 1938.	Christopher Clarich, Shrimp Peelers Union.	Murder (framed).
Tampa, Fla.....	September	N. M. U. members.....	Vagrancy, etc.

Mr. WHITLEY. Miss Damon, is Mr. Joseph Brodsky a member of the legal staff of the I. L. D.?

Miss DAMON. At the time we had the hearing, you asked me whether Mr. Brodsky was chief counsel; you asked me that at that hearing, if you recollect. I replied in the letter that you read from that Mr. Brodsky was a member of our legal advisory committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right, he is a member of the legal advisory committee?

Miss DAMON. That is right, that is correct. Mr. Brodsky is a member of our legal advisory committee.

May I ask whether this [referring to constitution] is going to be part of the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be accepted as an exhibit in connection with the record.

Miss DAMON. Also this [referring to another document]?

The CHAIRMAN. All of them will be accepted and received as exhibits.

Mr. WHITLEY. To what extent did the I. L. D. participate in the defense of the individuals arrested as a result of the textile strike in Gastonia, N. C.?

Miss DAMON. I do not know to just what extent. We did participate. I can consult my records and let you know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know of your own knowledge?

Miss DAMON. I can look through my records. That can easily be ascertained when I get back.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you do know that the I. L. D. did take an active part in the defense of the persons arrested as a result of that strike?

Miss DAMON. I believe so, that they were connected with it. But I do not know to what extent. I will have to look up my records. I will have to look through the material in the national office to ascertain to what extent.

Mr. WHITLEY. One other question, Miss Damon. Did the Communist Party, to your knowledge, have anything to do with the organization, that is the setting up of the I. L. D. as an organization?

Miss DAMON. When do you mean?

Mr. WHITLEY. When it was first organized, founded.

Miss DAMON. I have given you whatever information I have on the organization of the I. L. D. Beyond that I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know?

Miss DAMON. Beyond that which I have given you as information I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you are not in a position to say that it did have anything to do with the original organization, or that it did not have anything to do with it?

MISS DAMON. Are you asking me my personal opinion?

MR. WHITLEY. No; I am asking you from your knowledge, first, as a Communist Party member and an official during that time, and later as an official of the I. L. D., did the Communist Party have anything to do with the setting up of the organization?

MISS DAMON. I do not know.

THE CHAIRMAN. She says she does not know.

MR. MATTHEWS. I have a question to ask Miss Damon. When you became secretary of the International Labor Defense, you were not a total stranger to its past history, were you?

MISS DAMON. I cannot answer you that.

MR. MATTHEWS. Had you ever heard of the organization before you became an officer of it?

MISS DAMON. Of course, I heard of it.

MR. MATTHEWS. Then you were not a total stranger. Had you ever heard of its affiliation with the International Red Aid?

MISS DAMON. I do not know of its affiliation. I have seen some of the material that has been in the office where it mentioned the International Red Aid, but I do not know definitely. Just what is it you want?

THE CHAIRMAN. You know that that material in your office does show that at one time it was affiliated with the International Red Aid.

MISS DAMON. I would not say that. There was some mention of the International Red Aid insofar as organizing activities for world victims of oppression and those in jails. Just what have you in mind?

MR. MATTHEWS. From the Daily Worker of October 29, 1932, page 4, we have a piece entitled, "Call of International Red Aid," which reads in part as follows:

The following call has been issued by the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid, of which the International Labor Defense is the American section.

Did you ever see in the literature or in the files of the International Labor Defense any statements such as this which appeared in the Daily Worker?

MISS DAMON. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Matthews, you quoted this to me on April the 3d at the conference at the Hotel New Yorker.

MR. MATTHEWS. I don't remember that.

MISS DAMON. That may be my mistake, but it was something similar to this.

MR. MATTHEWS. If I did I ask you again.

MISS DAMON. That is all right, but my recollection is that we had some discussion about that.

THE CHAIRMAN. What are the facts? That is what we are interested in. What is your answer? Ask the question over again.

MR. MATTHEWS. I ask you merely if you had ever seen in the literature or in the files of the International Labor Defense this call or any similar statement which designates the International Labor Defense as the American section of the International Red Aid.

MISS DAMON. That was in October 1932; is that right?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes.

MISS DAMON. That would not come in the scope of my work.

The CHAIRMAN. He asked you if you saw it in the files.

Miss DAMON. I might have seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us be definite about it. You mentioned the fact that you saw in the files of the International Labor Defense certain material which mentioned the International Red Aid organization. Is that a fact? Now, did you, in this material, see statements and references to the fact, if it is a fact, that the American Labor Defense is a section of the International Labor Defense in Moscow? Did you see any such statement as that in the files?

Miss DAMON. I might have.

The CHAIRMAN. Well—

Miss DAMON. I might have seen it. Mr. Dies, it is impossible to say whether I have or have not. Let me see this particular clipping. Even then I may not know whether I have seen it.

(Mr. Matthews hands paper to witness.)

Miss DAMON. Where is this from?

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the Daily Worker.

Miss DAMON. I have no recollection of this particular one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be made part of the record, and I should like to quote this paragraph:

The work of the International Red Aid—of which the International Labor Defense is the American section—is an inseparable part of your general struggle for bread and work, against the new imperialist war, against the attack on our only revolutionary fatherland—the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no questions, the committee will go into executive session.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, may I make a request?

The CHAIRMAN. You wish to make a request at this time?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes; my request is this: As president of the International Labor Defense, pursuant to a telegraphic request which I made, in which I asked for an opportunity to appear before this committee to make certain statements, that I be given an opportunity to make such appearance.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you asking for such an opportunity now?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take it under consideration in the committee and advise you.

Mr. STARNES. As one member of the committee, I shall be glad to hear you.

Mr. CASEY. To whom did you make the request?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I made the request last December, and it is part of the committee proceedings.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will go into executive session.

(The article above referred to is as follows:)

[The Daily Worker, October 29, 1932, p. 4]

CALL OF INTERNATIONAL RED AID

The following call has been issued by the executive committee of the International Red Aid, of which the International Labor Defense is the American section:

"Join the army of the International Red Aid.

"Close our movement of international revolutionary solidarity.

"Strengthen the defense and assistance for the proletarian prisoners of capitalism.

"On November 10 a world congress of I. R. A. is being convened. This congress will review the 10 years' work of our organization. It will call upon all of you to join the I. R. A., to extend and strengthen its ranks.

"The toiling masses of all countries must hear the voices of the I. R. A. Its call must find an unanimous answer.

"Look all around: Fascist, police and court terror is raging with unheard of cruelty in all capitalist countries. Listen: A call for help is heard from all capitalist prisons. A call for resistance to the jailers who practice the most cruel violence and ill treatment.

"Workmen and workwomen, toilers of the town and village! Such a destiny threatens all of you, your families and friends.

"The aim of the I. R. A. is your own aim.

"The work of I. R. A. is an inseparable part of your general struggle for bread and work, against the new imperialist war, against the attack on our only revolutionary fatherland—the Soviet Union.

"Be prepared to join in masses the ranks of the I. R. A.

"The badge of I. R. A.—the red banner waving behind the prison bars must find the place it deserves in every worker's family and every farmer's family.

"Long live the I. R. A.

"Long live the international solidarity of the toilers in the struggle against white terror, fascism, and the war danger."

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE I. R. A.

(Whereupon, the committee went into executive session, following which it adjourned, to meet on Tuesday, October 17, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 1 p. m. in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Congressman Marcantonio is our first witness.

TESTIMONY OF HON. VITO MARCANTONIO, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, NATIONAL PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. I have explained to Congressman Marcantonio that the rules of the committee do not permit a witness to make a statement and he understands that and is perfectly agreeable to it, but he wants to have an opportunity, in the course of his examination, to answer every material point.

I believe I am correct in that statement. Congressman.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That opportunity will be accorded you by counsel in the questions that he will ask you.

You may proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. I think the questions themselves will clear that up.

Congressman, how long have you been connected with the International Labor Defense?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I was elected at the convention which I believe took place in June 1937 in Hotel Washington, Washington, D. C., either in June or July of that year.

Mr. WHITLEY. And had you had any connections with the organization prior to your election as national chairman?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I was not even a member of it and my only connection was limited to consultations with some of the members of the legal staff of the International Labor Defense prior to that time; that was during the period of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. And prior to your acceptance of that position, did you make it a point to go into the background and history and connections of the organization?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. As thoroughly as possible. By that I mean that I was fully familiar with the activities, the defense activities,

of the International Labor Defense, that is, its activities in connection with the *Scottsboro* case and its activities in connection with the *Tom Mooney* case and various other cases which had appeared before the committee involving the civil rights of various individuals.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you look into and inquire into the background, so far as its relations with other organizations and its origin was concerned?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. With regard to its origin, I had learned of Miss Damon being connected with it at its inception.

I also did definitely ascertain for myself whether or not the International Labor Defense, which was convened here in 1937, was connected with the Communist Party, and I ascertained that it was definitely not connected with the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you determine that, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. By speaking to the various attorneys and speaking to those connected with the International Labor Defense who had dealt with them; in fact, so-called prominent labor people of that sort.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were thoroughly satisfied that the International Labor Defense, in its origin and activities, had not ever been subject to Communist control or influence?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is correct.

Mr. THOMAS. You feel that it was never subject to Communist influence?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I feel that the International Labor Defense today and in 1937 was not subject to Communist influence. I had known that the International Labor Defense had Communists as members, and people who occupied positions of prominence in the International Labor Defense, who were Communists, but that did not prove to me that they controlled the International Labor Defense.

Mr. THOMAS. That is true with reference to today and 1937. But prior to 1937?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. As far as the activities were concerned, such as the *Scottsboro* and the *Mooney*, and cases like that, those were the matters that I investigated, and in those activities the Communists had definitely no control.

Mr. THOMAS. But you are not certain of any other cases?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. What happened before that I am not prepared to state.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean you cannot testify as to connections or activities prior to 1937, Congressman?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No; I am not prepared; and I am responsible only for the International Labor Defense, as its president, from the day that I took office, and after that I am responsible for the acts of the International Labor Defense since the day I took office as president in 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand the witness's testimony he simply means this, if I am correct, that the only knowledge he has, first-hand knowledge about this organization, dates from his connection with it in 1937.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. First-hand knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. And prior to 1937 the only knowledge he had was with reference to certain lawsuits.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That he was consulted about. You were not counsel in those cases?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was the only knowledge you had of it prior to 1937 that it did not engage in Communist activities.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is a correct statement.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are not in position to say, of your own knowledge, whether Communists founded this organization or whether Communists ran it or what happened prior to 1937.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is a correct statement.

Mr. THOMAS. How are the policies of the International Labor Defense determined today?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Today we have a governing body.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think it would be well to let that be developed in order?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May I finish the answer to that question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. We have a governing body. The governing body is overwhelmingly non-Communist, to my knowledge, unless some members may conceal their identity.

Mr. THOMAS. But you do admit that some of them are Communists?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I certainly do admit and did admit it, but the majority is non-Communist, and I am chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understood the testimony yesterday from the secretary, Miss Damon, on the one hand and Mr. Paterson, a vice president, and Mr. Dunn is another vice president?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Four officers?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And two of its officers unquestionably are Communists, Miss Damon and Mr. Paterson.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Dr. Dunn is not a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I know that of my own knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the officers of the organization stand 50-50?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The officers do not control it.

The CHAIRMAN. But half of the officers are Communists and half are non-Communists?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. But the officers do not run the organization. The organization is run by the governing body, presided over by myself, and the decisions of that governing body must be followed by the officers and whether the officer is a member of the American Labor Party, as in my case, or a member of the Communist Party as in Miss Damon's case, the decisions of the governing body must be followed or they will be asked to resign.

Mr. THOMAS. You are going to develop the membership of the governing body?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Very well, go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Congressman, you have touched on it just briefly, but will you detail for the committee just what your duties are as national chairman of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. As national chairman, I pass on all policies of the International Labor Defense; that is, decision that may have been evolved by the governing body.

However, I have been consulted with regard to the decisions of the governing body of the International Labor Defense and all its decisions have been approved by me or disapproved by me, and those that have been approved have been adopted and carried out and those that have been disapproved have not been adopted and have not been carried out.

As a matter of fact, there have been very, very few occasions in which to make decision because the work is mechanical; it is a question of defense work, and very little question of policy ever becomes involved.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now what are the duties of the executive secretary of the organization, Congressman?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The executive secretary runs the office, sees to it that the various people in the office do their proper work; and also takes care of communications and deals with the various people who come into the office.

Mr. WHITLEY. He more or less has charge of the physical operation, administrative operation of the office?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The physical, administrative operation, correct; but has nothing to do with policies.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, how many members are on this governing body?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Offhand, I do not remember, but we have quite a few.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have the list.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. You have a record of them?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. How often does the governing body meet?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. There are no regular meetings of the governing body. It meets from time to time, usually about once a month.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you keep minutes of the board meetings?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the minutes of the meetings show who are present?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Exactly; the minutes will show. I believe we have furnished them, and if not we will be very happy to do so.

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not know whether I have the minutes or not.

The CHAIRMAN. The minutes will show who are present?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes; and we will be glad to furnish them.

The CHAIRMAN. They will identify those present and I think we should have them.

Mr. THOMAS. The governing body meets at your call?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Most of the time.

Mr. THOMAS. How would they meet otherwise than that?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. As a matter of fact, I do not recall any occasion they have met without my first having sent the notice.

The CHAIRMAN. And you meet about once a month?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. About once a month except during the summer period when it is hardly necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. How often have you been present in the past year at any governing body meetings?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In 1938 and 1937 particularly, I was present at practically every one.

The CHAIRMAN. Every month?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is right. Since the Congress convened, January 3, I have only been present at very few sessions.

The CHAIRMAN. How about during the sessions of Congress?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I was not present. Prior to that time I was not here. I was retired in 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not in Congress during 1937 and 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who presides over the board meetings in your absence?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Usually Robert Dunn.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Congressman, in addition to the International Labor Defense what other organizations do you belong to?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am a member of the Italian Holy Name Society; and I am a member the Fiorello LaGuardia Political Club. I think that is about all that I am in good standing with.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member or have you ever been a member of the American Friends of the Chinese People?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May have been a sponsor.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the American League for Peace and Democracy; have you been a member of it?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I believe I am a sponsor—wait a minute. I think I was put on the governing body at the last convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had anything to do with the American Students Union?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No; except that I addressed the students at New York University on one occasion, and the students at the City College of New York on another occasion.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was a meeting sponsored by the American Student Union?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I would not say for sure that it was sponsored by them—I think by a group, rather various groups. In fact, they met in the City College and had the consent of the authorities of City College, because it was held in the main hall of City College; and the same thing is applicable to the meeting that took place in New York University.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had any connection with the organization which was formerly known as the National Council for the Protection of Foreign Born, and I believe is now known as the National Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. The International Labor Defense is affiliated with the Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, and the International Labor Defense sends a representative.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. And I am nominally the representative but I do not go; somebody else goes in my place because I am busy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Congressman, were you one of the signers of the Golden Book of Friendship for the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not remember signing any gold book, blue book, or white book.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the North American Committee to Aid Spain: Have you ever had any connections with that committee?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No. I spoke at one of the meetings, or maybe two of the meetings—wait a minute; the meeting that was held at Madison Square was not run by the North American Committee; it was run by the United Confederated Spanish Association.

Mr. WHITLEY. And would that include one of the meetings?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I believe the North American Committee was one of the groups, one of the sponsoring groups.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it probably also included the Medical Bureau, which was connected with the North American Committee?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. It probably did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Congressman, have you ever given a testimonial for a Communist publication?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Definitely not. My speeches may have been reprinted in the Daily Worker and other papers, but I never have. I have no right to preclude any one from anything I write or speak.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you have not. Do you know of any instances in which a testimonial on behalf of a Communist publication or paper has been given by you?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I cannot recall.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I make reference to a photostatic copy of an excerpt from the New Masses, which publication is the official publication of the Communist Party, dated April 12, 1938, under the heading, "Indispensable is what they call New Masses."

And, I note especially the excerpt shown in that photograph and I will ask Mr. Marcantonio if he can identify it [handing excerpt to witness].

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes, sir. I endorsed the New Masses as a periodical that should be read.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your endorsement reads as follows: and it is headed "Vito Marcantonio, national president, International Labor Defense."

No other magazine can possibly take its place. It is not just another liberal magazine. There is no other weekly in the country that can be depended upon for consistency and political acumen in its comments on events. There is no other magazine in which the facts behind the political and economic scene can be found as accurately and readily. I do not know how anyone in the progressive movement can afford to be without it, if they have the price.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May I ask also in connection with that endorsement how many other non-Communists made similar endorsements that were reproduced on the same page?

You will find plenty of men; you will find plenty of them who were non-Communists, New Dealers, Democrats who made similar statements, and in fact on that very page on which that appears and I think the whole page should go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

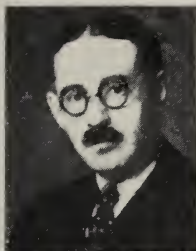
Mr. THOMAS. I agree with you there.

Mr. WHITLEY. The whole page will appear in the record.

(The page from "New Masses" referred to follows:)

"INDISPENSABLE"

is what they call NEW MASSES...



Harold J. Laski

*Professor of Political Science,
University of London*

As a member of the British Labor Party I naturally have differences with the policy of the New Masses that are profound. But I read it each week with great interest and I believe that the contribution it makes to the understanding of political issues domestic and foreign, is of quite first-rate importance.



Paul de Kruif

Author of Why Keep Them Alive?

New Masses is the periodical which may be called the spearhead of the peoples' front which all real progressives are trying to develop against the baby bombers in this country. Of all periodicals coming to this house the New Masses is the only one that each week I read from cover to cover.



Henry G. Telgan

*United States Congressman
from Minnesota*

In my opinion, New Masses is one of the most informative of progressive publications now being issued in America. You are doing a fine job in keeping people informed on the danger of fascism and autocracy throughout the world and in exposing the villainous methods employed by their agents in accomplishing the overthrow of democratic governments.

Vito Marcantonio

*National President
International Labor Defense*

No other magazine can possibly take its place. It is not just another ordinary magazine. There is no other weekly in the country that can be depended upon for consistency and pointed argument in its comment columns. There is no other magazine in which the facts behind the political and economic scene can be found so accurately and readily. I do not know how anyone in the progressive movement can afford to be without it, if they have the price.



Marc Blitzstein

*Composer of
The Cradle Will Rock*

New Masses is the only weekly left in America which can be counted on for a complete and accurate analysis of world affairs. It is superfluous to say it makes swell reading as well. I couldn't do without it, and I know thousands of middle class and professional people feel the same way about it.



George Sklar

Co-author of Streets

With the "liberal" dailies and weeklies showing ever-increasing symptoms of acute and pernicious decadence and with headless thank God for New Masses, which remains in the midst of confusion, a clear, vigorous and incisive voice and guide.



• Win Your Friends and Influence People to Subscribe to

NEW MASSES

Key to the Week's World News

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the same views with reference to the consistency of this publication since it came out in defense of the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Well, I am not a literary critic.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean since it came out in favor of the Soviet-Nazi pact.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In fact, I have not read New Masses in quite a long time.

Mr. THOMAS. Had you read it before you made that endorsement?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Why, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean, Mr. Marcantonio, is this: As a matter of fact, it is defending the Soviet-Nazi pact, as I understand, and you certainly would not have much to say in commendation of that consistency now?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Well, Mr. Chairman, do you think we can comment on the consistence of any particular individual over long periods in his public life?

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I asked that is this: You make the statement that it can be depended upon for consistency and I was wondering if that comment would still stand since the Soviet-Nazi Pact?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, go ahead.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not like to get into a discussion on the question of the consistency of New Masses, or its inconsistency because many of us Members of Congress are met with that criticism rather more frequently than otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be true but still I was just inquiring of you, since the point was made by you in your endorsement of this particular publication because of its consistency.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes; and I may have commended its consistency a year ago and may not have the same opinion today.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Marcantonio, do you know who the previous executive secretaries of the International Labor Defense have been?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No, except what I heard Miss Damon testify to here yesterday.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with James P. Cannon, who was the first executive secretary?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I would not know except as it came to me here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what his political affiliations were?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Except that it was brought out that he was chairman of the Communist Party years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. National chairman?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is what you said yesterday; that is the only source of my information.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know J. Louis Engdahl, who was at one time executive secretary?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not know the gentleman and would not know him if he came in.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you would not know that he later died in Moscow?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not know anything about him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you ever acquainted with Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who was one of the executive secretaries?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No; except that she campaigned against Mayor LaGuardia and me back in 1926, and the only connection was that we had occasion to speak on opposite corners.

Mr. WHITLEY. She was admittedly a Communist?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. At that time she was a candidate against Mayor LaGuardia for Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the Communist ticket?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is my only connection with Miss Poyntz.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Carl Hacker, a former executive secretary of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. This is the first time I ever heard the name.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not. I do not know him and this is the first time I have heard the name mentioned.

Mr. WHITLEY. You of course know that William L. Patterson, now vice president and former executive secretary, was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your present executive secretary, Miss Damon, is a member of the party?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Congressman, in checking up on the organization before you accepted the position as a national chairman did you determine whether the International Labor Defense was ever, at any time, affiliated with, or check up on the International Red Aid, with headquarters at Moscow?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I never knew the International Labor Defense to be anything of the sort. As I stated before, my real information concerning the International Labor Defense came to me as the organization which put up the money for these particular cases which I have referred to.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you have no other information on that subject?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Chairman, in order to clear up the record—

The CHAIRMAN. Before you do that let me ask you this question. It is a fact, that after you got to be chairman you did make some investigation of this question, did you not?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. It never came up. You see, after I became chairman I took the chairmanship with the distinct understanding this was to be a non-Communist organization and still is a non-Communist organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You have that understanding?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes; as everybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you agreed to take the chairmanship?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. It was clearly understood.

The CHAIRMAN. By the membership and the governing board?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That you were not going to have anything to do with it unless it was non-Communist and nonpolitical?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Non-Communist and nonpolitical and its one job, defense job, is that of defending civil rights wherever they are invaded.

Mr. THOMAS. What led you to make that request? There must have been some reason for it?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. It is natural, Congressman, in having read any charges against the International Labor Defense Council that may have been made, it was only natural, may I say to my colleague.

Mr. THOMAS. I am not referring to today, but as of the time you made the statement.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Something must have led you to make such a statement.

Mr. MARANTONIO. The reason I made the statement was simply because we defend the right of a Communist to be a Communist; we defend persons time and time again, charged with being Communists, but I never lost an opportunity to assert and to reassert that the organization was non-Communist.

Mr. THOMAS. Had you made any investigation as to whether it was Communist or not?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. My investigation is right there; I am the president; I run the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You run the whole organization?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In accordance with the rules and bylaws and in accordance with the constitution of the order. In other words, I run the organization in the same sense that Mr. Green runs the A. F. of L. and the President runs the United States, in accordance with the constitution and bylaws and regulations of the organization.

Mr. THOMAS. Who formulates the policies of the organization; the governing body?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Let me say this about the policies: There are very few policies formulated, because, if we are convinced of a person being framed, it is simply a question of getting in touch with a good lawyer to defend him.

Mr. THOMAS. You just assume he has been framed up and go ahead and employ a lawyer?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I said if we were convinced.

Mr. THOMAS. If you were convinced?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. If we were convinced; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you defend this fellow Strecker?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Strecker—the International Labor Defense defended Strecker.

Mr. THOMAS. Strecker was a Communist?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Certainly; and the Supreme Court agreed with the position taken by the International Labor Defense; and if it is wrong, the Supreme Court is wrong; if we were un-American, the Supreme Court is un-American.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, personally, I think it was the poorest decision the Supreme Court ever made.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, gentlemen, let us not try to settle that here.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Well, if you think Chief Justice Hughes is in error, it is a question of which one you are to accept, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, there seems to be considerable question, in the mind of both Miss Damon, the executive secretary, and Congressman Marcantonio with reference to the subject of whether or not the International Labor Defense was ever affiliated with the International Red Aid. I think perhaps a few quotations from the

Communist publication on that point would help clarify the record.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May I just say a word there?

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, the witness said he did not know anything of the organization prior to 1937.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Exactly; and I want to say this: Let us assume for the sake of argument—and I am not trying to make an argument; I am trying to get a fair hearing, and I think that is what you gentlemen want more than anything else—suppose we admit that was so, irrespective of what the International Labor Defense was: You are now investigating un-American, subversive activities of existing organizations; is that correct?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. And I say it is a question of what the International Labor Defense stands for now. The Democratic Party, for instance, at one time stood for a good many things it does not stand for now.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me interrupt you a moment?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It is true that we are interested in what the organization stands for today.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But in determining what it stands for we naturally want to know something of the history of the organization to determine whether or not, if it was Communist as we have had very competent evidence to show that it was at one time controlled by the Communist Party, and assuming, as you say, that it is no longer controlled by the Communist Party, the question now is that you still have two Communists who are officers of the organization.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you still have never gone on record—

Mr. MARCANTONIO (interposing). I will explain that, too.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Let me do that right now, because I am afraid I will not have opportunity later.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I want to assure this committee that if tomorrow a case were brought to us which involved the deprivation of civil rights, of any individual who has ever been deprived of his civil rights by the Communist or by the Soviet Republic, by Stalin, by Browder, or by anybody else, that we will defend that person against any and all of these charges and that is what I mean that the organization stands for.

The CHAIRMAN. Regardless of the statement that you have non-Communists connected with the organization and the statement that you have minutes and resolutions that the Communists in Russia and the dictator, Joseph Stalin, have gone on record repeatedly condemning nazi-ism.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And fascism.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In behalf of those who have been victims of nazi-ism and fascism aggression and oppression, but they have never, during the long existence of your organization, when hundreds of

thousands of people were the victims of Stalin gone on record in behalf of a single victim.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. For the simple reason that we have never had any of that type of case before us. Nazi-ism is being condemned by us as a method.

In this country the type of case we have had before us involving victims of Communism—the occasion has never arisen, and Mr. Chairman, if at anytime you or anyone else presents to us a case where a person is a victim, where his rights have been deprived by Communists, Bolsheviks, Socialists, or anybody else, we will defend that man's civil rights and continue to do so as long as he is deprived of his civil rights.

The CHAIRMAN. How often has it happened that you extended aid to victims of nazi-ism, to the oppressed people in Germany?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you do not know to what extent?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. To the best of our ability.

Mr. THOMAS. To what extent?

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it that during all the time people were purged in Russia when, as a matter of common knowledge, hundreds of thousands of people were the victims of Stalin's autocracy, you never referred to that specifically in condemnation of Stalin, his dictatorship, or the victims of his persecution?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. We are not a political organization. We condemned fascist activity in those particular cases. In that connection, the condemnation—

The CHAIRMAN. That condemnation was of fascism.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In that connection, we condemned fascism. "Fascism" there is used in the sense it is used as a method. We condemn the method.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not you condemn the methods of Communists also?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. We have had no such cases before us; we have had no such occasion, and nobody has come before us.

Mr. THOMAS. But you knew of many cases yourself, nevertheless, that exist?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. They have never been brought to our attention, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you read the newspapers?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Certainly.

Mr. THOMAS. Then, if you read the newspapers, you know of many cases that exist in the world?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Just a moment. We had only one case in regard to Germany—let us be fair about this; that was the Simpson case, an American seaman incarcerated in Germany. That is the only case we had. And why it came to our attention, it was brought to us; in other words, we are trying to confine our activities as much as possible to the United States of America.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is, Mr. Marcantonio, that in your constitution you specifically condemn fascism.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the constitution, as a general policy and principle of your organization; but you fail to condemn the other form of fascism—Soviet fascism. Now, naturally that creates—the

fact you have Communists who are officers in your organization, two of them, the fact you have never condemned communism, and there is no record where you have defended any victims of Stalin's persecution, naturally creates a suspicion——

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Well, my answer to that is this——

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. Naturally that creates a question as to whether or not the organization has ceased to be communistic since you took over.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. It creates a doubt in your mind. I say we are ready to resolve all doubts; when a case presents itself, and then we do not act, you have a right to pass judgment on us.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you are constitution right there?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I have.

Mr. THOMAS. I think it would be a good idea right here to read that part of the constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you now, as chairman of that organization, condemn Stalin's dictatorship in Russia?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am opposed to all dictatorships, including Stalin's dictatorship.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it is a dictatorship?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am opposed to communism, socialism, nazism, and fascism, in that I believe in the capitalist form of society, but I do not believe in persecuting Communists because they are Communists; I do not believe in depriving them of their civil rights because they are Communists. I believe in the defense of civil rights to every American citizen, or even those of aliens, whatever rights the Constitution gives to aliens.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do specifically condemn——

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Dictatorships of all sorts.

The CHAIRMAN. The Stalin dictatorship?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat; I am opposed to all dictatorships; but an American citizen, an American Communist, has a perfect right to advocate that dictatorship; he has a perfect right to advocate communism, and you have no right to persecute him for advocating that.

The CHAIRMAN. But you will agree he has no right to be subservient to a foreign government and engage in espionage?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. As long as the advocacy, as long as the activities and advocacy come within the constitutional limitations, the limits prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, that person has a right of being an advocate; and when we try to stop them, we are undermining our own democratic institutions.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me read something to you from the statutes and constitution of the International Labor Defense, adopted June 22, 1937, amended July 1939:

ART. 2. AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

SEC. D. The International Labor Defense, as a part of its struggle for democratic and civil rights, aids and supports the fight against war and fascism.

Nothing is said there about communism at all. Do you intend, at your next convention, to make a motion——

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I cannot say what the next convention will do. I will say this to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Thomas],

as I have said before, bring us a case, or any time a case arises where we are called in, without being busybodies—

Mr. THOMAS. That is beside the point. What I want to know—

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Let me finish the statement—any time a case comes before us where there is a deprivation of civil rights, of democratic rights of that person, that comes before us; I do not care who deprives him of those civil rights, we will defend any individual in the world, and defend the victim.

Mr. THOMAS. What I would like to know from you, Mr. Marcantonio, as the head of this organization, is whether you will recommend to the organization including the word "communism" there along with "fascism"?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No; because it does not say—what are we going to do, get into a theoretical discussion?

The CHAIRMAN. We must hurry along, gentlemen.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just want to ask this one question. I agree with what you said about the civil rights of all people, of all Americans, but I just want to know whether you do not think that the advocacy of an economic philosophy, for example, the Communist economic philosophy, or any other one, or a Fascist economic philosophy, is a different thing from a very closely regimented organization which, as a matter of fact, is dominated by a foreign government, whether by Germany, Russia, or whatever it may be? Are not those two different things?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Do you want to deprive these people of the right of advocating those things?

Mr. VOORHIS. No; I said I did not. But my question is, Isn't there a difference between the right to do that, and a highly regimented and disciplined organization which, as a matter of fact, is controlled by a foreign government?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. As long as the activities are kept within the confines of the statutes and the Constitution, they have a right to advocate—they have a right to organize and they have a right to advocate. Otherwise, we disagree with the founding fathers and disagree with the very essence of American democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. What he is trying to point out to you—

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't know whether you got my question.

The CHAIRMAN. What he is trying to point out to you is very clear; there is a difference between people who want to believe in Communism talking it, writing it, and believing it.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. And advocating it.

The CHAIRMAN. No—and those who merely constitute an espionage arm of a foreign government.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am opposed to all kinds of espionage, whether Communist espionage or Fascist espionage, or even Wall Street espionage.

The CHAIRMAN. But there is a difference between those two; is not that right?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Between espionage and advocacy, of course there is a difference.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all he asked.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. And I said before I believe in the right of a person, whether a Communist or what he is, to advocate anything

he wants, including communism, as long as his activities are confined within the purview of the Constitution of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, gentlemen; are there any other questions?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Spies and espionage—I am for punishing them, just as much as you gentlemen are.

Mr. WHITLEY. Congressman, I believe you stated a few moments ago that, as far as you know, the I. L. D. had never been affiliated with or a section of the International Red Aid with headquarters in Moscow?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Right; as far as I know. I know of the I. L. D. of my own knowledge from 1937 on; anything else you ask me is not a matter of my own knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. He has made that clear.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Mr. Chairman, in order to clear that up, I would like to read a few excerpts concerning the origin of the International Red Aid and its international character, and the affiliation of the I. L. D. with that organization. Reading from the International Press Correspondence—that is an official publication of the Communist International?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Of what date?

Mr. WHITLEY. March 7, 1928—under the heading Manifesto on the Occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the International Red Aid—

The I. R. D. has developed rapidly in the five years of its existence and struggle, and has become a powerful international organization. It numbers nearly eight and a half million members in 43 countries.

Now, in the same issue of the International Press Correspondence, page 262, under the heading Origin of the International Red Aid, we find this statement:

In August 1922 there appeared in the Communist Tribune, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland, an appeal dated 23rd of August, calling upon the Polish Communists and nonparty sympathizers to collect money in aid of the victims of the relentless terror being practiced by the Polish bourgeoisie. This appeal was signed by 42 well-known Polish Communists—

and then it goes on to name them.

In the same article, under the heading of Origin of the International Red Aid this appears:

* * * At the same time it was resolved to carry the appeal of the I. R. A. to countries in which there are comparatively few victims of the revolutionary struggle, for instance, America, Australia, and Scandinavia, in order to induce these to assist the victims of the White Terror in other countries.

From these beginnings the I. R. A. has developed into one of the greatest organizations of the International proletariat. The slogan under whose auspices the I. R. A. commenced its activities: "Workers of the World, Unite," is advancing to realization in our revolutionary times, and this longed-for goal the unification of the world proletariat, is being served by the International Red Aid.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Well, may I say this, that since I have been president—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have made that clear.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Just a moment—neither the I. R. A. nor any alphabetical convention of which I have heard, has ever made any request or any demand on the I. L. D.; and, if they do, if Mr. Browder, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Stalin, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Mussolini, or Mr. Daladier, or anybody, is so presumptuous as to try to send us any orders or any advice, they will be completely ignored.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way: Is it or is it not true that the American Labor Party is getting rid of the Communists within its ranks? Is that true?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Well, I would rather not discuss the American Labor Party politics here.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't want to discuss the American Labor Party politics.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. But I don't want to go into the American Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought maybe as you are an official—are you not an official of the American Labor Party?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am president of one of the clubs, and the sole Representative down here, and occasionally down here my job is to caucus with myself and the other members of the American Labor Party, and I am leaving the boys back home to do their own fighting. They are doing their own fighting, and I am doing the fighting down here.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Congressman, I believe you stated a few moments ago that any time any victims or any cases came to your attention, in which the victims were Nazis or Fascists—

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I say when they are called to our attention; in other words, when they ask us. In other words, we are not going to jump in as busybodies.

Mr. WHITLEY. Whether they are victims of Nazis or Fascists, you would lend them your support just as quickly as you would lend support to the cases where they were Communists?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Where they were being deprived of civil rights, democratic rights.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from page 4 of the report of the I. L. D., National Conference, Washington, D. C.—that was the last conference, I believe, held here in Washington, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is right—1939.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was May 1939, I believe?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY [reading]:

This policy was stated in a resolution adopted by the National Board of the International Labor Defense in this connection, on December 22, 1938—

That is since your connection as national chairman?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY [reading]:

* * * The I. L. D. will not undertake the defense of any Nazi, Fascists, or of any other persons or organizations whose aims and activities are antilabor and antidemocratic, or of any activities arising out of the furtherance of such aims. To do so would be in contravention of the constitution of the International Labor Defense.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is correct. In other words, if a person's activities are antilabor, we are certainly not going to defend them. Let them go to the American Civil Liberties Union, or some other organization to defend them.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not consider Communists antilabor?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. We are not going—

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question: Do you consider Communists antilabor?

MR. MARCANTONIO. No; I consider them a part of the labor struggle, definitely.

MR. STARNES. So your organization is not interested in the defense of all persons, of all oppressed people, regardless of their race, creed, color, or class?

MR. MARCANTONIO. Where their democratic rights are deprived; yes.

MR. STARNES. Would you defend a businessman if his democratic rights have been deprived of him?

MR. MARCANTONIO. Most certainly.

MR. STARNES. Would you defend a Nazi if his democratic rights had been deprived of him?

MR. MARCANTONIO. If democratic rights are involved, certainly; but when he is engaged in antidemocratic activities, his democratic rights are not involved.

MR. STARNES. You make a distinction, then; you don't give a hoot about how much a man is oppressed or how much he is punished, or how cruelly he is treated—

MR. MARCANTONIO. The criterion, may I say to my colleague from Alabama—Mr. Starnes—is the deprivation of his democratic and civil rights.

THE CHAIRMAN. In other words, is this correct: You regard nazism and fascism as antidemocratic?

MR. MARCANTONIO. Correct.

THE CHAIRMAN. And that is the reason you provide that you won't defend Nazis or Fascists?

MR. MARCANTONIO. That is right.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is the reason—the fact it is antidemocratic?

MR. MARCANTONIO. Except this—wait a moment—it is not as general as all that. It all depends on that person's activity. Usually the activity with regard to the Nazis, from my experience, has been an activity that does not come within the purview of the liberties or rights given to him under the Constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN. What I mean is—we are taking the phrase used here in your resolution.

MR. MARCANTONIO. Well, that is a general phrase. That is why I get down to cases.

THE CHAIRMAN. I understand, but I am trying to get its application. Suppose there is this or that Nazi in the United States engaged in Nazi activities and, as a result of that, he is arrested—

MR. MARCANTONIO. If he makes a speech, let us say?

THE CHAIRMAN. I did not say "speech."

MR. MARCANTONIO. Well, what are his activities? If his activities are hanging around a power plant and he is arrested, we would not defend him.

THE CHAIRMAN. You would not defend anybody?

MR. MARCANTONIO. Nobody.

THE CHAIRMAN. Why, then, in the resolution, did you just mention Nazis and Fascists?

MR. MARCANTONIO. Because the Nazis and Fascists, particularly Nazi activities, from our knowledge, are activities that are along the line of espionage.

THE CHAIRMAN. What did you mean when you said you would not defend Nazis and Fascists? You had what in mind?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. We had this in mind, we had this concrete situation, in other words, of getting into airplane factories, and Nazis hanging around various places involving the national defense; in other words, where their activities were of an espionage character.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that be true of Communists?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. If the Communists were involved in espionage.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you not say—

Mr. MARCANTONIO. If a Communist were involved in espionage, we would not defend him. We are not defending spies.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why did not you say in the resolution "Communists" along with "Nazis"?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I have been trying to explain that. That question came up before the national board and came up in connection with a specific proposition of a Nazi activity, and we said that Nazi activity involved espionage and would not come within the purview of our activities. The I. L. D. will not undertake the defense of any Nazi, Fascist, or any other, under those circumstances. In other words, it will not defend them or any other persons or organizations whose aims and activities are antilabor and antidemocratic.

The CHAIRMAN. It looks to me like that means what it says.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Anybody whose aims are antidemocratic or antilabor, regardless of what they engage in, you won't defend them?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. We won't defend them if their activities are such—I was present at the time that resolution took place—

The CHAIRMAN. All we have is what you say in the resolution.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Many times we have lost these cases where we just have words and have the Supreme Court interpret them. I am telling you just what happened. We will not—I will say once again—we will not defend anybody involved in an antidemocratic activity. By that I mean anything which is unlawful. And why do we mention Nazis? Because the Nazi constitution and the Fascist constitution came up, and we passed a resolution on that. But I go further; if a Communist is involved in an espionage activity, the International Labor Defense will not defend him. We will not defend anybody.

Mr. STARNES. What about sabotage?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Sabotage includes espionage. It would include sabotage, certainly.

Mr. STARNES. What about men who are guilty of murder?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. If a man is accused of murder, we will not defend murder cases.

Mr. STARNES. I said guilty of murder.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Where are civil rights involved there?

Mr. STARNES. What about men who are guilty of arson and the destruction of property?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. We are not a public-defender outfit. There are no civil rights involved there. The answer is "No"; unless the man is framed and we are convinced that they charge the man with arson simply because he happens to be a labor leader. In other words, like the Mooney case.

Mr. STARNES. I said guilty of arson.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Just a moment; I want to get down to cases. I say where a man is charged with murder, and we are convinced he

is innocent of that murder, we are convinced he is charged with murder because of his labor activities, certainly we would defend him.

Mr. STARNES. Now, who is the supreme court of the I. L. D.?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. We have no supreme court. We have a president.

Mr. STARNES. Well, who is the man, or group of men, or women, in the organization that lays down the yardstick and decides whether it is undemocratic or antilabor?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. If it is the usual run-of case, it is usually decided by myself; if there is a real policy question involved, it comes up before the governing board. We have had no such case since I have been president.

Mr. STARNES. Is it not a fact in the I. L. D.—well, I cannot ask that question, because you have confined it to your knowledge since 1937, but I wanted to ask if it was not a fact that the I. L. D. had volunteered its services and stepped into cases and sought to interfere with the processes of the courts of this country, and if they had not attempted to influence, to browbeat, and intimidate the civil authorities of this country?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. My answer is "No."

Mr. STARNES. Never?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Never; as far as I know; and, furthermore, as I said before, we came into the De Jonge case, and the Supreme Court agreed with us, and the Strecher case——

Mr. STARNES. Was De Jonge a member on your board of directors?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I think he is. We came into the De Jonge case——

Mr. STARNES. Is not the fact of the business this: That the reason the denouncing of communism has never been embodied in the resolutions adopted by the I. L. D., the fact that a resolution to that effect has the same chance as the proverbial snowball in the lower regions of ever being considered and passed by the I. L. D.?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. As I say to you gentlemen, give us a case of one person deprived of democratic rights by the Communists, and I will give you my guaranty, if he comes to us, he will be defended.

Mr. STARNES. And, Mr. Marcantonio, since you have been a member, you have undertaken to defend the religious and political liberties of persons in the Soviet Union?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In the Soviet Union, in Alabama, or anywhere else. We have only had one case, and that was an American citizen——

Mr. STARNES. I want to say I subscribe wholeheartedly to the doctrine of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, and that includes Communists, Fascists, Nazis, or whoever he is, if he is an American citizen; but I have an absolute aversion to some person who comes to this country as an agent of a foreign government and becomes a naturalized citizen in order to wrap himself in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, to seek the destruction of this Government. And that is the reason I, and many other Americans, look with suspicion on these various organizations.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. And the gentleman's views on aliens and my views on aliens are not in accord.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not get into that discussion.

Mr. STARNES. And we have testimony by so many men who have come before us, including some from this organization, the lady and others, who are naturalized citizens, who attempt to lecture the people of America, or to instruct the people of America in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. That is the thing that stinks to the heavens, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May I reply to that simply by saying this, that people of immigrant stock and aliens have made great contributions to American development.

Mr. STARNES. Which we all agree to, and which I agree to, because I am the son of one myself.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. And that has only been possible because they have been allowed the privilege of freedom and democracy.

Mr. STARNES. That is right; but I do not want to allow them the privilege of destroying the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Congressman, reading from the January 2, 1933, Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, page 1, from an article captioned "I. R. A. (International Red Aid) in call to world's toilers"—

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That was 1933?

Mr. WHITLEY. 1933; 4 years before you assumed office. I am trying to place the point at which the I. L. D. ceased to be affiliated with the International Red Aid of Moscow, if possible, Congressman.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Well, you are wasting your time. You cannot do it through me, because I have testified my knowledge begins in June or July of 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. I think it would be well to have this in the record, anyway. We are also trying to establish the attitude—

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I am simply trying to state my position.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from the article:

A call to the toilers of the world to intensify the fight for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys has just been issued by the International Red Aid, of which the International Labor Defense is the American section, to every one of its sections in 71 countries.

So it would appear from that article, would it not, Congressman, that at least as late as 1933 the I. L. D. was affiliated?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No, for this reason, that many, many non-Communists have made appeals for the Scottsboro boys. Norman Thomas has made an appeal for the Scottsboro boys. Does that make the International Labor Defense affiliated with Norman Thomas?

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me read the article once more, Congressman:

A call to the toilers of the world to intensify the fight for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys has just been issued by the International Red Aid, of which the International Labor Defense is the American section. * * *

Does that permit uncertainty?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Well, the gentleman is an able attorney; he knows that the statement of a third party is not binding on that person.

Mr. WHITLEY. I wanted your interpretation of that statement.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. But, as a matter of fact, that is a statement of a third party and is not binding on the party involved.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not care to comment on that, then?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I don't. I am not interested in it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Chairman, reading from the October 8, 1932, issue of the Daily Worker, from an article captioned "Defeat the Capitalist Terror Drive":

Workers throughout the entire world—

Mr. MARCANTONIO. What is the date of that?

Mr. WHITLEY. 1932. [Reading:]

Workers throughout the entire world have kept these young victims of American imperialist oppression alive by continuous militant protest and support. Led by the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense, the united front of the working class has been organized on an even wider scale.

In your examination or your efforts to determine the past history of the organization, did you find any indication it had been affiliated with the Communists to any extent?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In 1932, I was a struggling young lawyer trying to make a living and did not know anything; did not even know of the existence of the Daily Worker.

The CHAIRMAN. I think he has made clear that prior to 1937 he knows nothing about it and is not in a position to say whether it was communistic or not communistic, and all he is qualified to testify about is since 1937.

Mr. STARNES. May I ask a question at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have witnesses or will witnesses be here who know something about the history and background prior to 1937?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we will have a witness here in a few minutes who will give us the history right on up to date.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not want this material?

The CHAIRMAN. No; the witness has said he does not know prior to 1937.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Furthermore, I don't accept any responsibility prior to 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. You could not, if you were not connected with it.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is right. Now, Mr. Chairman, last year a witness appeared before your committee—I do not recall his name offhand—who testified, and the records of the hearing show the testimony to the effect that I ran on the Communist ticket in 1936.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have the name of that man, or can you refer to the hearings, Mr. Marcantonio, and give it to us?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall it.

Mr. STARNES. I do not recall anything about that. What was the name?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I think Steele; whoever it was, I read it, and that is why I went to the trouble—

Mr. THOMAS. What was the name?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I think the name was Steele.

Mr. STARNES. I do not recall anything like that.

Mr. THOMAS. Where is it in the hearings; have you the page there?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not have that at the moment, no, but I can refer to it. In referring to the International Labor Defense, he said Marcantonio, its president, ran on the Communist ticket in

1936. I never ran on that ticket and, what is more, there is a record in Mr. Trimble's office to that effect. That record came about because some of my political enemies—I am not going to mention any names, because I cannot prove it, but I suspect it—sent in a report in that election that I was on the Communist Party ticket at that time. I immediately sent in to Mr. Trimble, to have his records, as a part of the public records, corrected, and Mr. Trimble sent me this letter. So, to clarify this thing, I want to read it and have it made a part of the record. He says:

DEAR MR. MARCANTONIO: I have your letter of October 27 and desire to thank you for calling my attention to the error in the statistics of the congressional election of November 3, 1936.

This letter, incidentally, is dated October 31, 1938.

This pamphlet has been published since August 1937 and I am sorry that my attention was not directed to this error sooner. I will, however, make the necessary correction when next we go to print on this publication.

I trust that this may not have caused you any undue embarrassment and want to assure you that it was entirely unintentional.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; thank you very much, Mr. Marcantonio.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask one more question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Congressman, during the 2 years you have been connected with the I. L. D., do you know of the issuance of any pamphlet captioned "Under Arrest" and giving instructions?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Maybe I saw this.

Mr. WHITLEY. Giving instructions to persons arrested as to how to conduct themselves? I do not know the date of that pamphlet; it is rather old.

Mr. MARCANTONIO (after examining). This must have been before my time.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no knowledge of such a pamphlet?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN GITLOW, FORMER EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Gitlow has previously been identified and qualified before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not necessary to ask him any preliminary questions.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gitlow, I would like to have you explain to the committee your knowledge of and participation in the origin and operation of the International Labor Defense.

Mr. GITLOW. I was one of the original founders of the International Labor Defense in the year 1925, and was a member of its leading committee from 1925 to 1929, when I was removed from the leading body of the International Labor Defense upon the instructions of the Communist Party of the United States. It is also im-

portant to keep in mind something about the name of the International Labor Defense. The International Labor Defense was organized by the Communist Party in the year 1925, and the name indicates the kind of organization that the International Labor Defense is. In spite of everything which Congressman Marcantonio stated, the International Labor Defense is not a national organization, but an international organization. It has maintained the name of International Labor Defense up to this very day, indicating its international character and not its national character.

In the second place, the International Labor Defense is not a defense organization in the pure sense of that term; nor is it a civil liberties defense organization. It is the legal defense organization of the Communist Party and of the Communist International in this country, and serves, also, as a highly political and propagandist Communist organization. The International Labor Defense from its very inception has been consciously used by the Communist Party to enable the party to gain a foothold in all kinds of organizations, particularly in trade unions, and it has been one of the most effective recruiting organizations for the Communist Party.

Keeping that in mind, you will understand better when I read from official documents how the International Labor Defense was organized, and what iron-bound control the Communist Party has over the International Labor Defense.

Before I do that, I want to call to the attention of the committee the fact that the officers of the International Labor Defense today consist of four persons: Mr. Marcantonio is chairman and Patterson is vice president, Anna Damon is secretary, and Robert W. Dunn, I believe, is treasurer. Out of those four officers who guide the organization, three are Communist Party members.

The CHAIRMAN. Three out of the four?

Mr. GITLOW. Three out of four are Communist Party members, and not two out of four.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the witness would give us all the information he can to substantiate that.

The CHAIRMAN. It is admitted that Patterson is.

Mr. GITLOW. Patterson is a member of the Communist Party, and Anna Damon, on the witness stand, testified that she was a charter member of the Communist Party. As to Robert W. Dunn, in my testimony, I read from official minutes of the Communist Party indicating his membership in the Communist Party. When I was a member of the political committee, of the secretariat, and was general secretary of the Communist Party, I had dealings with Robert W. Dunn, who was one of the secret members of the Communist Party of the United States. So out of four officers, three are Communist Party members.

Mr. STARNES. Have you had an opportunity to check the board of directors?

Mr. GITLOW. Not the most recent one yet, but keep in mind when the Communist Party organizes a front organization, a transmission-belt organization, or a bridge organization, as they are known, it is generally done by obtaining a large number of sponsors whose names are included on the letterhead, but who know nothing about the organization, and never act in its administration, but lend their names to be used on the letterhead to camouflage the nature of the

organization. The secretary and other officers of the organization come from the Communist Party, so that the organization is under the direction of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. The sponsors, whose names are loaned, know as little about the real purposes of the organization as Mr. Marcantonio apparently knew a moment ago about the inception and purposes of the International Labor Defense.

Mr. GITLOW. According to my opinion, he either knows very little about the organization, or does not want to disclose what he really knows about the organization.

Now, I have here the minutes of the executive council of the Communist Party of June 26, 1925. That was the period in which the I. L. D. was organized. The question under consideration was the International Labor Defense, and Comrade Cannon submitted copies of the resolutions to be introduced at the International Labor Defense conference, which were approved, together with the reports of the various resolutions. These are the official minutes of the Communist Party at that time.

A copy of the constitution as approved by the subcommittee was also submitted. The minority report of Comrade Ruthenberg to strike out the section of the constitution providing for the organization of branches as a part of the basic organization of the International Labor Defense was submitted.

After discussion, the vote was taken, resulting as follows: For the Ruthenberg motion to strike out—Ruthenberg, Lovestone, and Bedacht; against—Bittelman, Cannon, Abern, and Burman.

The steering committee, decided upon by the subcommittee, consisting of Dunne, Gitlow, and Cannon, was approved, and the executive committee recommended that Comrade Cannon be chairman of the conference.

Comrade Ruthenberg submitted the report that a nonparty member be designated as chairman. In other words, they had a nonparty member like Marcantonio chosen as chairman of the International Labor Defense, while the rules and decisions had been made by the executive committee of the Communist Party, and they designated a non-Communist Party member, like Mr. Marcantonio, as chairman of the International Labor Defense. The subcommittee, according to the minutes, recommended that the steering committee be given full power to act for the C. E. C. in the conference, and the recommendation was approved unanimously.

The committee reported that Comrade Cannon be elected secretary of the International Labor Defense, and Comrade Cannon submitted the recommendation that the national committee consist of a clear majority of party members.

Now, I have here also the minutes of another meeting of the Communist Party, at which the question of the officers of the International Labor Defense was considered. Comrade Cannon, who became secretary of the International Labor Defense, and who was there as a Communist Party member, submitted the following slate of candidates for the national committee of the International Labor Defense: Nonparty members—Debs, Nearing, Robert W. Dunn, R. W. Whitaker, Bishop M. Brown, Wentworth, Howat, A. S. Blackwell, Ellen Hayes, McNamara, Meitzen, Ralph Chaplin, and Fred Mann. In this nonparty list there are included as nonparty

members and secret party members, the following: Robert W. Dunn, a party member; Bishop M. Brown, a party member; Meitzen, a party member; and Ralph Chaplin, a party member.

The party members to be elected to the national committee of the I. L. D. were to include the following names: Dolla, Cannon, Maurer, Dunne, Cora Meyer, Wm. Mollenhauer, Robt. Minor, Harrison George, Foster, Karsner, Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Dan W. Stevens, Fred Merrick, Rose Baron, and Fred Beidenkapp.

You will see that at this meeting motions were passed on and decisions were made, as decisions of officers of the national committee of the International Labor Defense, but those decisions were not made by the International Labor Defense, but were made by the Communist Party of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Bringing it down to the present time, three out of the four officers are still members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And down to the present time, they have never condemned communism directly or indirectly, or even by inference?

Mr. GITLOW. The International Labor Defense has at all times advocated the Communist Party, communism, and the Soviet Union, and when one officer of the International Labor Defense became a Trotskyite, he was expelled from the International Labor Defense. Any right to his own political opinions was not taken into consideration.

Now, still in the year 1925, here again are the minutes of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. The question came up as to who should be national secretary of the I. L. D. The district secretary of the I. L. D. is separate from this, and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party made the decision as who should become the district secretary of the I. L. D. in Philadelphia, showing how complete was the control and domination of the Communist Party over the International Labor Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they not only decide who the national officers or national committees shall be, but they also decide who the officers of the various local branches shall be?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes, sir. I have here the minutes of a meeting of the secretariat, on October 14, 1925, where a decision was made on a cable received from Moscow dealing with the situation in Hungary. Cables were received from I. W. A. and I. R. A. I. W. A. represents the International Workers Aid and I. R. A. represents the International Red Aid, with headquarters in Moscow.

After discussion of the matter dealt with in the cables, the I. R. A. was instructed to immediately begin a campaign of publicity against the executions in Hungary, first, through the press; second, by arranging mass meetings in all centers; third, by securing telegrams from the liberals to the Horthic government, demanding that the executions be not allowed; and, fourth, that the party send a telegram to all DO's (district organizers) instructing that the meeting be held in the name of the I. L. D., and that the party give full support. In other words, the secretariat appointed a small committee to arrange meetings of the International Labor Defense all over the country to carry out the instructions received in a cable from Moscow, from the International Red Aid, of which the International Labor Defense was a section, and of which to this very day it is a section.

Mr. VOORHIS. In connection with what you have just said, that up to this day it is such a section, do you base that upon your own knowledge of the things that you have told us about, or do you know about it from your own personal knowledge?

Mr. GITLOW. I base it upon my own knowledge of how the Communist Party functions and its connections in Russia, from my experience in the past, and, also, association with the Communist Party and by knowledge up to this present time as to how they go in and set up organizations.

I have here a resolution which was adopted in Moscow in the year 1926 by the Communist International dealing with the work of the International Red Aid and the International Workers Relief, which was submitted to the American Communist Party, from which I read as follows:

1. In accordance with the agreement with the representatives of the I. R. A. and the W. I. R. in Moscow by our delegates, the party shall proceed with the organization of these two organizations as separate bodies.

It is that they shall proceed with the organization of those two organizations as separate bodies, and not that the I. L. D. shall proceed with its own organization. The resolution continues:

2. Both the I. R. A. and the W. I. R. shall be individual membership organizations and in addition thereto shall accept the affiliations of trade-unions, benefit societies, and other similar organizations. They shall issue membership cards and make the regular collection of dues.

3. During the next six months the party shall undertake the organization of the I. R. A., which shall be built as a new distinct organization.

4. The International Workers Relief shall continue the existing organization and shall not begin a campaign for individual membership and further affiliations until after the campaign of the International Red Aid is completed.

5. For the present, the Labor Defense Council shall continue as a separate and distinct organization working in close cooperation with the I. R. A., but the latter is to be constructed upon a new organizational basis. If later developments show that we have been able to build up a strong organization for the I. R. A., which can replace the Labor Defense Council, then the C. E. C. will take up the question of consolidation of the two organizations.

Now, with reference to the 1926 conference, there was a motion made by Cannon. This was made to the political committee at a meeting held June 29, 1926. There was a motion by Comrade Cannon to confirm Chicago as the place and the first week of September as the date of the I. L. D. national conference, and to officially approve of the federation form of organization in building the language sections of the I. L. D. Then, I have here the minutes of the national political committee in 1927.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes, sir; dealing with the question of where the I. L. D. shall establish its national headquarters, whether in the city of Chicago or in the city of New York. In other words, the I. L. D. did not decide where its headquarters were to be located, but the Communist Party of the United States decided for the International Labor Defense where the national headquarters should be located. At that meeting a motion was carried that the headquarters be located in the city of New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were the headquarters established there?

Mr. GITLOW. They were established in New York City, and they have been in New York City since that time.

I have here some minutes again dealing with the International Labor Defense. I am not going to read all of the minutes. I have here two and a half pages of decisions made by the Communist Party of the United States in the national conference of the International Labor Defense. The only thing I want to indicate is that in 1926 the Communist Party decided who the national committee of the International Labor Defense should be. I read from the minutes as follows:

Motion by Ruthenberg:

1. That we renominate the present national committee for the Defense with such additions as the steering committee may find desirable during the process of the conference.

2. That the national executive committee consist of the following members: Cannon, H. George, Maurer, Karsner, Ruthenberg, D. J. Bental, Edenstrom, and four nonparty members.

In other words, the national committee, of which I was a member, was included, and some nonparty members were added. Seven party members were added, and an additional four nonparty members, to make sure that the control would be in the hands of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have read excerpts from numerous minutes of the Political Bureau and secretariat of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The excerpts having to do with decisions made relative to the I. L. D.?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. After decisions were made by the Political Bureau or the secretariat of the Communist Party, how were they carried out in the convention, or how were they put into effect? Was it done through the officers, or through the national committee which dominated it?

Mr. GITLOW. Through the Communist Party officers of the organization and the Communist Party members of the small ruling committee of the International Labor Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they transmit their decisions in the form of suggestions or instructions?

Mr. GITLOW. Sometimes meetings were not even held, because it was not necessary. The decisions of the political committee of the party automatically became the decisions of the International Labor Defense. There was no use going through the laborious process of calling meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it has been well established by you and other witnesses, and there is no question but that this organization was organized by the Communist Party, and that for many years it was under its control. The only question of control raised by the statement of Mr. Marcantonio is that he says he does not know what it was prior to 1937, but that when he went in he gave orders to the governing board that he would not permit Communist control of the I. L. D. So he raised the question that from 1937 to the present time, regardless of what it used to be, it is no longer a Communist organization. What is the answer to that?

Mr. GITLOW. I do not see how he can make such a statement. If he knows the facts, he should realize that it was a Communist organ-

ization, and he should ask himself these questions: If the International Labor Defense, from the year it started up to the present time, was not a Communist-controlled organization, how can he account for the fact that the secretary of the International Labor Defense has been, from the beginning, a confidential and good-standing member of the Communist Party of the United States? If it was an organization that was not Communist controlled, how can he account for the fact that out of four prominent officers, or leading officers, of the International Labor Defense, three of those officers are members of the Communist Party? How can Mr. Marcantonio account for the fact that when the Communist Party in New York City, in Philadelphia, and the city of Chicago, during his period as president of the International Labor Defense, smashed meetings of Trotskyites and opposition elements, he never raised his voice in defense of civil liberties?

How can Mr. Marcantonio make any appeal as a champion of civil liberties and of justice and against frame-ups? He is willing to do it when it involves Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, but where was the International Labor Defense when Stalin conducted many more frame-up trials than Hitler and Mussolini ever did, when thousands of Communists in the Soviet Union, who really believed in communism, and who served the Soviet Union and not a foreign power, were framed up, and given no rights during those frame-up trials? Within 24 hours after they were found guilty, without any opportunity to appeal from the vicious decisions, they were lined up against a wall and shot. Now this lover of civil liberties in America, in Germany, and in Italy cannot be a lover of civil liberty or make any fight against the Soviet Union when it is involved in these despicable acts.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the point you raise is this: Here is an organization shown by overwhelming evidence to be one that was established by the Communist Party.

Mr. GITLOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That it was controlled and dominated by the Communist Party. Then the chairman of this organization says that since he has been in there, it has not been so controlled. Now the question is when did it cease to be under the control of the Communist Party. The only evidence that we have that such control has ceased is the testimony of Mr. Marcantonio. There has been no change in the board, and the Communist secretary is still in charge. They still have a majority of officers who are Communists, and there is still no denunciation on their part of communism. There is no change of policy that we can see.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the physical facts in front of us negative any idea that this organization has had any change with respect to Communist control, it seems to me.

Mr. GITLOW. None whatsoever.

Mr. STARNES. I think, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Gitlow would probably be able to identify this board of directors. Many of them he probably knows personally and could identify for the record.

Mr. VOORHIS. First I should like to have Mr. Gitlow do one thing. Can you give us an example of how some of those meetings were broken up by the I. L. D.?

Mr. GITLOW. I did not say by the I. L. D. They were broken up by the Communist Party. There were innumerable meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. But the I. L. D. did not raise its voice in opposition to a group going in and denying to another group its civil liberties, isn't that true?

Mr. GITLOW. Not in the least.

The CHAIRMAN. Here were the Stalinists who were denying to the Trotskyites the right to the exercise of civil liberties which they, themselves, so loudly professed, and which they demanded protection of, is not that about it?

Mr. GITLOW. Precisely; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gitlow, here is the current national committee of the I. L. D. [handing document to witness]. Can you identify those members for us?

Mr. GITLOW. The vice president, Mr. William Patterson, is a member of the Communist Party and a member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

The secretary, Anna Damon, is a charter member of the Communist Party, and was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, and was married to Charles E. Ruthenberg, when he was alive. The name, Anna Damon, was the name she took from Ruthenberg. Damon was the underground, illegal name of Ruthenberg.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was she married to him when he was the general secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. GITLOW. She married him when he was general secretary of the Communist Party. At this time it is interesting to note what lapses of memory some of these people have at the present time. Anna Damon said she never knew Mr. Cannon, when she was first asked that question. Well, Anna Damon knows Cannon almost as well as his own wife knows him. And she has met him continuously. She lived in Chicago when the national headquarters of the Communist Party was in Chicago. She was a prominent member of the party. She was present when I was present at the Farmer-Labor Party conference in St. Paul, Minn., and we met continuously together with Cannon during the whole week during which the conference took place. We rode back from St. Paul to Chicago in the same train with Cannon, and she has the audacity to appear before the committee and declare that she does not know Mr. Cannon.

Mr. WHITLEY. She also stated, Mr. Gitlow, yesterday, while testifying under oath, that she had never been to Moscow. Do you know whether she has ever been over there or not?

Mr. GITLOW. According to my knowledge, Anna Damon made one trip to Moscow that I know about, in the year 1926, together with Charles E. Ruthenberg, and during her trip in Moscow she had conferences with Zinovieff, and other leaders of the Communist International at that time. The members of the board who are Communists of the national committee are William L. Patterson, Robert W. Dunn, Anna Damon, William Albertson, Rose Baron, that I know of now; Ben Davis, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Leo Gallagher, Jessica Henderson, Angelo Herndon, Rockwell Kent, Robert Minor, Burce Minton, Harvey O'Connor.

Those are the only ones I know at the present time who are Communists. The others I am unacquainted with. They are all new people to me.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are on the board of directors that are Communists?

Mr. GITLOW. I picked out about 12 or 13.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is the total number?

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest you mark that list indicating those who are Communists.

Mr. STARNES. That may be marked for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, I do not think that shows the complete picture. It is not so material about the board of directors because, as you said, it is the custom of the Communists to put non-Communists as fronts on the board of directors. The material things are the secretary's job and the treasurer's job, the people who hold the key positions.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand, Mr. Gitlow testified the Communist Party even decides who the nonparty members will be, on the board.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if they get a fellow traveler, he is just as good as a Communist, so far as they are concerned.

Mr. GITLOW. I checked off 17. Many of the old Communists have changed their names, and I do not know their new names.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is the total number of directors?

Mr. GITLOW. Fifty-eight.

The CHAIRMAN. There are 58 directors, and you know of your own personal knowledge 17 of them are Communists?

Mr. GITLOW. I checked off, I believe, 17.

(The list as marked by Mr. Gitlow is as follows:)

OFFICERS

President.—Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

Vice president.—William L. Patterson.

Secretary.—Anna Damon.

Treasurer.—Robert W. Dunn.

National committee.—Vito Marcantonio, William L. Patterson,¹ Robert W. Dunn,¹ Anna Damon,¹ Stella Adler, William Albertson,¹ George Anderson, Prof. George Axtelle, Rose Baron,¹ Elaine Black, John T. Bernard, Louis Colman, Gilberto Concepcion, Winifred Chappell, Ben Davis, Jr.,¹ John P. Davis, Dr. A. Donawa, Walter D. Fisher, Robert Fitzgerald, Ishmael P. Flory, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor,¹ Leo Gallagher,¹ Irvin Goodman, Stephen Harvey, Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer, Jessica Henderson,¹ Angelo Herndon,¹ Hester G. Huntington, Dirk De Jonge, Rockwell Kent,¹ Rev. Owen A. Knox, Irving Krane, Edward Kuntz, Edward Lamb, Yetta Land, William Mesevich, Louis F. McCabe, J. B. McNamara, Robert Minor,¹ Bruce Minton,¹ Harvey O'Connor,¹ Samuel Ornitz, Robert Parker, Joseph Pass,¹ Reid Robinson, Samuel L. Rothbard, Eric Saenger, Henry Shepard, Lawrence Simpson,¹ Sasha Small, Isobel W. Soule, Mrs. Mary Sweres, Louise Thompson, Saul C. Waldbaum, David McKelvy White, Rob Wirtz, Mrs. Ada Wright,¹ and Prof. Doxey Wilkerson.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how many besides those 17, among the 58, are members of the party?

Mr. GITLOW. Since the party has become respectable and a supporter of the New Deal, and has been seeking to gain the support of

¹ Names that were checked by Mr. Gitlow.

Park Avenue in New York and similar highlights in society, and other centers, many of the Communists have changed their names, and they go under different names at the present time. What their new names are, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact that they come out in support of the New Deal is no fault of the New Deal, is it?

Mr. GITLOW. No; not at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you continue with your testimony, Mr. Gitlow?

Mr. GITLOW. I have here a meeting of the secretariat of November 11, 1927, dealing with the 1927 conference of the International Labor Defense. The whole meeting of the secretariat was taken up with the question of how the conference shall be conducted, and so forth; similar to the decisions made for all the other conferences.

I do not think that there is any need to read all of these minutes, all dealing with International Labor Defense matters.

Going up to the year 1929, in the year 1929, I have the bulletin of the New York district of the Communist Party dealing with the International Labor Defense matters, and instructing the members of the New York district in reference to their activities in the International Labor Defense.

I have also a national bulletin issued by the organization department of the Communist Party in the year 1929 dealing with the International Labor Defense convention of that year, and instructing the party in reference thereto.

I have a letter which went out to all the district organizers and all the section organizers of the Communist Party of the United States dealing with the Gastonia defense. It is signed by Jack Stachel, organization secretary of the Communist Party. This, in my opinion, gives you a good idea of the role of the Communist Party in the International Labor Defense, and how completely the party dominates the International Labor Defense.

I have other experiences with the International Labor Defense through an organization to which I belong, known as the American Fund for Public Service, or known as the Garland Fund. I am a member of the board of directors of the American Fund for Public Service. This fund was established by Mr. Garland who inherited \$1,000,000 in First National Bank stock which he turned over to a board which was to distribute the money realized by the sale of the First National Bank stock to worthy causes in the labor movement.

I am a member of the board of directors of that fund, and the \$1,000,000 in First National Bank stock increased in value almost to the extent of \$3,000,000. So that over a period of years the fund has expended a little over \$2,000,000 and in recent years, when I was not a member of the Communist Party, the fund had to make good for losses incurred by the Communist Party in handling defense matters entrusted to the International Labor Defense. And in all those dealings we knew that the International Labor Defense matters were handled by the Communist Party. Many times we settled our differences on money matters directly with agents of the Communist Party when they dealt with the International Labor Defense matters.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Gitlow, I just want to understand this. How long have you been a director of the Garland Fund?

Mr. GITLOW. I still am.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean, when did you become a director?

Mr. GITLOW. I believe I was first chosen a member of the Garland Fund in the year——

Mr. VOORHIS. About?

Mr. GITLOW. I believe it was in 1926.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you have been continuously a director ever since?

Mr. GITLOW. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. What did you mean when you said that the fund was compelled to make good deficits? I mean, why was the fund compelled to do that?

Mr. GITLOW. The fund advanced money for certain specific purposes and whenever this money was advanced for certain specific purposes, the Communists took the liberty to use them for other purposes and then the deficit had to be met in that way.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean the deficit for these other purposes?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes; which were underwritten by the Garland Fund.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, the Garland Fund would underwrite some enterprise, like a relief enterprise, or something of that sort?

Mr. GITLOW. To be specific, bail funds, and when the case was over, and the bail funds were collected by the I. L. D., the money collected from the returned bail money was used up by the I. L. D. and was never returned to the Garland Fund. Then the Garland Fund would wipe that off the books. There was no other way of collecting the money.

Mr. STARNES. What else did they use this money for other than bail funds?

Mr. GITLOW. The Garland Fund made many loans to Communist Party organizations which were never repaid amounting to many thousands of dollars.

Mr. STARNES. What other purposes has it made loans for or advances, specifically?

Mr. GITLOW. To the Communist press; or we went on a mortgage for the Daily Worker Building in Chicago, which was never repaid to the Garland Fund; and matters of that kind. I cannot offhand recall all of the incidents.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever advanced any money for any purposes here in Washington?

Mr. GITLOW. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. THOMAS. How did the Garland Fund happen to advance these moneys for these Communist causes?

Mr. GITLOW. The Garland Fund at the time advanced this money to the Communist causes because the board of directors of the Garland Fund believed that it was serving the cause of labor at that particular time. When it was a matter of defending the Scottsboro case, the board of directors of the Garland Fund were of the opinion that the Scottsboro defendants were innocent, that they were entitled to the best possible defense, and so the Garland Fund made a donation to the defense of the Scottsboro boys.

Mr. THOMAS. I can understand how they would go into that kind of a case, but I cannot understand how they would make a loan to the Daily Worker, for instance.

Mr. GITLOW. That happened many years ago, that loan to the Daily Worker. At the present time the Garland Fund has very little funds at its disposal. What it would do at the present time, I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Does the Garland Fund have any investigators or research men or a staff of any kind or character?

Mr. GITLOW. No. The Garland Fund is operated by its board of directors who meet whenever an occasion for meeting arises, and applications for donations or contributions are made to the Garland Fund, and a committee of the board of directors of the Garland Fund is appointed to investigate the application, and they report back to the board of directors, and a decision is made one way or the other.

Mr. THOMAS. Who originally appointed the board of directors of the Garland Fund?

Mr. GITLOW. Originally Garland entrusted the matter of constituting the board to Roger Baldwin.

Mr. THOMAS. Roger Baldwin selected the first board of directors?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes; I believe so; and then the board of directors has been added to; whenever a vacancy occurs, the board of directors meets and fills the vacancy itself.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any further material with reference to the I. L. D., Mr. Gitlow?

Mr. GITLOW. Well, I think I have covered all the matters in reference to the I. L. D.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any other material which you want to present?

Mr. GITLOW. Well, I think on the International Workers Order, it would be important to present some material, since the matter came up for consideration yesterday, at which it was reported that the International Workers Order was not a Communist organization.

The International Workers Order was organized in the year 1929; was a result of a split in the Workmen's Circle. The Workmen's Circle is a Jewish fraternal organization. Many of its members are Socialists, and it is connected with the unions which have Jewish workers as their members. The split occurred over a question of the attitude of the Workmen's Circle to the Soviet Union.

The Workmen's Circle took up a fight on behalf of political prisoners in the Soviet Union and for opposing the Communist methods in the trade-unions. The split occurred directly on the question of the attitude of the Workmen's Circle on behalf of the political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

The Communists withdrew their members from the Workmen's Circle and organized the International Workers Order which was made up of the Communist Party members in the Workmen's Circle and those who followed the lead of the Communist Party in the Workmen's Circle. And from its very inception, the International Workers Order has been dominated completely by the Communist Party of the U. S. A., and it is the fraternal organization of the Communist Party of America. At the present time a split has taken place in the International Workers Order.

A number of the members of the International Workers Order are opposed to the pact which Stalin made with Hitler. They opposed the steps taken by the officers of the International Workers Order in favor of that pact, and as a result of that you have an internal strug-

gle going on in the International Workers Order at the present time. The likelihood is that the members of the International Workers Order who oppose the alliance of the Soviet Union with Nazi Germany will either be expelled from the organization or will bolt the organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. What year did that first split take place?

Mr. GITLOW. 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Communist Party set up and has dominated and controlled and run the International Workers Order in the same manner that it has set up and run the International Labor Defense.

Mr. GITLOW. Yes; but with this one difference, that the International Workers Order has been a source of great income for the Communist Party. The main contributions for support of the Daily Worker and the activities of the Communist Party come from the lodges of the International Workers Order. Every campaign conducted by the Communist Party, every political campaign conducted by the Communist Party, is supported by the International Workers Order.

The officers of the International Workers Order are top leaders of the Communist Party. Max Bedacht, the general secretary of the International Workers Order, was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He was a leading member of the Communist Party from its inception in 1919. He is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party; was a member of its political committee; a member of its secretariat, and was acting secretary of the Communist Party. In other words, he is a top-ranking leader of the Communist Party in the United States, and he is the leading official of the International Workers Order. So that the link between the International Workers Order and the Communist Party is a very excellent one.

As far as William Weiner is concerned, the chairman of the International Workers Order, William Weiner was one of the leading party officials in the Detroit district. Then he came to New York, and was manager of the Jewish paper of the Communist Party, the Freiheit. Later he became treasurer, handling the party funds, a very confidential and very important position in the Communist Party. He is one of the Communist Party's most confidential and trusted men, and he is the president of the International Workers Order. And every secretary of the International Workers Order—every officer of the International Workers Order from its very inception has been a member of the Communist Party. There the control is as complete as you would want it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Gitlow, when you mentioned the fact that it had been a very important source of funds, did you mean by means of appeals for donations which would be made in the lodges of the I. W. O.? Is that the way the money was raised? Or how?

Mr. GITLOW. Also by other means. By paying for advertisements and publicity. In other words, Max Bedacht told you on the witness stand that the International Workers Order paid for publicity to the Communist Party press, and this publicity was paid for handsomely, and was not publicity that was supplied by any pub-

licity agent of the International Workers Order, but was just a blanket payment assigned to publicity.

Then there were advertisements that were included in the Communist press. You may take up the Daily Worker and you will find large advertisements of the International Workers Order. And I can assure you that these advertisements are not paid for at the regular advertising rates, but far above the advertising rates, which make up payments of subsidies by the International Workers Order to the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where does the International Workers Order get the money to pay for those things?

Mr. GITLOW. Out of the money that it sets aside for administrative purposes, from the dues it collects from the membership, because a certain amount of money it must set aside for its insurance funds.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are those dues collected aside from the insurance premiums that are paid?

Mr. GITLOW. A member pays dues which are divided, a portion of the dues going for the insurance fund which are required by the State when you charter a benevolent association, and a percentage of those dues goes for administrative purposes. And out of the money set aside from the dues for administrative purposes, many dollars find their way into the coffers of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. In your previous testimony, Mr. Gitlow, before this committee, in illustrating the trade-union technique of the Communist Party, you made mention of the Gastonia, N. C., textile strike. As I recall your testimony, you stated that the party started organizing there and promoted that strike, on specific instructions from the Comintern.

Mr. GITLOW. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is my recollection; is that correct?

Mr. GITLOW. At that time, in the year 1928, at the time when the party was engaged in the Presidential campaign, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International took place in Moscow. Our party had a delegation thereof over 20 people at the time. Foster and Lovestone—Foster who was our candidate for President, during the heat of the campaign, was not in the United States but attending the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International as a delegate of the American Communist Party.

During the sessions of the congress a special committee was appointed to take up the question of work among the Negroes, and the policy of the party was radically changed at the Sixth World Congress.

Before the Sixth World Congress our Negro policy consisted in fighting for full political and economic rights for the Negro masses in the United States and against all forms of discrimination. But after the Sixth World Congress our policy was radically changed, and the party adopted the slogan for a Negro Soviet Republic in those Southern States in which the Negro population predominates.

Without any conference on the part of the American party, this policy was put into effect immediately because it was ordered by Moscow. John Pepper, who returned from that conference, wrote a pamphlet giving the reasons for the change in policy, and why it was

necessary to advocate for free determination for the Negro masses in the United States.

I opposed the policy at that time. I said that to adopt such a policy would create a condition of civil war in the South in which the Negro masses would pay very heavily. The Comintern at the same time instructed us to intensify our activity in the South; that the South represented a section of the country which was almost completely unorganized; a section of the country in which the Negro masses who could become the vanguard of a revolutionary struggle in the United States were not in the trade-unions, and it directed the American Communist Party to proceed with the organization of the unorganized workers in the South.

At a meeting of the political committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America we decided with Beal present to send Beal to the South as our organizer among the textile workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that Fred Beal?

Mr. GITLOW. Fred Beal. As a result of that decision, the Gastonia strike broke out later on.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he was sent down there by the political committee of the Communist Party in the United States on instructions from Moscow to organize in the South.

Mr. GITLOW. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that strike was organized and carried out under the direction of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. GITLOW. Under the complete direction of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. And its action in that respect was in keeping with Comintern instructions or orders?

Mr. GITLOW. Its action in that respect was in keeping with Comintern instructions or orders.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Gitlow, in organizing this Soviet state of Negroes in the South, what would you have done with the white people of the South? What would happen to them?

Mr. GITLOW. They would form a minority in those States.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Gitlow stated that he opposed that policy at the time.

Mr. GITLOW. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. But that was the recommendation of the Comintern?

Mr. GITLOW. That was the recommendation of the Communist International at that time, in 1928.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mr. Fred Beal considered by the governing body of the Communist Party in this country an efficient party organizer in the trade-union field?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes; we considered him a very able and capable Communist Party organizer because in every textile situation the party sent Fred Beal in as one of its main organizers. He had just completed a successful organization activity among the textile workers in New Bedford, Mass., at the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. And had he carried that out for the party?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes; he carried that out.

Mr. WHITLEY. One other question I have in mind, Mr. Gitlow: Mr. Bedacht, when questioned with reference to the use of illegal passports, declined to answer on the ground that he might incrim-

inate himself. Do you know whether Mr. Bedacht has ever illegally used a passport while an official in the Communist Party or what names he might have used?

Mr. GITLOW. Well, during my period in the Communist Party every official traveled on an illegal passport.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was just the general practice?

Mr. GITLOW. That was the common practice during that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that was with the full knowledge and consent of the party?

Mr. GITLOW. That was not only with the full knowledge and consent of the party; it was also due to the special department of the party that procured or manufactured illegal passports.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gitlow, speaking about whether or not the International Labor Defense is a Communist organization, suppose you had an organization in the United States with the secretary an admitted Nazi, the vice president an admitted Nazi, and the treasurer an admitted Nazi; do you think the people of the country, and especially the liberals, would hesitate for a minute to pronounce that organization a Nazi organization? I mean, if you reverse the situation, would there be any doubt in anybody's mind that that would be a Nazi organization?

Mr. GITLOW. Oh, there would be no doubt in my mind; and a Communist, even if someone shook hands with a Nazi and opposed him, he would declare that fellow was a Nazi.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is one other question I want to clear up: Of course this Communist Party changed its line and tried to create the impression that it was a democratic twentieth-century Americanism; the party members change their strategy and their slogans, and so on and so forth. Why is it that they hesitate, in line with that policy of deception? What is there about it that keeps them from stating that they would defend the United States? What I mean is this: Every Communist that has come before this committee, when you press him on the one question, If the United States entered the war on the side of France and England against Russia, would you support the United States?—says "No." Now, what is there about that one particular question in which they dare not deceive? On all other questions they will cover up, but when you get down to the fundamental question, What would you do if the United States entered war against Russia? that is one question that they dare not camouflage about; and why is that?

Mr. GITLOW. You cannot conceive of a Communist Party in any country in the world that is not tied up directly with the Soviet Union. Whenever you speak about the Communist Party of the United States, the first question that comes to your mind is, Well, this is the party of the Soviet Union in the United States; it speaks for the Soviet Union; it is tied up with the leader of the Soviet Union—Stalin. And that is not an accident, because the Communist movement was brought into existence and was organized by the Russian rulers. The Communist International was not formed independent of the Soviet Union; it was formed by the rulers of Soviet Russia at the time the Communist International was organized, and when it was organized they laid down the principle that the cause of the Soviet Union is the first and primary cause of all Communists.

I have here, for example, the manifesto of the Second Congress of the Communist International, and it closes as follows:

The cause of Soviet Russia has become the cause of the Communist International. The international proletariat will not sheathe the sword until a federation of Soviet republics of the world, linked together with Soviet Russia, will be an accomplished fact.

And here we see the essence for domination of the world by the Bolshevik leaders away back in 1920. In 1927, when the leaders of Russia were afraid that Russia would become involved in a war against England and France, a special meeting of the executive committee of the Communist International was held, at which I was present, and at that meeting it was decided that the Soviet Union should be considered something more than just a Communist state or a country in which the Communist system is being built; and the slogan was adopted that the Soviet Union is the Workers fatherland, and that every member of a Communist Party, no matter in what country he finds himself, must pledge allegiance to his fatherland—that is, the Soviet Union; that a Communist has no other fatherland but the Soviet Union, and must be patriotic to his one and only country, the Soviet Union. And every Communist Party member, and especially every Communist leader, owes an allegiance only to one country, the Soviet Union, and whatever that country demands of him, he is prepared to do, and if he is not prepared to do it, he cannot continue as a member or leader of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Then that gets right back, of course, to the fundamental question of the consideration of the Bill of Rights?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That here is an organization in the United States whose allegiance is not to the United States; though the members may be citizens, their allegiance is not to this country. Their allegiance is to a foreign country, and in times of war, wherever they are, in Government, in navy yards, in the aviation industry, or wherever they are located, their duty is to serve the interests of the Soviet Union. That places them in direct antagonism to the American Government, and therefore affords Stalin and his partner, Hitler, vast sources of information in the United States. Is not that a fact?

Mr. GITLOW. It is a fact, and that fact is being put into practice at the present time. That is an important thing.

The CHAIRMAN. And the question that is arising in many of our minds is, What secrets have we in the United States, military and otherwise, that have not in some way or other gone across the waters? With this elaborate machine that both the Nazis and the Communists have built up in the United States, with one outfit in Chicago, the German Bund, that has a thousand members, all citizens of Germany, working in key industries all over the Chicago area—they do not even profess to be loyal to the United States, because a man connected with the German consulate is head of the organization—now, with all of these people belonging to these groups, the serious question that arises in this country is, What secrets have they not got?

Mr. GITLOW. Well, this brings up a very interesting matter which I had occasion to investigate only very recently. One of the important unions in the C. I. O. is the American Communications Association. The American Communications Association is the union which controls the field of radio and telegraphic communications in the United States—on board ships, on the land, and in the air.

When the Soviet Union made the pact with Nazi Germany, for 2 days the Communist Party in the United States did not know how to deal politically with the signing of that pact. In other words, poor Comrade Browder was up a tree and didn't know what to do. He evidently received no information from his headquarters in Moscow. I was told that an investigation was made of all the cable offices in the United States to determine how, 2 days afterwards, Comrade Browder was able to give a political explanation of the pact which was identical with the explanation which the British Communist Party gave, and the French Communist Party gave, and how it was possible for all three Communist parties, in almost identical words, to give an explanation of that pact, when an investigation, I was told, was made of the cable offices, and there were no cables on record dealing with the pact, and no cables received by prominent Communists in this country.

I then discovered that the American Communications Association is dominated completely by the Communist Party. The vice president of the American Communications Association, a Mr. Pyle, is a member of the Communist Party, and is the real power in the organization—not its president, Rathborne, who is a fellow traveler and follows the Communist Party 100 percent. And when I inquired of the A. F. of L. union in this field how it was possible for the Communist Party to be in communication with the Soviet Union during a war period, they informed me that it was a very simple matter if the Communist Party had radio operators working on the ships that traveled on the high seas, because through the short-wave apparatus they could place themselves in communication with Moscow short-wave stations and get instructions and advice on matters which the Soviet Union deemed important and necessary. And radio and telegraphic communications are a vital necessity for a government, particularly in a grave emergency, and the union which controls jobs in this important industry, and is in a position to place confidential agents of its own in charge of important receiving stations, is in a position to get and to give valuable espionage information to the governments they serve.

That is one industry of vital importance which is dominated by the Communist Party today.

We have another union in the C. I. O.—the National Maritime Union. The president of the union, Joseph Curran—and I investigated this organization recently—the president of the union, Joseph Curran, is a member of the Communist Party. The executive board of the union is made up entirely of Communist Party members. They control the jobs on the ships that ply across the Atlantic Ocean, and naturally that industry is part of the life stream of a country, and whoever controls labor on board the ships can cripple a country during a war; and if the United States is involved in a war

against the Soviet Union, or vice versa, and the Communists maintain their loyalty to the Soviet Union first, and they have Communist members on board the ships in the United States, there is any amount of damage they can do.

Furthermore, when I was general secretary of the party and a member of the secretariat of the party, the party made a very great effort to gather whatever information it could concerning the aeronautical industry in the United States, to obtain plans, the latest information on patents dealing with aviation, in order to supply that information to the Soviet Union, and at that time we were able to recruit into the Communist Party one of the best technicians in the United States on aerial photography, and this individual, whose name I cannot remember at the present time, was transferred to the G. P. U., and he installed an organization utilizing photographic knowledge that he had obtained through working in the United States—he installed it in Russia, and it was a valuable addition to Russian knowledge on aviation.

Furthermore, with the alliance of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union at the present time, it is only logical to come to the conclusion that the Gestapo and the espionage services of Nazi Germany will work together with the espionage services of the Soviet Union; that they will exchange information; that they will cooperate with one another, because it is to their mutual interest to do so.

Keeping these matters in mind, then, you cannot consider the Communist Party in the United States as a political organization, because it is not a political organization. By no measurement can you conclude the the American Communist Party is a legitimate political organization in America. If we had a group of people in the United States who believed in communism, and even believed that the only way to better conditions in the United States would be by abolishing American democracy and establishing a dictatorship in the country, and they truthfully, as Americans, believed in that, they could form a political party that was a legitimate political party. But they are not such a political party. They are a party that draws its inspiration from another government. They pledge allegiance to another government; they receive their main support from a foreign power; they are tied up with the espionage activities of a foreign power. They are a corroding, corrupting, sinister activity within our body politic, and they cannot claim for themselves the rights that legitimate political parties, whether they are reformist or capitalist or out-and-out revolutionary parties, can claim, because under no circumstances, no matter how you try to stretch a definition, they are not a political party in that sense of the term.

And that accounts for the fact that a political party like the Communist Party of the United States can engage in such gymnastics in changing policies. A few weeks ago they were for a democratic front against Hitler. Today they are in a front with Hitler, and instead of attacking Hitler they attack France and England, two democracies that are engaged in a war against Hitler. And you will see these changes in policy activated, not by political considerations, but by Russian considerations.

The CHAIRMAN. You have answered my question.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, speaking of this Communications Association that you mentioned a moment ago, you inferred, if I remember correctly, that that might have been a means of transmission of this information from the Soviet Union to Mr. Browder and the Communist Party in this country.

Mr. GITLOW. Yes; certainly.

Mr. STARNES. And to the Communist Parties in England and France?

Mr. GITLOW. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the information that you have—that was that was the method by which it was conveyed?

Mr. GITLOW. No. The leader of the Commercial Telegraphers Union in the United States, whom I met in New York, explained to me that an experienced radio operator on board ship can get in touch with the short-wave stations in Moscow and in that way receive instructions from the party and give new information to Moscow.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Gitlow, the committee received a telegram from Joseph Curran denying that he was a member of the Communist Party. What would you have to say, commenting on that?

Mr. GITLOW. Well, I think that it is in line with all the lies that the committee has been listening to, particularly Max Bedacht, who has met John Pepper a number of times, and has drawn up resolutions with John Pepper a number of times, but who says he does not remember John Pepper and does not know who he is.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said you had made an investigation of the Maritime Union recently, and I thought you might have some evidence in connection with that.

Mr. BITLOW. Yes; I have seen the minutes of a fraction meeting at which Joseph Curran was present and got instructions and orders by the Communist Party to carry out a certain line of action within the Maritime Union.

Mr. STARNES. During the hearings last year, either executive or open, I do not recall which, the committee received some testimony to the effect that he was a member of the party, and that at one time he had a party name—"Narruc"—that is, his real name spelled backward.

Mr. GITLOW. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. GITLOW. I know that under his real name he is a well-known member of the Communist Party, has attended Communist meetings, and is a part of the Communist fraction in the maritime industry.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Gitlow, who did you say was the vice president of the American Communications Association?

Mr. GITLOW. A fellow by the name of Pyle. I don't know his first name.

Mr. THOMAS. He is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GITLOW. He is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. Who did you say was the president?

Mr. GITLOW. Mervyn Rathborne.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GITLOW. He is a fellow traveler. I have not been able to check up whether he is a member of the Communist Party, but he is a fellow

traveler who follows out Communist Party instructions 100 percent.

Mr. THOMAS. He is the Rathborne who was appointed to the advisory committee of the National Youth Administration?

Mr. GITLOW. He is the same Rathborne.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, gentlemen?

(There were no questions.)

The CHAIRMAN. If not, we have Mr. Fred Beal, who came here with the permission of the Governor of North Carolina, but it will be tomorrow afternoon at 1 o'clock before Mr. Beal can testify. So we will begin tomorrow at 1 o'clock and have Mr. Beal as a witness.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, October 18, 1939, at 1 p. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 1 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies (chairman), Starnes, Casey, Voorhis, and Thomas.

Present also: Mr. Whitley, counsel to the committee, and Mr. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. The first thing we have to take up is the application of Mr. Kuhn to be excused from testifying tomorrow. Will you state the facts, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, who was subpoenaed to be here tomorrow, has sent a letter to which he attaches an affidavit. In that affidavit he advises that he is under \$50,000 bond in New York and one of the conditions of his bond is that he not leave the State of New York. He states, further, that he needs tomorrow and the next few days to finish preparing his defense to his prosecution in New York, which is coming up next week, and he requests, in view of these circumstances, that the committee postpone his appearance here to a later date.

Now, it is possible that we can take the matter up with the district attorney, who might give permission to Mr. Kuhn to leave the State of New York.

The other problem, as to Mr. Kuhn's contention that he needs time to prepare his defense to the pending prosecution, is a matter for the committee to decide.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your recommendation, Mr. Attorney?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, in view of that situation, my recommendation would be that the committee permit him or, rather, authorize him not to appear tomorrow, and call him at a later day.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the committee?

Mr. STARNES. I think that is all right.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a few questions.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to make a statement to this effect: While, as a member of the committee, I have no desire to take any action to jeopardize Fritz Kuhn or any other American citizen, native or naturalized, in preparing a proper defense against any charge brought against him, I am not impressed at all with the fact that the conditions in his bond, the bail bond, are such that he cannot appear before this committee; because, as stated by the attorney, I feel certain the district attorney would be glad to make an arrange-

ment for this man to appear before this committee. I want that understood, that I do not think the bond business is any insuperable obstacle to his being here. I will raise no objection to a continuance of his hearing on the ground he probably needs time for the preparation of his defense.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the committee?

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, all I think is that we should be sure that he comes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And, if there is any point made that there will be difficulty about his coming at this present time, I do not object at all to its being postponed; but I do think he should be brought before the committee again.

Mr. WHITLEY. He will remain under subpena.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; he will not be excused from the subpena, but just simply be excused for the time being, subject to notification of the committee; because he must be brought before this committee again to give some pertinent testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Whitley, as I understand it, he is to be brought up for trial next week?

Mr. WHITLEY. On the 30th, I believe is the exact date—yes, October 30. When is that?

Mr. THOMAS. It is about 10 days from now. Have you contacted the district attorney up there at all about Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; I have not, Mr. Thomas, because—in other words, if the only reason for his not appearing is the bond, why, then I will contact the district attorney and see if he will permit him to leave the State.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, supposing he is convicted and sent to jail, we have no assurance now whether we will be able to get him out of New York State at all, have we?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; we do not have; and I do not think the district attorney could give us that assurance at this time.

Mr. THOMAS. So, if we let him go now, hoping that we will get him at a later date, we have no assurance we are going to be able to get him at a later date. And I think it is very important that we take no chances in the matter. I am opposed to excusing him. I think we ought to get him while we are able to get him, and certainly I see no reason why we should be lenient with Mr. Kuhn at all. He has had plenty of time to prepare his defense in New York, and I think it is important for this committee to get Mr. Kuhn when we have an opportunity to get him.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I wonder how this would do. It does seem if his trial is on the 30th of October, the trial presumably will take several days; then, at the consummation of that, we do not know whether we will get him, or not. I should think it might be wise for the counsel [Mr. Whitley] to communicate with the district attorney, perhaps also with Mr. Kuhn, and find out how much time he needs to prepad this thing. Certainly he ought not to need from now until October 30.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, he has had plenty of time; he has sat in jail in New York for days and had an opportunity to think over it.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I thought was we could arrange a specific date when he could come prior to October 30, if not tomorrow. How would that be?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Whitley, why not you call Mr. Kuhn and see if you can arrange a definite date when he can come, that will be agreeable to the committee?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not think we should call Mr. Kuhn; I think we should call the district attorney and talk the matter over with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, call the district attorney, then, and go further into the matter and see about arranging a date that would be convenient to the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not anticipate any difficulty in having the district attorney agree to permitting him to leave the State.

Mr. THOMAS. And ask him if he sees any reason why he should not be here tomorrow.

Mr. STARNES. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. I think we are taking a tremendous risk in this matter; because, if Mr. Kuhn is convicted and sent to jail, we may never be able to get Mr. Kuhn back here.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is true.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I suggest this, and I make it in the form of a motion: I ask that the counsel of the committee be instructed to get in touch with the district attorney and to obtain some further information and see if it is possible to obtain a waiver of that condition in the bond, and arrange for him to be here at the convenience of the committee.

Mr. THOMAS. And then for the committee to meet on this matter, after the attorney has talked to the district attorney in New York?

Mr. STARNES. That is what I said—to meet at the convenience of the committee. I mean to come before us at our convenience.

The CHAIRMAN. If you are going to do it, you will have to do it pretty soon.

Mr. THOMAS. I think it ought to be done this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to wait until counsel does that, because we have a witness here and there is no use to wait until this afternoon.

Mr. Beal, will you please come up here? Just have a seat right over there. Raise your right hand. You solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

(After informal recess:)

The CHAIRMAN. While we are waiting, the Chair wants to make the statement that one of the most difficult matters that we have is when witnesses mention the name of people in the course of examination. Where a person is guilty, or where the witness, of his own knowledge, knows of a certain fact, or testifies under oath that a certain fact is true and he has reason to believe it, there is no disposition to shield such person, whoever he is. On the other hand, the situation throughout the world has become rather critical and we have to take every precaution to safeguard innocent people against the careless use of their names.

So the Chair is going to announce the policy that hereafter, when a witness mentions a name, the committee is going to ascertain, to its

own satisfaction, whether that witness is talking purely on hearsay, or whether he has good reasons to testify with regard to such person. And if we conclude that his mention of the name is influenced either by bias, prejudice, or is based purely upon rumor and hearsay, the name will be stricken from the record, in which event the press will be requested not to use such name.

Manifestly it is difficult to handle the matter. We cannot be put in a position of restricting witnesses, in abridging their right to testify fully; on the other hand, we owe a definite obligation to safeguard innocent people, the mere mention of whose names, under the present conditions, may do them irreparable damage.

Now, will the committee step over in the press room for a moment, for an executive session?

(After informal recess:)

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to the request of Mr. Kuhn, that he be excused from appearing tomorrow, the committee has considered in executive session this request.

The committee has no desire, no intention, to persecute Mr. Kuhn or anyone, or to deprive anyone of an opportunity to prepare his defense. On the other hand, this committee has a schedule which has been worked out. Witnesses have been subpoenaed and notified to be here on specified days. Mr. Kuhn's trial will start on October 30 and how long it will continue we do not know. So that it is the opinion of the committee, if we are going to hear him, as we are going to hear him, it will have to be before October 30; certainly not after October 30. That being true, the committee cannot see how it would hurt him to appear here tomorrow, any more than any other day prior to October 30. Therefore, the counsel is instructed to notify Mr. Kuhn to be here tomorrow, in accordance with the subpoena that we issued.

With reference to the bond, the district attorney has advised us that his appearance here will not jeopardize the bond, or constitute a violation of any condition of the bond. So that part of it is no obstacle to his appearance.

(After informal recess:)

TESTIMONY OF FRED ERWIN BEAL, FORMER COMMUNIST ORGANIZER IN LAWRENCE, NEW BEDFORD, AND GASTONIA

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Beal, will you speak as loudly and as distinctly as possible?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; I will try my best.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has the witness been sworn, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he has been sworn.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, what is your full name?

Mr. BEAL. Fred Erwin Beal.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is your present address?

Mr. BEAL. Central Prison, Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, for what offense are you presently serving a sentence in the North Carolina Penitentiary?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I am serving sentence in connection with the Gastonia textile strike in 1929, which resulted in the death of Chief Aderholt.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. And when and where were you convicted, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what date?

Mr. BEAL. I was convicted October 29, 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. October——

Mr. BEAL. October 29—no, 21; October 21, 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is the length of sentence you are presently serving?

Mr. BEAL. Seventeen to twenty years.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when did you start serving your sentence, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. I started serving my sentence last January; January 16, 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, where were you born?

Mr. BEAL. I was born in Lawrence, Mass.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when were you born?

Mr. BEAL. September 11, 1896.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, will you state, briefly, why you appear here today as a witness before this committee?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; I am very willing to do that. It is just a continuance of my fight against the Communist Party and against all their affiliated organizations, such as the International Labor Defense, the Workers' International Relief, or any of their other parent bodies. It is a continuance of my fight of 6 years.

Six years ago, I was in Soviet Russia. Over there I learned that the Communist Party, which has full control of the workers in that country, did not carry on the kind of a government that I thought they was going to carry on—a workers' state, and I saw so much misery over there in Russia that I felt compelled to come back to America and tell the workers over here. I felt that since this country, while I was an organizer for the Communist National Textile Workers' Union, in which I told the workers from one part of the country to another that Russia was a perfect workers' state, I thought that since I discovered otherwise in Soviet Russia it was my duty to come back to this country and tell the workers over here the truth of what was going on over there in Russia.

I knew perfectly well that my coming back over here 6 years ago would be a sort of hazardous thing for me, since 17 years was hanging over my head. I knew that when I come back over to this country and told the workers over here of the horrors, of what was going on over in Soviet Russia, that I would lose a lot of my old-time friends—so-called friends—that were with me in the Communist Party at that time when I was in this country. I knew I would lose them.

I suffered a very great disillusionment over there while I was there. I knew that all these things would happen; yet I felt that the only thing that I could do and the honest thing to do was to come back here and tell the working class of people of this country just what was going on there.

Now, I just want to add a few more words here, and that is that lately the Communist Government in Russia, or the Stalin Government in Russia, or their latest idea of working in conjunction with Hitler as a government, did not surprise me in the least, because I found out what Stalin's Government was. Although it probably sur-

prised a number of people over here, it just gives us a view of what kind of an organization and what kind of a theory the Communist Party is, and how close they are to Nazi-ism; and I felt as I lay down on my bunk at the Caledonia prison farm that I understood how it was, and I felt that it was my duty to come up here and tell this committee of Congress the truth as I understand it. I want to tell what I knew about the Communist Party. It happened that as I was laying on my bunk I heard Chairman Dies speak over the radio. Now, I am not saying this just to give a few medals to Chairman Dies, but some of the boys were down there lying on their bunks listening to his speech, and I want to tell you that I felt it. At first I hesitated whether I should come down here or not; but I heard him speak, and he condemned the Nazis as well as the Communists.

I want to say, although he is here, that it was so good that I felt rather ashamed of myself for lying down there on my bunk and not doing anything else at that time. Well, I said I cannot do anything any more, but I will try to get out of here; I will try to get out of this place and will go into the country and stay there. When I heard this speech I felt that at least there was some organization in this country that was good enough to go out and make some kind of fight against Communist treachery getting into this country. I will say now that I am willing to appear today. I do not care who it hurts, or anything about that. I would say it before this committee or any other committee. It does not matter whether it is the Dies committee or any other committee. I would speak before the Communists if I were out of Caledonia prison. I am speaking now, but it is not just because it is the Dies committee, but I would speak before any committee. I intend to carry that policy out. I will tell anyone that, no matter who they are, Communists or otherwise. I will tell what I know about it, as I understand it.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, when did you first become interested in the labor movement in this country?

MR. BEAL. At Lawrence, Mass., during the 1912 textile strike.

MR. WHITLEY. How old were you at that time?

MR. BEAL. I was between 14 and 15 years of age, because I started to work when I was 14 years old.

MR. WHITLEY. You started to work in a textile mill in Lawrence, Mass., when you were 14 years old?

MR. BEAL. I started to work as a bobbin boy in a textile mill, at Lawrence, Mass. I am a real proletarian and am a worker. I am not one of the intellectual giants floating around in the Communist Party.

MR. WHITLEY. From the time you first started work in a textile mill at Lawrence, at the age of 14 years, you continued your interest in the labor movement in this country since that day?

MR. BEAL. Yes, sir; I have fought in many strikes all over the country.

MR. WHITLEY. Were you in the Army during the World War?

MR. BEAL. Yes, sir; I was in the Army, and I have an honorable discharge.

MR. WHITLEY. What was the date of your discharge, or do you recall?

MR. BEAL. I think it was in May 1919.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following your discharge from the Army, did you ever become active in the labor movement in the textile industry in New England?

Mr. BEAL. What was that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Following your discharge from the Army, did you then become active in the labor movement?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; in the 1922 strike of textile workers at Lawrence, Mass. That is my home city.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first come in contact with the Communist Party in connection with your trade-union activities?

Mr. BEAL. In the 1929 textile strike. I met at that time Ben Gitlow and a number of other Communists who were speaking during that textile strike in that city.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was your first actual contact with Communist Party leaders or organizers?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir. There were other Communists—Wicks, Talentine, and others.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following that contact with Communist Party organizers, during the 1922 strike, you continued?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you become interested in the Communist movement subsequently to that?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; I did not join the Communist Party at that time, or in 1922. I was very much interested in the industrial form of unionism in the textile industry, and the Communists who were very active at that time seemed to be the most militant and active of any political or union group in industrial unionism, and because I was greatly interested in the industrial form of unionism I naturally had a tendency to lean toward the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you actually join the party?

Mr. BEAL. That was in the New Bedford textile strike in 1928. In 1928, at New Bedford they had a large strike in which I became a leader involving 30,000 workers on strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that strike you actually joined the party?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; I felt that the Communist Party, as I mentioned previously, was the most militant form of organization of a political party interested in industrial unionism, and I felt that in order to get in on the faction meetings, and be a part of them in keeping the spirit alive there, I had to go and join the Communist Party. I joined it during that strike, in the first part of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. At the time you joined, did you sincerely believe that by entering the Communist Party you would be in a better position to carry out your trade-union organizing and other trade-union work?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; I believed that in the interest of harmony it was necessary to be a part of them and to work together with them for a successful conclusion of the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were some of the inducements used by the Communist Party leadership to get you to join that organization? In addition to their trade-union policy, what other inducements did they offer?

Mr. BEAL. They always put up to me the idea that Soviet Russia was a country that was under the control of the working class, and

that the workers in Soviet Russia were running the government, and that some day the workers at New Bedford and the workers throughout this country would have a system the same as that, with a sort of paradise on earth.

Mr. WHITLEY. A workers' Utopia?

Mr. BEAL. Something of that nature. I felt that way about it because of the bad conditions existing at that period of time, and I felt that was the best way out of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. After joining the Communist Party in 1928, did you continue your union activities in the textile industry in New England?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir. That strike itself lasted 6 months. The New Bedford textile strike in 1928 was a strike that lasted 6 months. It started out under an organization or union known as the Textile Mill Committees. It was not a regular, bona fide, national union, but it started out under the Textile Mill Committees. That is how we organized that strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. During the course of the strike, were you in contact with Communist Party leaders and organizers who were also instructing them?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; the Communist Party, from the New York national headquarters, sent down a flock of Communist leaders, or so-called leaders, during the strike, to assist me in the work.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you name some of them?

Mr. BEAL. Well, there was Alfred Wagonknecht, Fred Biedenkapp, and Alexander Bail. He was the district organizer of the Communist Party in New England. Then, there was John Ballam and Ben Gitlow.

Mr. WHITLEY. After joining the Communist Party early in that strike, what became of the strike from that time on? Did you take your instructions as to the conduct of the strike from the Communist Party leaders?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet with them?

Mr. BEAL. We always met in the faction. We got together in the faction, or as it was called at that time and as they call it, the nuclei. They met together and decided all questions, and usually a representative was there from the Communist Party national office in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, the party members worked out the strike strategy?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that strike, or immediately following the strike, was the Communist Party instrumental in setting up a new union, or a new textile workers' union?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; during that strike, or about the close of the strike, Alfred Weisboard returned from Moscow, where he had been attending a World Congress of the Profintern, and he brought back home a new policy from Moscow. He said that he had been over there attending that Congress, and that we should start "red" unions in this country, or dual unions, away from the American Federation of Labor. It was up to us to start bringing the workers to that idea. You must understand that we just had Textile Mill Committees at that time, and he brought back this way of organizing in the form of new "red" unions.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he had just returned from this Congress in Moscow with instructions that the Communist Party in the United States set up these new unions, or "red" unions?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was anything done in the textile industry in keeping with that policy?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir. We closed the strike. If you do not mind, I will refer to dates and things like that. It may take some little time to look them up.

Mr. WHITLEY. You may look at your diary and notes.

Mr. BEAL. The strike finished in October 1928, and after that we immediately started agitation for a national convention of the textile workers, and I was summoned off to New York, with some other local Communist Party members, to take part in the formation of this new "red" union, the National Textile Workers Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the Communist Party at that time set up the new independent or "red" union known as the National Textile Workers Union?

Mr. BEAL. We had a convention in New York, and we started at that period of time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, after the conclusion of the New Bedford strike and the formation of the new "red" union, the National Textile Workers Union, under the sponsorship of the Communist Party, what was your next field of activity, and how did you happen to go to that field?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I went south after that. After the close of the New Bedford strike and the formation of the National Textile Workers Union, I was called into New York by the Secretariat of the Communist Party and told that we ought to extend our organization to the South.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Communist Party officials in New York tell you why they were particularly interested in organizing in the South at that time?

Mr. BEAL. William Foster told me—William Z. Foster told me—that it was necessary that I go south to organize the textile workers, and that he had chosen me, or the Communist Party had chosen me, to go south because I was a real American, and that I would fit better in the South among the textile workers than any of their other members or leaders, who were either of foreign extraction or else they looked like foreigners.

Mr. STARNES. Or had a foreign accent?

Mr. BEAL. Well, yes; I should say that, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in keeping with those instructions from the officials of the Communist Party in New York, what did you do then, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. I went south.

Mr. WHITLEY. And where did you go?

Mr. BEAL. To my great sorrow—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Just what did you do? Where did you go and what did you do?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, I went to Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. WHITLEY. You went to Charlotte, N. C., first?

Mr. BEAL. Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. WHITLEY. What date was that that you went down there first?

Mr. BEAL. I landed there on New Year's Day, January 1, 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was your first activity after you arrived down there?

Mr. BEAL. Well, to go out among the textile workers, and get them into our new "red" union; that was all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you do any work in the immediate vicinity of Charlotte first?

Mr. BEAL. You mean, working in the textile mills?

Mr. WHITLEY. Working in the textile mills right around Charlotte.

Mr. BEAL. No; I did not work. I just went around to the workers' homes and organized them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You started getting acquainted with them?

Mr. BEAL. Started the agitation.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you, a little later on, move on to Gastonia, N. C.?

Mr. BEAL. Well, Gastonia is 20 miles from Charlotte. Of course, I went all around that locality.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you start active organization activities over at Gastonia in the textile mills?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was the result, or what happened shortly after you started organizing at Gastonia?

Mr. BEAL. The strike took place, April 1, 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. A strike broke out among the textile workers in Gastonia?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And during the course of that strike, Mr. Beal, what organizations were active in the strike and had representatives on the scene of the strike?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I represented the National Textile Workers' Union, of course, and, of course, naturally I was under the direct control of the Communist Party in New York, which had representatives on the job everywhere I moved, and they sent in the usual flock of affiliated organizations—the International Labor Defense, under Carl Reeve; the Workers' International Relief, under Amy Schechter—she took the spotlight in the Workers' International Relief. The International Labor Defense—by the way, I mentioned the International Labor Defense just previously. Excuse me. Carl Reeve was the one to take charge of that; and the Young Communist League, under the direction of George Pershing.

Mr. WHITLEY. In addition to yourself—and you were the representative of the textile union, which was under the domination of the Communist Party—they sent down representatives of the Communist Party from New York to give you orders, and then the representatives of these other organizations came in to take part. Now, how was the strike carried on; by what process, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. Well, of course, the Communists generally, as I said before, they colonized everywhere we went.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean they sent in a lot of members from different parts of the country to go in and help?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. As I said before, the International Labor Defense, the Workers International Relief, and all other kinds of organizations would all flock in on the job and colonize the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you name some of the Communist Party representatives who came down from New York to take part in or to help you run the strike, or to give you orders, rather?

Mr. BEAL. Well, there was Amy Schechter, Vera Bush, Albert Weisbord, George Pershing, Harrison, and George Carter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they all members of the Communist Party, as representing these organizations?

Mr. BEAL. They were all members of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. As well as being connected with the I. L. D. and the others?

Mr. BEAL. Of course they all had their particular field. They had the I. L. D. and the others.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who were some of the Communist Party representatives; I mean, sent down directly by the party to give you orders on how to carry on the strike?

Mr. BEAL. Well, there was—of course I really can't forget one of them. It was Jack Johnstone, and his appearance there. I fully expected that one of them would come on the spot; and one of the workers came running in to me one day and said there was a stool pigeon outside. So I said, "Well, we generally have a lot of stool pigeons come in; don't bother." He said, "Well this is the most peculiar kind of stool pigeon I ever did see." So I went out the door, and there was Jack Johnstone hiding behind a post. So I told him to come out, and he said, "Fred, don't get excited," he says, "I have come down from New York to represent them up there. I am the new 'rep.'"

Mr. WHITLEY. The Communist Party "rep"?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; the new Communist Party "rep."

Well, just before his arrival Edith Miller took the reins for the Communist Party and received her orders direct from the Communist Party, and at our fraction meetings on the job she would inform us as to what the policy was for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Communist Party immediately started its fraction meetings to decide on the conduct of the strike?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, in addition to carrying on the strike—and, as I understand it, that was your principal interest—in the trade-union field, to help the workers, did they utilize the strike for propaganda or recruiting purposes?

Mr. BEAL. Well, we all did that. We all had our particular job to do on that score. The International Labor Defense, as I said, would have their representatives there, and they would go out and try to get members for the Communist Party, and we all did that. It would work like this at a fraction meeting: We would have what we call a "top" fraction meeting; that is, all the party members from New York, no matter what organization they represented, would all sit in at a fraction meeting every day, and we would decide on how the strike was to go on, and what was to take place, and the policy, and all that sort of thing.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that the top fraction?

Mr. BEAL. That was the top fraction.

Mr. THOMAS. The ones from New York?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Then we were given a list of names of the potential Communists to go after and to get them into the Communist Party. We would have a few dozen names and then we would divide them all up. Each one would take about three or four, and it would be our jobs, in some part of the day, to take them aside and talk to them about getting into the Communist Party. Amy Schechter would devote part of her day's work from the Workers International Relief, and she would take over some of the women and tell them about the Communist Party. Carl Reeve would also take a few and tell them, and I would take a few and tell them about the Communist Party; and then we would report at the next fraction meeting our success in that field.

Mr. CASEY. How would you determine who was a potential Communist?

Mr. BEAL. Well, by their activities in the strike; whether they were on the picket line a lot, and whether they seemed to be good speakers—seemed to be willing to get up and say something at a meeting, and whether or not—you know, they had a tendency toward our way of thinking.

Mr. CASEY. The ability to influence others?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; that is true.

Mr. CASEY. And you would select the most aggressive and most active strikers, and those who had the most ability to influence others?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; and by their looks, and so forth.

Mr. CASEY. How would you determine whether they looked like potential Communists?

Mr. BEAL. Well, looks in the sense of being——

Mr. CASEY. Long haired?

Mr. BEAL. Having that look, you know; able to get up and do something to get people excited, and all that sort of thing.

Well, anyway, we would report back at our fraction meeting and tell about our success at getting these workers in there, and then after getting them into the Communist Party they would then meet in a sort of second fraction. That is, our top fraction would meet, and then we would invite them into our meeting after we thought they were safe enough.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you could not let them know all the plans that were being made?

Mr. BEAL. No; not in the beginning. We could not trust them that far. And afterward, if we found out that they were ready, we would take them into our regular meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, did you always agree with the procedure which was adopted by the Communist Party representatives sent down from New York?

Mr. BEAL. No; I was always at loggerheads with their policy all the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it your impression from the instructions that they gave for the conduct of the strike that the Communist Party's primary interest was organizing the workers in the trade-union, or did they have other interests in that strike? Were they trying to promote other interests than those of the workers, in other words?

Mr. BEAL. I should have mentioned that their principal interest was always in getting them into the Communist Party. That was always

their principal interest. In fact, we always considered the strike as just a revolutionary idea, just an advance guard, you might say.

Mr. WHITLEY. That gave New York a good opportunity to carry on propaganda work and recruit members?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, how long did that strike in Gastonia last?

Mr. BEAL. Well, it started April 1, 1929 and lasted until September—I mean June 7, 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now will you explain to the committee just what functions the Workers International Relief performed during the strike, in addition to recruiting and propagandizing?

Mr. BEAL. The Workers International Relief collected thousands of dollars, supposedly for the strikers out on strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say “supposedly”?

Mr. BEAL. Well, a good part of that money went up to New York in order to further the propaganda.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the funds were raised——

Mr. BEAL (interposing). We always used part of the funds collected for propaganda purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You used them for propaganda purposes instead of for the strike?

Mr. BEAL. We always did.

Mr. STARNES. This was no exception to the rule; wherever money was raised, wherever it was, part of it found its way back to New York?

Mr. BEAL. It always got into the national treasury some way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, just what part did the I. L. D. play in the strike in addition to propaganda and recruiting activities?

Mr. BEAL. Well, all these organizations were on a similar basis. The International Labor Defense ostensibly was, of course, to defend workers who were arrested in the strike. As I said before, they naturally tried to get them into the Communist Party, and they raised money also. They went out and raised money on a different basis. They did not raise it to provide food for the strikers. They went out and raised money to provide bail and other things for the defense of the strikers, and then, of course, the money found its way into the treasury back in New York again.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did the I. L. D. later on, after you were arrested, take up the defense of your case?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; the International Labor Defense took up my case.

Mr. WHITLEY. And just what part did the I. L. D. play in furnishing you defense at your trial, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. Well, the I. L. D.——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Did they furnish you attorneys?

Mr. BEAL. They furnished me lawyers, and later on, after the trial was over, they furnished bail, \$5,000. with the help of the Garland fund, and the Civil Liberties Union also contributed to that.

Mr. WHITLEY. What attorney did the I. L. D. furnish you for your defense?

Mr. BEAL. There was a number of them, mostly southern.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean, did they furnish you an attorney who was a Communist Party member, and who came direct from the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. Well, they had a number of southern lawyers, and they also had a lawyer from up in New Jersey, by the name of Leon Josephson.

MR. WHITLEY. Was he a Communist member?

MR. BEAL. Yes; we understood him to be. He always met with our fraction meetings and all that sort of thing.

MR. WHITLEY. And did he more or less take a leading part in dictating the Communist Party policy prior to and during your trial?

MR. BEAL. Yes. He tried to influence the other lawyers as to what policy should be pursued during that trial.

MR. WHITLEY. Did the Communist Party, through the representative of the International Labor Defense, Leon Josephson, try to utilize the preparations for the trial and the trial itself for purposes other than just defending yourself and the others who were on trial? Were there any elements of propaganda, in other words, in it?

MR. BEAL. Why, they always would spread propaganda for the Communist Party and for Soviet Russia. They always did that. That was just an ordinary procedure to be followed.

MR. VOORHIS. Did you ever feel that that procedure hurt the chances of the trial being conducted in such a way as to give you the best defense?

MR. BEAL. I did at that time. It was just like during the strike. I was always at loggerheads with the idea, why we should have to put in things about Soviet Russia when it was strictly a strike issue, for better conditions in the mill; and, of course, I was a party member and had to obey discipline all the time.

MR. CASEY. Who injected Soviet Russia into the trial; the prosecution or the defense?

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, he is not talking about the trial now. [To the witness:] Are you talking about the trial now?

MR. BEAL. No; I just casually mentioned that.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, by way of corroborating Mr. Beal's statements as to the Communist Party using this trial in furthering its propaganda, I would like to read a few excerpts from the Communist papers at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. WHITLEY. In the Daily Worker dated August 23, 1929, under the caption "Fifteen thousand New York workers pledge to fight Gastonia conspiracy at Sacco meet," a portion of that article reads as follows:

A resolution was adopted expressing "revolutionary solidarity with the workers and the peasants of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics," calling upon the workers of this country to rally for the defeat of the new imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

That is part of the resolution adopted under the auspices of the Communist Party to raise funds for this defense, and there are numerous other articles that are of the same tenor.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Whitley, did they conduct a campaign throughout the country to raise funds for Fred Beal?

MR. BEAL. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. On a Nation-wide scale?

MR. BEAL. They did that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much money was raised by the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense, supposedly for your defense?

MR. BEAL. By their own statements they raised over a hundred thousand dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Over a hundred thousand dollars supposedly to defend you?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much actually was expended for your defense?

Mr. BEAL. I haven't got the figures on it now, but I know that they did not expend all that money for that. They admitted that to me in Russia while I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, the New York Times of August 3, 1929, reported on the situation surrounding the trial down there as follows:

It was learned that the International Labor Defense (the Communist legal defense organization) and the American Civil Liberties Union have been at odds as to the policy to be pursued by the defense * * *. It was revealed that many liberal elements have expressed dissatisfaction with what they term the propaganda methods of the International Labor Defense in connection with the case. These methods are regarded as detrimental to the interests of the defendants, and, according to information from North Carolina, led to the resignation of former Judge Frank Carter, leading counsel for the defense.

Those are just one or two representative articles indicating the nature of the activities that were going on around this situation.

Mr. THOMAS. In this trial, Mr. Beal, did your defense counsel in his plea to the court and the jury bring up this question of conditions in Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. No; he did not enlarge upon that.

The CHAIRMAN. His remarks a moment ago had reference to strikes and not to the trial, when he spoke about Soviet Russia being brought up.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, during the trial itself, were any witnesses put on the stand by the defense who, in the opinion of yourself and other defendants, were unnecessary, and who apparently were there just to make speeches?

Mr. BEAL. Edith Miller, who represented the Communist Party from New York off and on, as a representative there—she was put on directly after me, on the stand. As I understood it, and we all understood it, however, she made her appearance there to provide some fireworks; and she certainly did, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, there apparently was no reason for putting her on the stand except that to let her act as official party spokesman?

Mr. BEAL. There was no reason whatsoever, except that the Communist Party was very anxious to show—that is, the faction that was in there at the time was very anxious to show Moscow that there was a radical situation going on down South in this country, and they had to go and send the clippings that would come from the papers over there to show them; and they put her on right after me. I was supposed to have made a fairly good impression with the jury, and I was apparently too soft for the Communist Party, who wanted to have a little fireworks going on there, and they put her on right after me, and she provided that. I could, of course, read a little bit of her testimony, if you want me to.

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not think that will be necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of her testimony?

Mr. BEAL. Why, if I could read just a few lines——

The CHAIRMAN. Let him read a few lines of it, because I think it is important.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was Edith Miller, a Communist Party member who was sent down during the strike, and who later testified at your trial?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; that is right.

This is the regular testimony at the trial of Edith Miller—some of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Where was this trial?

Mr. BEAL. At Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. THOMAS. Did it start out at Charlotte, N. C.?

Mr. BEAL. Why, the strike took place at Gastonia, but it was moved over to Charlotte, N. C., 20 miles away.

Mr. THOMAS. Did the trial start at Gastonia?

Mr. BEAL. No; that was where the affair took place, and the trial was held at Charlotte.

Mr. THOMAS. And the trial ended at Charlotte?

Mr. BEAL. That is right [reading:]

The teachings of Mrs. Edith Saunders Miller to the children of the strikers became the subject of extensive cross-examination. Among other things, she was asked:

"Let us see what you were teaching them. Did you observe that picture there?"

And the picture was of a child firing a gun. And she said:

"I did.

"Will you please tell the jury what it is?"

Objection was made by the defense.

"You distributed this very paper among the children of Gastonia?"

And she said:

"I did.

"With that very picture on it?"

"Yes.

"The picture purports to be the scene of the revolution in Paris in 1871?"

"Yes.

"And it purports to show a child firing a cannon, and with weapons, and a lot of dead people in soldiers' uniforms?"

"Yes; it shows a child taking part.

"It shows a lot of dead soldiers in uniform?"

"Yes. I think this is supposed to be the workers.

"Do workers wear caps?"

"Yes, sir; they did during the revolution.

"You studied the revolution, did you?"

And so on. And she goes on like that all the way through in her testimony, telling about throwing out leaflets, and the Government sending out troops, and all that sort of thing.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Beal, obviously that kind of testimony made it much less likely that you would have been acquitted of these charges than would otherwise have been the case?

Mr. BEAL. That is right. And another thing is this, that I did not know, it was a complete surprise to the rest of the defendants, too, that Edith Miller was doing anything of the kind during the strike. She had charge of the children. I did not know what was going on with those children. And it is very possible she was not doing anything of the kind. But she put it on there as if it was, anyway, and everybody in the courtroom felt that then we were convicted.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the Communist Party was willing to make a mockery of the courts of this country and to make martyrs out of the defendants in order to promulgate communistic doctrines and teachings in the United States?

Mr. BEAL. That is right. And I might add to that—

Mr. CASEY. Was not that testimony given under cross-examination the testimony that you have just read?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. That was not brought out by his counsel; it was brought out by the counsel for the prosecution.

Mr. BEAL. But our lawyers, our Southern lawyers there, were very much opposed to the Communist Party doing anything of the kind. If they had not put her on there this could not have been brought out at all under cross-examination. If Edith Miller had not been put on there to provide such fireworks, they would not have had anything of the kind there, in the first place.

Mr. THOMAS. Who put Edith Miller on, the defense?

Mr. BEAL. The Communist Party put her on the stand.

Mr. STARNES. As a defense witness?

Mr. BEAL. As a defense witness, right after I was on.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that threw her open to cross-examination on the part of the prosecution.

Mr. BEAL. That is right. It put her on subject to prosecution and, of course, if they had not put her on in the first place, that thing would not have happened.

The CHAIRMAN. She took pride in exaggerating all these things?

Mr. BEAL. That is right. She was very prideful. When we got through, the representative of the Communist Party there, Bill Dunne, who happened to be then the representative, on that particular day, he came over to her and congratulated her on her success, and the people all around the courtroom were shaking their heads and saying, "Well, they have been convicted now."

Mr. CASEY. What I would like to know is what she said in her direct testimony under the guidance of the defense lawyers that opened this up?

Mr. BEAL. I have not got that with me here. I could not tell you what that was.

Mr. CASEY. Can you tell us from memory of that trial?

Mr. BEAL. I cannot remember all that. I do not have it right here. I would rather have it here to read it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask another question in connection with the strike. You said that at the strike meetings there were references to the Soviet Union, and so forth, and so on, and that you were more or less instructed, as I understood you, to bring those things into the strike activity; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then I would like to have you tell me whether you feel that that made it easier to carry on those activities, or harder; in other words, purely from the standpoint of the workers involved, did it help or hurt the case?

Mr. BEAL. To put out propaganda for the Soviet Union, you mean?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. BEAL. To hurt the trial?

Mr. VOORHIS. I am talking about the strike.

Mr. BEAL. The strike—it did not have a good effect at all, because the strikers were naturally very interested in winning the strike, for better conditions in the mill, less hours and more wages, and all that sort of thing. We would continuously tell them about the Soviet Union, and all that sort of thing, and, well, they would let it go, but finally—

Mr. VOORHIS. Obviously, therefore, that was something that showed that the primary concern, at least, of the Communists, in connection with the strike, was not so much winning the strike as getting their story over.

Mr. BEAL. That is exactly the way it was.

Mr. STARNES. Who is this man Dunne, that you have referred to?

Mr. BEAL. William F. Dunne. Now, the Daily Worker, for instance, in order to show you just how they wanted to make it tough on us, getting freed—the Daily Worker put out a cartoon of Judge Barnhill, showing him as an enormous man with his hands dripping with blood, sitting upon his bench, and they circulated that all around the courtroom, and most likely the jury must have got a look at it; I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. During the course of the trial?

Mr. BEAL. During the course of the trial. Oh, they did everything they could to try to convict us, it seemed to me at that time. The whole thing seemed to go to pieces completely. They even brought in Negroes and put them in the background. They had another jury that the Communists elected, called a labor jury, on which they put half Negroes and half whites, and they brought them in the back of the courtroom, and they were going to decide for us, and not this jury. And when I looked around, and all the boys were looking around, and in came the Negroes and the whites, sitting there in the back, I saw one of the fellows sit down like this [illustrating] and say, "Oh, God, they are convicted now; here they come."

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the Communist Party's own jury that was going to hear the case?

Mr. BEAL. That is right. Of course, I did not know what to do. We were all caught in this position where we had to have a defense. And once we made any objection to what they were doing, we would lose them, possibly, and lose everything, and possibly go to the electric chair in the bargain. So we had to take it and like it.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it your opinion that the fact that the Communists had headquarters near the courthouse and also that they imported these Negroes, had an effect on the jury that was trying you?

Mr. BEAL. That is what I was trying to show just then. They paraded them through and took them in on the first floor to sit with the whites. Of course, in the South they know perfectly well that the whites are not going to sit with the Negroes. And they have a perfect right to think that way if they want to. They stopped them and told them to go upstairs, and sit there, so the whites went up there with them. They made a great hullabaloo about it, and the jury was looking at them.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, if you had been innocent or guilty—it is not for us to go into that question—these Communists did as much to convict you as anyone could.

Mr. BEAL. They did most to convict me. If I had not had them for my defense, I would have been a free man today.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, what was the date of your conviction, approximately? If you do not recall the exact date, give it approximately.

Mr. BEAL. It was the latter part of 1929. I do not have the date here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it in October 1929, do you recall?

Mr. BEAL. It was either the latter part of October or the first part of November. Yes; I believe it was the latter part of October 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you start serving your sentence immediately after you were convicted?

Mr. BEAL. No; I got out on bail.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the amount of that bail?

Mr. BEAL. \$5,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were released on \$5,000 bail pending the appeal of your case?

Mr. BEAL. I was released on \$5,000 pending appeal to the State supreme court in North Carolina, for a new trial.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who furnished that bail?

Mr. BEAL. The International Labor Defense with the help of the Garland fund; the Civil Liberties Union also helped.

Mr. WHITLEY. The American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you do after you were released on bail?

Mr. BEAL. I went to New York to help raise more funds to carry on our defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the International Labor Defense and the Communist Party continue to use your defense as an issue in order to raise funds?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. They continued that activity?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what happened to those funds that were raised subsequent to the trial?

Mr. BEAL. They always used the money raised for such things and put it into the treasury for propaganda purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, who first suggested that you and the other defendants in this case flee to Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. William F. Dunne.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he the Communist Party representative down there?

Mr. BEAL. He was the Communist Party representative. That was at Charlotte, at the time. Just after the trial was over he was the representative there—usually he was the representative during the trial. He first told us that as soon as we got freed on bail that we should go over to Soviet Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you were freed and went to New York, did anyone else suggest that you go to Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Of course, there were a lot of people that thought—I mean Communist Party members in New York and everywhere—all these Communist thought that we better go to Russia. There was Edith Miller, the wife of Clarence Miller.

Mr. WHITLEY. She is the one who testified during the trial?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. She said that she could raise the money and supply the passports for all of us to go over to Soviet Russia, and that we should go over.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your reaction to that suggestion?

Mr. BEAL. I was absolutely opposed to going to Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. On what ground?

Mr. BEAL. I was absolutely opposed to going to Russia on the ground that I was an innocent man and had no reason to run away from this country, and that I was going to stay here. But, of course, I thought that during the time that I was waiting for the State Supreme Court of North Carolina to give a verdict, whether we should have a new trial, it would be all right for me to pay a visit over to Soviet Russia and see for myself whether it was a working-class government. I knew that I had 17 years to serve down there in the South and I wanted to go over there and see for myself whether or not they did have a workers' form of government.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, after this persuasion or insistence on the part of various individuals, including Edith Miller, who was the Communist Party representative during this strike and a witness at the trial, you finally decided that you would go over and visit and come back; is that correct?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. What arrangements did Edith Miller actually make in order to get you and the other defendants to Russia, out of this country and into Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Well, Edith Miller took all charge of raising the money and furnishing us with the passports. Edith found ways and means of getting the money. I imagine, of course, naturally it was from the party itself, and then she provided me and the other defendants with the passports in order to go over there, under another name, of course.

Mr. WHITLEY. Describe how she arranged for you to get an illegal passport to make that trip.

Mr. BEAL. Well, Edith Miller gave me the name of Samuel Cohn, and told me all the history of Samuel Cohn's family. I did not know who Samuel Cohn was, but Edith evidently knew who he was. Of course, I made a little protest that it was a Jewish name. I protested to her that it sounded a little bit Jewish to me, and perhaps when I got over there to Europe, they may not like it so very well. She said, "Well, it is the best I can do. I have got to get some more names, and it is the best I can do now. I will have to go to the party and see if I can get some more." She said she would go down and see if she could not find another name for me, because I did not like that name. And all of a sudden, at the last moment, when I was about to take the boat—I mean, about a week before I was to take the boat, she came again and met me at the City Hall in New York City. She says, "I cannot do anything about it. We have got to take Sammy Cohn. It is all right," she says. "It is all right, just take it and go. There is nothing wrong about that."

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you do then?

Mr. BEAL. She provided me with the history of Cohn and the family. I went to the Health Department in New York and wrote out an application under the name of Cohn—Samuel Cohn; he and his family were born over in Russia. I wrote it down in the application blank

and handed it to the old man at the bar, and he gave me a birth certificate.

Mr. WHITLEY. He gave you a birth certificate under that name?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then what did you do?

Mr. BEAL. I came out and I was to call for it in a few hours.

Mr. THOMAS. Right on that point, before you go on, I think you ought to develop that somewhat. First, just where he went, what building he went to, and if he knows who this man was, and so forth.

Mr. BEAL. I understand that it is the Health Bureau in New York City. That is what I understood it to be, right there near City Hall.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know the name of this man?

Mr. BEAL. No. He was one of the clerks at the desk. He was an old man with long whiskers.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he question you at some length, or did he just write it out?

Mr. BEAL. No. I made an awful error at the time I made out the application. I went over to the desk and I presented the application to him, and he read it over in a sort of a bored fashion, and he says, "All right, sign it there." So I signed it Fred Beal, at the bottom. Just as soon as I handed it to him, still looking at it, I saw my mistake, and I threw some ink on it, I says, "Oh" [illustrating], "give it back to me, I will write it over again."

I had forgotten to put Sammy Cohn down there and put my own name on it. He said, "Come back in a few hours, there are others waiting." He was sort of bored with the whole thing, and let me out and then I received a photostat copy of my birth certificate as Sammy Cohn.

Mr. STARNES. Who furnished you with the birth certificate?

Mr. BEAL. The health department in New York City. That is, Edith gave me the name and I went there and filled out the application blank.

The CHAIRMAN. There was not anything irregular about that. You gave them the credentials that Edith gave you.

Mr. BEAL. I wanted this birth certificate so I could go to the State Department and present them a good, legal—a sort of a legal certificate. In fact, the clerk at the desk said, "That's wonderful. That is one of the first ones that came in here today with a birth certificate."

Mr. CASEY. Was anything said by Edith Miller, or did anything happen prior to your getting the birth certificate, that would indicate to you that any official was in cahoots in this procedure?

Mr. BEAL. Well, Edith Miller talked over with me at the City Hall, in the park there—we sat down on a bench—when I was arguing about the family, the Cohn end of it, that it was not a good name to take over to Europe, and she telling me that it was the best she could get, she told me how the Communist Party provided these passports and the names, and collected a list of names.

Mr. STARNES. Tell us about that, Mr. Beal. That is interesting.

Mr. BEAL. I, of course, do not know any more about it than just what she told me at the time. Of course, I always did hear about the Communist Party members going over to Europe under different names. That was the usual thing; like, for instance, Earl Browder. He used to go over there under false names all the time, under fake

passports. One time I remember, well, how he almost got his head cut off in China, and the counsel saved him from the Chinese at that time. That is how I remember he was over there under a fake name.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know the names of any of the other defendants used on this trip to Russia?

Mr. BEAL. The other defendants?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BEAL. I do not remember them. I do not recall their names. They all had different names, of course. I just do not remember.

Mr. STARNES. Did she tell you just how they obtained birth certificates for these people, and how she obtained these names, and so forth?

Mr. BEAL. You see, she had to go with some of them, because they could not read or write. A few of the boys could not read or write. She, herself, had to go with them to get these birth certificates. But I was not with her at that time. She would not take us all together. She would not talk to us all together. We would meet her at City Hall Park individually, and we would talk over the situation, and then she would go and meet the others, and she would talk with them.

Mr. CASEY. How many defendants went over there?

Mr. BEAL. There were seven of us.

The CHAIRMAN. The point that I was interested in is that this man who gave you the birth certificate was not a party to the scheme.

Mr. BEAL. Oh, no; he was not at all. He could not have been; I cannot imagine that he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. They did not send you to him specifically.

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. STARNES. Did Edith Miller say that they had any connection with any Government official that enabled them to get by with such a procedure as this?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, Leon Josephson, he always represented Moscow. We always used to call him the G. P. U. agent. We used to call him that, even in Moscow, I used to go over to him and say, "Hello, G. P. U.," things like that.

Mr. STARNES. I am referring to this country. How did you arrange for those things? How did Edith say she arranged for them in this country; whether they had any contact with any Government official who was a party to handling these things for them? Some arrangement had to be made.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean American Government official.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BEAL. I do not know just how the party maneuvered that. They never did take me up high in their councils. They had a upper crust up there which they never let the smaller fry leaders like myself get into.

Mr. THOMAS. Did not Edith Miller in her conversation with you tell you that she had everything fixed?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. That there would be no question about getting the passport?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. She said that everything was fixed?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. She said it was all right.

Mr. STARNE. Was this in 1933?

Mr. WHITLEY. 1930.

Mr. BEAL. Yes; that was 1930, the early part of 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the amazing thing brought out in the evidence is the ease with which people got into this country and would leave on false passports. There was the testimony not only of Browder himself, but of these other various witnesses. There did not seem to be any difficulty about coming into this country whenever they wanted to.

Mr. THOMAS. And the ease with which they could get birth certificates?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, after you had obtained this birth certificate, what did you do? How did you make application for a passport?

Mr. BEAL. I went to the State Department.

Mr. WHITLEY. In New York?

Mr. BEAL. In New York City, and made application for my passport.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask you, Mr. Beal, if this is a photostatic copy of a passport application which you filed at that time [handing document to witness.]?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is this the signature that you signed?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your photograph?

Mr. BEAL. That is my photograph, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, this is an application for a passport filed by Mr. Beal under the name of Samuel Cohn and bears his photograph and the signature that he signed.

Mr. CASEY. Whose photograph is that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal's.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a certified copy from the State Department?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a photostatic copy of the original from the State Department and it shows that it was filed in New York City May 10, 1930. The stamp on it shows that the passport was issued to Mr. Beal under that name May 12, 1930, by the Department of State.

Mr. CASEY. Was there such a person as Samuel Cohn?

Mr. BEAL. I do not know who he is.

Mr. CASEY. Did they say anything about his being dead or absent?

Mr. BEAL. I talked to Edith Miller about that, too. I said, "Suppose that Sammy would complain, or all of a sudden he should want to go to Europe?" She said, "Don't bother about that. That guy would never know about it."

Mr. CASEY. She said he would never know about it?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you do not know whether he was still living or whether that was his birth certificate?

Mr. BEAL. I do not know whether he was living or dead.

Mr. VOORHIS. At any rate, he had a family and a family history.

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Because you were supposed to be familiar with it.

Mr. BEAL. That is all Edith was interested in, in me knowing.

Mr. STARNES. The thing that is astounding to me is that over a period of years a practice like this could have been carried on without

some action being taken by the Federal Government. I cannot understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question but what it was carried on. All of the witnesses who have appeared here have either admitted it or have refused to testify on the ground that to do so might incriminate them.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this particular instance apparently Edith Miller, who was representing the Communist Party, secured seven passports.

Mr. STARNES. That was in 1930?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you make another trip?

Mr. BEAL. I made two trips.

Mr. STARNES. When did you make the other one?

Mr. BEAL. I stayed until the end of 1930 and came back to this country on the same passport, and then went back again.

Mr. STARNES. What year did you go back?

Mr. BEAL. I have some dates here [referring to notebook].

Mr. STARNES. Refresh your recollection and let us know what year it was.

Mr. BEAL. I left Soviet Russia January 3, 1931, and returned to the States March 6, 1931, and September 11th of the same year I left again for Soviet Russia and arrived over there about September the 23rd.

Mr. STARNES. Under what name did you travel?

Mr. BEAL. Under the same name.

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever make another trip?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; I made another trip. I suppose I could have made five or six more, for that matter.

Mr. STARNES. But you did make one other trip besides that?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What year was that?

Mr. BEAL. I just mentioned it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just made two trips.

Mr. STARNES. Just two trips?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You left in January of that year and got back to the United States in March. Where were you in the intervening time, in those 2 months?

Mr. BEAL. I stayed around in New Jersey and in Connecticut.

Mr. STARNES. You do not understand me. I understood you to say that you left Soviet Russia in January.

Mr. BEAL. I left Soviet Russia January 3, 1931.

Mr. STARNES. And you got back to the United States when?

Mr. BEAL. March 6.

Mr. STARNES. Where were you during those 60 days?

Mr. BEAL. I was in Berlin, stayed over there a little while, a few weeks; in Hamburg and places like that, waiting for the boat, and then I took the boat over.

Mr. STARNES. Did you contact any Communist Party leaders over there at that time?

Mr. BEAL. No; I did not at that time.

Mr. THOMAS. What did you do while you were over there?

Mr. BEAL. In Germany? I just made up for lost time in eating, things that I lost out on in Russia; coffee, I could not get any coffee in Russia.

Mr. THOMAS. What did you do while you were in Russia?

Mr. WHITLEY. I was just going to get to that point, Mr. Congressman.

Now, what else did Edith Miller furnish you besides this passport, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. She had to supply me with Communist Party credentials to get into Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you had to have some credentials from the party here so that you could get into Russia?

Mr. BEAL. They would not let me over there unless I had credentials.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did those credentials consist of?

Mr. BEAL. Any party member that goes to Russia must have the consent of the Communist Party over here first. Credentials were supplied in the form of a piece of silk, with the hammer and sickle, and signed by the Communist Party, and you sew it on your sleeve.

Mr. WHITLEY. A piece of silk ribbon?

Mr. BEAL. Silk ribbon; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do we not have some of those that have been submitted to us?

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not have any in the file. We have another witness who has one in his possession.

The CHAIRMAN. He has one?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right. Let me, in that connection, Mr. Chairman, in order to remove any doubt as to whether this whole thing was engineered by the Communist Party, read a section from the constitution of the Communist International. This is section 37, page 94.

Individual members of sections of the Communist International—
of which the Communist Party of the United States, of course, is one—
may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the Central Committee of the section of which they are members.

That means that Mr. Beal and his six associates could not possibly have gotten into Russia without the full knowledge and consent of the Communist Party in this country, and the credentials which he has just described that were furnished him by Edith Miller had to come from the Communist Party in this country.

After you had obtained your passport and had your credential ribbon, what further arrangements did Edith Miller make for you?

Mr. BEAL. Well, she supplied me with money, necessary money, to cross over, and bought the boat ticket for us.

Mr. WHITLEY. She bought the boat ticket?

Mr. BEAL. She bought the boat ticket. I was with her at the Hamburg-American Line and she bought for me the boat ticket and gave me the necessary money to go over.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she give you any instructions as to what you were to do, where you were to go, and what you were to do when you got there?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I was to meet with the other defendants in Berlin, at the Karl Liebknecht House, the Communist Party headquarters at that time, before Hitler got in.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were going to Berlin first?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did all of you go over together or did some precede you and some follow you?

Mr. BEAL. Two preceded me, then I went, and two more came after me, and I was to meet the first two, and we were all to meet at the Karl Liebknecht House.

Mr. WHITLEY. After she had furnished you with all of the facilities, your ticket and the money, then she told you where you were to go?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, did Edith Miller then carry out this arrangement on behalf of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BEAL. She did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she tell you that?

Mr. BEAL. She told me that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Plus the fact it could not have been carried out without her?

Mr. BEAL. She gave me the idea, that is, she said that it would not have been possible to go, and naturally, of course, we could never have gone without these strips, and without the name having been signed; I believe it was Bedacht at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. So at the time you were out on bond in this country the Communist Party of this country made all of these arrangements to get you and the six other defendants out of this country to Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you sail from the United States, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. I sailed May 14, 1930.

Mr. WHITLEY. And on what ship?

Mr. BEAL. On the S. S. *Reliance*.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of what line?

Mr. BEAL. The Hamburg-American Line.

Mr. WHITLEY. And from that point, Mr. Beal, would you tell the committee where you first went after you eventually got into Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. I first went over to Berlin where I met the other defendants. Clarence Miller took the initiative to go to the German Communist Party headquarters in Berlin to get the necessary visa to go into Soviet Russia.

We finally received it in the form of a slip of paper with a seal of the Communists Party on it, the Soviet Union visa, and they attached that to the passport; they did not put it in the passport, didn't stamp it on the passport, attached it to a piece of paper, fixed it so it could be removed when we got to Soviet Russia; take it out, so that no one could see we had been in Soviet Russia by that visa in the book.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. BEAL. And so we finally left Germany for Soviet Russia on June 28, 1930; we arrived at Leningrad July 1.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1930?

Mr. BEAL. 1930; July 1, 1930.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did anyone in Leningrad know you were coming or expect that you were coming?

Mr. BEAL. The Mopr; that is, the International Labor Defense representative.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the International Red Aid?

Mr. BEAL. The International Red Aid.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the international organization of which there are various branches in different countries?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether the International Labor Defense is a branch of the International Red Aid?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And upon your arrival at Leningrad you were received by representatives from the International Red Aid?

Mr. BEAL. Well, we were met at the boat, when we landed, we were all met at the boat by a representative of Mopr, and this representative told the customsman fellow not to examine our baggage, that it was perfectly all right to let us through, although they were looking into and taking everybody else's stuff out, they didn't do that to us.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was a kind of an official reception the Soviet Union afforded you?

Mr. BEAL. They did not have any brass band around and we found out later due to the fact that they were trying to get recognition from this country, from the American Government, they better not broadcast the idea that we were in the Soviet Union, because they might not like it in this country in their getting recognition.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. What happened after you were met by representatives of the Mopr?

Mr. BEAL. They took us all over to the Mopr headquarters.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Leningrad?

Mr. BEAL. In Leningrad.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have to turn over the credentials you had received in this country, the Communist Party credentials?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I didn't—we didn't turn them over there; we turned them over at Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. You turned them over at Moscow?

Mr. BEAL. They were turned over to the Comintern in Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they take up your passport at Leningrad?

Mr. BEAL. They always take everybody's passport up there; you could not take it around with you.

Mr. WHITLEY. And while you were in Leningrad did they point out any points of interest to you?

Mr. BEAL. Well, when we landed we were taken to the Mopr headquarters and they told us that we should go around Leningrad and do a little speaking to the workers about the bad conditions in this country, to tell them that the workers were suffering under tyranny, and that sort of thing, and how many workers were being shot down in the street, and things of that nature.

So, we were taken around to visit the factories—we stayed there about a week—and later on we were taken around the city and shown around by the head of the Mopr of that city or the head of the Communist Party; and they took us around from factory to factory.

And, I might mention one interesting incident, that Clarence Miller was continually asking the Communist Party official whether or not he could leave Russia and do some agitation in Germany because he understood some German, because by that time he had been there a few days and saw conditions and they were not satisfactory to Clarence and he was ready for a change. In other words, I knew

all the time that Clarence was trying to get out but did not want to let me know.

So the official said, "You need not worry about your passport, Clarence; you will be able to get a passport at anytime," and showed us a building where they manufactured foreign passports and even foreign money.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he tell you that?

Mr. BEAL. So after telling us that the foreigners when they came into Russia, they take their passports, the foreign workers and the specialists that come into Russia to spend a year or two over in Russia, they take their passport away from them and in that way are able to send whoever they wish to other countries. That is, they copy them, and it is a pretty hard job for a specialist to get it back. No one who went there could get out without it. That is, anyone who went into Russia for say a week, or two, or three, and by that, I mean specialists and those studying skilled work, not the intelligent travellers who go there from here, I mean the workers that go in there, the specialists and they know that the passports are given in to the Russian Government.

This head of the Communist Party told Clarence that in a period of time he could go into Germany or any other country; that they manufactured passports; he told us that and Clarence was quite pleased with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, with the prospect of getting out?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Beal, did you still, at this time, have in mind that you would stay a little while in Russia and come back to this country?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I had in mind to see Soviet Russia, as I mentioned once before, and see for myself what was going on there because I had always told the workers in North Carolina and in New Bedford and everywhere that Soviet Russia was a paradise and I wanted to see for myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. BEAL. So I, after about a week, that is, after about a week being there I received or rather the Mopr in Moscow received a telegram.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Moscow?

Mr. BEAL. The Mopr received a telegram from Moscow, from the Moscow comintern in Moscow that we were to stay in Soviet Russia, that they had made a decision that we were all to stay there.

That was the first time I learned I was to stay in Russia; that is, I thought I could leave whenever I wanted to.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you had in mind that you were going to come back to this country?

Mr. BEAL. I had in mind I was coming back to this country all the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. BEAL. And when I read that telegram, or had that telegram read to me in Russian, I just told the Mopr, I said that I wanted the next train to Moscow and I wanted to take up this matter of whether I would stay in Russia.

Of course, by that time conditions were such, seemed to be so awful there in Leningrad that I wanted to get away from Leningrad anyway.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you go to Moscow?

Mr. BEAL. We went to Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. And with whom did you confer in Moscow?

Mr. BEAL. First of all when we landed in Moscow we were met at the station by a representative of the Mopr and they took us over to the Mopr official headquarters where we had met Stassova—I do not know what her first name is—but she is head of the International Red Aid and really is the one that directs the International Labor Defense of Russia over here. And, we met with—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). The International Labor Defense in this country handled your case until you got out of this country, and now the International Red Aid was taking it up and continuing to act in your interest there?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the result of that conference with the head of the Mopr?

Mr. BEAL. Well, of course, she talked about a lot of things going on in Russia and she explained that we could not expect to have any grand celebration over there because of the chance that it might have on getting recognition over here in America—this was during the period that this country had not recognized Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. She told you they had to kind of keep your presence quiet so they would not find out about it in the United States?

Mr. BEAL. That is right; and they didn't want to be taking any chances, just told us to keep quiet and everything would be all right.

Mr. THOMAS. She did not want it to get back to the United States until the United States had recognized the Soviet Republic?

Mr. BEAL. She didn't want the conditions known here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you take up with her the matter of coming back?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; I took that up. Of course, she said for me to forget it, and all that sort of thing. And I had already sent a telegram from Leningrad to the Comintern; I had the Mopr send it for me demanding that they reopen the hearing on my going back to America and so after we got through with Stassova and spent a few more days around Moscow they called me in, the Comintern called me in.

Mr. WHITLEY. You and the others?

Mr. BEAL. And the other defendants.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who did you confer with in the Comintern, concerning your return to this country?

Mr. BEAL. Well, there was Kuusinen, of the Communist International; and William Weinstone who was the representative of the Communist Party of this country on the Comintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was the American Communist Party representative in this country?

Mr. BEAL. He was the representative there.

Mr. WHITLEY. And who else was present in the Comintern?

Mr. BEAL. Then, Stassova; I believe she was there.

Mr. WHITLEY. She was the representative of the Red Aid?

Mr. BEAL. She, of course, represented the International Red Aid.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. What was the decision there, Mr. Beal, regarding your request to return to this country?

Mr. BEAL. Well, they said again—I spoke for half an hour, or nearly that much, telling them why we should go back to America

and continue our fight for better conditions in America, and that I did not think I should run away; that I would like to stay and see Russia just long enough to see what is going on, what the conditions were and to understand the workings of the Soviet Government, and then that we should go back and carry on what we were doing; and she and the others, Weinstone and Kuusinen, they thought otherwise, that we shouldn't go back. In fact, that we couldn't go back. I believe it was Weinstone said we couldn't go back.

I kept arguing along that line that we could go back, of course, I realized all of the time that they had my passport and there wasn't anything I could do to get it back that way so I got them to say that they would postpone action on it and give me a hearing on that and give me a decision in a week or two, and in the meantime that they would send me around Soviet Russia or let me go to different places and that I would do a little speaking there about conditions in America and then they would give me a decision as to whether or not I could go back.

Mr. CASEY. What was the purpose of sending you to Russia; to enable you to jump bail and avoid trial?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I believe the purpose was to do that and mainly show the Communist government in Russia that there was a real radical situation in this country and that they had to show what conditions were over here, and the Russian Government would show that by our coming over there that there was a bad, radical situation in the South; and they always had to show some results to Moscow.

Mr. CASEY. Did you make any public appearances in Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, I made lots of them.

Mr. CASEY. That is, did you make any speeches?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. I was just going to say that while we were waiting for a decision as to whether they were going to let me come back and the other defendants come back, that they would let me go around and see Russia and that I could make some speeches for them concerning the bad conditions over here in this country and they would send an interpreter with me.

Mr. THOMAS. How bad did you tell them conditions were here?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I emphasized what the worst conditions I could find were because it was the view of the Communist papers over there in Russia and of the Communist Party and of the workers, who felt that workers were being shot down in the streets over here all the time and if I should just tell them that there was just a slight labor strike in Ford's factory or maybe a little trouble here or there that would not be enough. And, the interpreter would say, "Isn't there any other condition?" And I would say, "Well, I do not know of anything more than that. I am telling you the truth there isn't any worker being shot down over in America like they say."

And, she would say, "Well they do not know what you are saying; just say anything and I will interpret it myself."

The CHAIRMAN. What were the conditions over there that were so bad that you wanted to leave and serve a prison sentence instead?

Mr. BEAL. All right. They sent me, evidently to get me completely away from Moscow, to Uzbekistan, way down in the Oriental section of the country. They thought by sending me far, far away I could

not get in touch so well with the American group, so they sent me there. It was a 5 or 6 day ride.

And, after getting to Uzbekistan I was put in charge of the Mopr organization, or sometimes the head of the Communist Party; sometimes I would be in the Communist Party of a city where I was taken in charge; or sometimes it would be the Mopr.

And I stayed at the President's house; that was in Uzbekistan and I suggested that he permit me to go some day to help pick cotton so I could understand how collective farms were handled.

He said that the very next day the children were going off to the farm to pick cotton and it would be a fine thing for me to go along with them.

So I, the next morning, I got up to go, and we left about 4 o'clock in the morning; and we started off with a band of musicians. This, I understood, was to encourage the children, to keep them marching along the road, and I understood that the collective cotton farm was only about an hour's walk, but it so happened to be that the farm was a whole day's walk.

And we finally arrived at the collective farm, cotton collective farm, and the next day we went out and picked cotton from sunup to sundown.

The children there were about from ages of about 8 years old, the school children. And they all had to pick cotton from sunup to sundown. And toward the end of the day they were so tired that they were sitting down around the cotton stalks and didn't want to do any work.

I told my interpreter that I thought they should not work them so long. And she said, "Well, they have got the 5-year plan out there and they have got to find some way to work and get the cotton in because the grown-ups would not want to pick it."

And I joked with her about calling a strike under that situation, and she said, "Don't ever mention those things over here."

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, strikes were out of order there?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Finally the children were so tired and finally were all just sitting on the ground under bushes to escape any kind of work, and the manager of the whole thing got up and made a speech to them in Russian of how they had to carry out the 5-year plan and that it was necessary for them to go to work, and told them it was necessary to go to work, and finally they started to work.

There were things as that happening right along where they had children working in the fields.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the condition with reference to clothing and food?

Mr. BEAL. There was very little food; there was nothing of the kind I have ever seen over here.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of clothing did they have?

Mr. BEAL. Not much. In fact, they did not have much at all.

I lived pretty good on my tour because the officers were living pretty good and when visitors came they usually had a banquet and that was when they got a considerable amount of food.

Mr. THOMAS. How were the children dressed?

Mr. BEAL. The children were almost—they did not have practically any clothes; the grown-ups never any themselves. It was

almost incredible for people over here to understand how they were dressed; they were absolutely ragged. I have never seen anybody in this country who had the sort of rags they had on, and that was not only at Uzbekistan but all over Russia.

Mr. THOMAS. You never saw any place in the United States as deplorable as the conditions you saw in Russia?

Mr. BEAL. I never. I never saw any place in this country that could equal it.

I went to an oil refinery plant and the workers—I spoke to the Russians there at one time while they were at the table eating their cabbage soup. They did not have spoons to eat with; they were taking their fingers and taking, fishing the leaves of the cabbage out of the soup, and they would not furnish them with aluminum spoons to eat with because they were afraid they would steal them.

I spoke to the workers in English and I told the interpreter I did not know how an American was going to speak to them because I did not know of anything worse than that over in America; I did not know anything lower than that over in America.

She says again, "Just say anything and I will fix it up."

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Beal, did you find any evidence whatsoever on the part of the people trying to remedy those conditions? Or do they have any way of trying to do it, that is, the people themselves?

Mr. BEAL. No. That is the thing that discouraged me there. It was awfully difficult for me to find out or for an individual to find out what it was all about because everybody was running around from one place to another and nobody seemed to be able to tell them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have they any type of organization among these people? Of course, there is no such thing as a free labor organization, for example, or any means of protesting against the conditions that you have mentioned?

Mr. BEAL. They have no means, no way of protesting. They have over there what they call unions, that is, the government unions and they are worse than the company unions that we have over here; they are not nearly as good as the company unions we have here.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do the people in those unions pay dues and assessments?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who determines how much they are going to pay?

Mr. BEAL. The Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, after you had been on this several weeks' speaking tour, what action did they take then? Did you attempt to get in touch with anybody in this country in reference to coming back?

Mr. BEAL. When I got back from Uzbekistan I started making a lot of criticism about what was going on in Russia and went up to William Weinstone in the Comintern and told him the conditions were so bad over there, and I said that something ought to be done about it, and he said, "What do you think you are; do you think you are in America now?"

Mr. WHITLEY. This was to the representative of the American Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; when I came back from Uzbekistan.

Mr. WHITLEY. You told him what conditions were?

Mr. BEAL. I told Weinstone that; and, of course, I wanted to find out whether they had made any decision on my going back. And, of

course, in the meantime I was finding out, trying to find ways and means of coming out on a ship, if it was possible, some ship from Leningrad.

MR. WHITLEY. Had you at that time written a letter to any people in this country?

MR. BEAL. I wrote a letter to Robert Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union; he was a director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

MR. WHITLEY. Did you have any trouble getting that letter out of the country?

MR. BEAL. I wrote Robert Baldwin through some American that was leaving the Soviet Union.

MR. WHITLEY. You sent the letter out by this American?

MR. BEAL. That was the only way I could get it out. All my mail was censored coming in and, of course, all my mail was censored going out.

MR. WHITLEY. What did you tell him in that letter?

MR. BEAL. I told him—oh, I described the poor conditions in the Uzbekistan, and I told him I preferred the hospitality of southern prisons to living in Soviet Russia. And I certainly do.

THE CHAIRMAN. You mean you would rather live in prison over here than to live in Soviet Russia?

MR. BEAL. I certainly do. It is an awful thing to have to think of so many human beings in Russia having to live so bad, but it is an absolute fact that where I am staying in the Caledonia Prison, down there in North Carolina, we have better food than the workers over there in Soviet Russia—better and more of it.

THE CHAIRMAN. Better conditions all around?

MR. BEAL. Better and more of it, and better clothes, and we have better tools to work with.

MR. WHITLEY. When you got back to Moscow and again took up with the Comintern, the matter of your leaving, what was the decision at that time?

MR. BEAL. Well, I had secreted out letters to Roger Baldwin, urging upon him to send me some money over to Poland, in care of the White Star Line, so that if I got to Poland I would be able to get back to America. And so Roger Baldwin sent a few hundred dollars to the White Star Line at Warsaw, and he sent the cable to me; he sent a cable to me in Moscow direct and, of course, the Communist Party at the Comintern, Weinstone and the rest of them, they had a copy of that telegram and they also had copies of some of my letters that I had sent out in a regular fashion, and they told me that I should never have done a thing like that—have written to Roger Baldwin, telling him I wanted to come back to this country. And they said, "Did not you know—don't you know that Roger Baldwin is working for the Department of Justice?" and I says, "I never knew that." They says, "Well, he is, and you should not have had anything to do with him and you should not have anything to do with anybody over there."

Well, of course, Roger Baldwin has put in the newspapers over here, in the New York Times especially, the story that I insisted upon coming back, and he even put in the New York Times that I said I preferred to live, actually, preferred the hospitality of the southern prisons to living in Soviet Russia. That statement he put in. That

was Roger Baldwin that done that. And it was because of the publicity given in America here about my coming back that softened their attitude toward me over there, because they felt they had better let me go back to this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. So did they decide to let you come back?

Mr. BEAL. They called me there and said that if I wanted—"Do you want to go back; if you want to go back, we will give you money?"

Mr. CASEY. Let me see if we can develop this. When you went over there to jump bail, were there any Communists who opposed your going to Russia?

Mr. BEAL. No. I don't know of any Communists over here in this country, or anywhere else, that opposed me.

Mr. CASEY. But, when you were in Russia, did not Roger Baldwin write you and urge you to come back and surrender?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I don't think Roger Baldwin was a Communist—a party member.

Mr. CASEY. Did you not receive a letter from Roger Baldwin urging you to come back?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, he urged me to come back; but, of course, Roger Baldwin—I never knew him as a Communist member.

Mr. CASEY. No; I did not mean he was a Communist.

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. CASEY. But what I am trying to get at is this: Was it not Roger Baldwin's letter urging you to come back to this country and surrender that prompted you to come back?

Mr. BEAL. No; it was not that. Of course, that also contributed, naturally; but I always considered Roger Baldwin a very good friend of mine, even though he jumps from one group to the other, and everything.

Mr. CASEY. He defended you in Gastonia?

Mr. BEAL. No; he was not down there. Of course, the American Civil Liberties Union did have a little bit to say on some things and took some legal actions.

Mr. CASEY. You said you wrote Roger Baldwin.

Mr. BEAL. Yes; I wrote to Roger Baldwin, not just because he was director of the American Civil Liberties Union but because I considered Roger Baldwin to be a good friend of mine and that is the only one I could write to; because, of course, I could not write to the Communist Party or any Communist Party members over here, because naturally I was on the outs with them.

Mr. CASEY. Which came first—your letter to Roger Baldwin or did he first write you to come back and surrender?

Mr. BEAL. I wrote to Roger Baldwin first, but I did not know Roger Baldwin wrote me to come back and surrender. I always knew Roger Baldwin did not want me to go. I was up at his camp before I left for Russia the first time and, although he did not know I was going at all, he told me to go down South and "Do not skip over to Soviet Russia, if you have that in your mind; because," he said, "you won't like it over there when you get there."

Of course, as I said before, he changes over from one thing to another.

Mr. STARNES. Where were those other defendants; did they ever come back?

MR. BEAL. Some of them came back and some of them stayed.

MR. STARNES. Are any of them serving any sentence?

MR. BEAL. Of course, I don't know what has happened to the others over there. I never keep in touch with them now, and I don't know what has become of them over in Russia.

MR. STARNES. Did any of them come back and serve any time, other than you?

MR. BEAL. Yes; one of the others came back—two others came back; one of them came back and I met him in New York quite accidentally, and he was very much opposed to what they were doing over there and he wanted to write an article about it for the newspapers here and tell the workers all about it. So I told him I would help him out; but, unfortunately, he was in touch with some of the Communist Party members over here, because he had a wife and child in Russia, that is, a Russian wife and child in Russia, and he wanted to get them back over here, and the party over there, the Communist Party over there, said if he did not go back to Russia they would do something to his wife and child. So he went back to Russia as soon as he could go, and they paid his way.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have photostatic copies here of the two letters Mr. Beal wrote to Roger Baldwin while in Soviet Russia. I will ask him to identify those, and I will read them into the record.

MR. BEAL (after examining). Yes; they are both my letters.

MR. WHITLEY. Where did these photostats come from, Mr. Beal?

MR. BEAL. Well, they come from the American Civil Liberties Union.

MR. WHITLEY. They came out of the files?

MR. BEAL. The files that they had in the New York Library.

MR. WHITLEY. The two letters read as follows, Mr. Chairman. The letter dated August 17, 1930, reads:

Your letter received today. Somehow I do not think you are getting the letters I sent you for some reason or other because you do not answer some of the questions and did not do as I requested—that is to send me 25 dollars cash. Please let me know if you get this letter or not. As I wrote you from the boat on the way over, I made up my mind to return but since then many things have been thrown in my path to make it seem impossible—at least to get back for the 26th. You see the Comintern made a decision for us to stay in the S. U. (Soviet Union) before I arrived in Moscow.

Mr. Beal has already described he had received that word at Lenin-grad [reading]:

I have spent some time in trying to get a reversal, but it seems in vain. I wrote out a statement to the Comintern giving reasons why we should return, etc. Miller is fighting me hard on this.

Miller being one of the defendants who was over there [reading]:

So, Roger, I think we made a terrible mistake and the labor movement will suffer terribly, but I cannot do any more. In fact, I think no one ever fought harder to get in jail than I just now. You did not write me about Pontiac case. Please do. Write me this time direct to the House for Political Immigrants, Moscow, instead of Mopi. That was some picture of me. I guess you had better destroy the negative for old friendship sake. I would like to hear from the boys. I would like to add that Red Hendricks is with me on the above. Send your letter air mail from Berlin to U. S. S. R. Write at once.

As ever your friend,

FRED.

Another letter dated August 26, 1930:

DEAR ROGER: The decision of the Comintern is that we stay in the Soviet Union. I put up a big fight to return but lost out. However do not think that I will be out of the picture as later developments will prove. I cannot explain in this letter but please have confidence in me. I received both of your letters. Sorry I cannot attend that good time you promised me at camp with the boys. Please forward me clippings from press and wherever I am I will get them. There are many things I would like to write about but would rather talk to you personally. Write me to this address like this now—

Fred. Beal, care of House for Political Immigrants, Moscow, U. S. S. R.

Best regards to you and all friends.

As ever,

FRED.

Underneath of that, in parentheses, is "Cheer up."

That is the contents of these two letters. Mr. Chairman.

Now, after you returned to Moscow, the Comintern took up your case again, that is, the matter of your leaving Russia. In the meantime, due to a letter you got out to Roger and the publicity which attended that, you say Moscow, or the Comintern, had changed its attitude about your leaving?

Mr. BEAL. Yes—due, of course, to the publicity given in the American newspapers, they decided it was best to let me go back to this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they give you your passport then?

Mr. BEAL. Well, not at once. They said they would give me my passport and the necessary money and Stassova, the head of the Mopi there, she said that I must sign a paper absolving the Communist Party, or the Soviet Union, from any blame in coming over there to Soviet Russia.

Mr. STARNES. Now let me see if I can get this whole thing straight here, Mr. Beal.

You testified you were sent to the South, to North Carolina, on January 1, 1929, as an agent of the Communist Party to carry on Communist propaganda among the textile workers in the North Carolina area; that within 3 months after your arrival, a general strike in that area was called?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Which lasted for many months?

Mr. BEAL. Lasted only until June.

Mr. STARNES. That that strike was planned and executed by agents of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. BEAL. Well, not just the Gastonia strike, but any sort of strike that might take place.

Mr. STARNES. I just want to see if I get this thing straight.

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You were sent down there by the Communist Party in New York City?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And for the reasons which you state—that you were an American citizen?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And spoke the English language without accent, and so forth?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That lives were lost in the course of the strike?

Mr. BEAL. There were two lives lost.

Mr. STARNES. A policeman, and who?

Mr. BEAL. There was a policeman and Ella May Wiggins.

Mr. STARNES. Those lives were lost; later there was a trial in North Carolina and you and six others were convicted?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. During this trial, the Communist Party, with its affiliates, including the I. L. D., raised a huge sum of money?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Raised a huge sum of money for your defense and the others' defense; that known Communists testified at the trial down there?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And brought about certain incidents and demonstrations?

Mr. BEAL. Edith Miller.

Mr. STARNES. Which led to the conviction of yourself and the other defendants; that the money raised for your defense, much of it, was sent back to New York City to carry on political propaganda of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. Propaganda; that is right.

Mr. STARNES. And after you were convicted the Communist Party arranged for passports and trips to the Soviet Union for you and the six other defendants?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. That they obtained a legal passport for you?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. That they supplied money for the expenses of the trip and sent you over there so that you would be beyond reach?

Mr. BEAL. Beyond reach of the law.

Mr. STARNES. Beyond reach of the law and the courts of the United States of America?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. CASEY. Now, does not that seem a little inconsistent with the attitude that you formerly testified to—that they used this trial as a means of getting a lot of publicity?

Mr. BEAL. No. I stated that the whole purpose of the Communist Party over here was to show Moscow that there was a great radical situation in this country, and they was using us as a means to show that, and they wanted us to go over to Russia so that we would be able to tell the workers over there and also show to the Russian Communist Party that there was a radical situation, and we had to go over there to escape the law over here.

Mr. CASEY. Was not one of the purposes they had in mind preventing you from coming back and facing trial?

Mr. BEAL. They did not want me to come back here, because my coming back over here to this country, after being in Soviet Russia, would be a blow to Russia, to the Soviet Government, and to the conditions there. Naturally, an escaped prisoner like myself, going over there, you might think we would like to live there the rest of our lives and not come back to prison.

Mr. CASEY. You had been convicted and were out on bail?

Mr. BEAL. And was out on bail.

The CHAIRMAN. They furnished bail. That explains it. You see, the Communist Party moved through the International Labor Defense. They were supposed to defend this man. Instead of putting up a bona fide defense, what they actually did was to use his indictment and trial not only for propaganda purposes, but also to raise huge sums of money, and the trial was so conducted by placing this Edith Miller on that stand, that what actually resulted was prejudicial to this man and the other defendants.

Mr. BEAL. That is exactly right.

The CHAIRMAN. Because they had a jury selected by the Communist Party, they paraded around the court house, and the whole thing was calculated to prejudice the men and to create the impression in Moscow that there was a radical situation here. Of course they violated every law that they could violate and not be brought to the bar of justice.

Mr. THOMAS. Since you have been in prison, has the International Labor Defense made any attempt to aid you in any way?

Mr. BEAL. No, sir. I will tell you they have not said a word about me, as I understand. Of course, I have not been able to read any of their publications, but they have never said anything to me. And I happened to be here yesterday when Congressman Marcantonio was making a little bit of a talk around here about the International Labor Defense, and I well remember he stated that the International Labor Defense would defend any workers who were arrested for fighting for democracy—as I understood him to say yesterday, any worker at all, or any person.

Now I want to say right here and now that he delivered just a falsehood; that I have not seen, I have not heard from the International Labor Defense, and if there is anybody that ought to be defended it is myself by the International Labor Defense. They defended me at that time, and the only reason why they are not defending me now is because of what I said about Soviet Russia and because I am not a Communist Party member. That is the only reason why they are not defending me now. But I don't want their support, anyway; I don't want any support of the Communist Party or an affiliated body, the International Labor Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, at the time the Comintern finally decided to give you your passport and funds to return to this country, they had you sign or wanted you to sign a document absolving Soviet Russia of any part in your coming over there?

Mr. BEAL. That is right. They wanted me, and I did sign it—anything to get out of there; I signed the document, saying that they had nothing whatsoever to do with getting me over there in Soviet Russia in the first place.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Did they also want you to sign a document denouncing Roger Baldwin?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. They themselves had written an article that Roger was a small town shopkeeper and all that sort of stuff.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you sign that statement?

Mr. BEAL. I signed one document; it was not with that in it, but I signed one document, I know.

Mr. WHITLEY. They wanted you to sign a document denouncing him because, as a result of a letter you wrote to him, they had to let you go?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. I mentioned that because, you see, Roger was director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and, of course, I imagine they wanted to try to convince some liberals on that committee that Roger was no good, or something of that kind.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Beal, to the best of your recollection, in addition to the ones you have named, who were some members of the Communist Party of the United States who were in Moscow at the time you were there, or in Soviet Russia? Do you recall some of them?

Mr. BEAL. We had John Little who was representative of the Young Communist League in this country; he was over there in Moscow; and Mike Gold.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mike Gold, head of the Furriers' Union?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is Ben Gold?

Mr. BEAL. No; Mike Gold, a Daily Worker scribbler; and there was Bill Dunne—William F. Dunne—who was over there. That is all I can recall right now.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all you can recall?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask this: I think you testified you went twice to Russia?

Mr. WHITLEY. He did; this is his first trip.

Mr. VOORHIS. All you have testified about so far refers to the first trip; is that right?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we recess over until in the morning; is that all right?

(After informal discussion, the committee took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, October 19, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,

Forsyth County:

AFFIDAVIT

In April 1929 the undersigned, practicing law in Charlotte, N. C., represented Fred Erwin Beal in the textile strike of Gastonia, North Carolina. I was engaged by the American Civil Liberties Union through Carl Reeve, representative of the International Labor Defense. The strike was being carried on with Beal as front man and with Carl Reeve and Clarence Miller and wife as general directors. Mrs. Miller, wife of Clarence Miller, had charge of the training of the strikers and their children in what they called ideology.

I represented Beal and all of his followers in all alleged infractions of local laws during the period in which the strike lasted.

In June there was a riot in which Chief of Police Aderholt and two other policemen were shot. Chief Aderholt died of his wounds. Subsequently, a large number of strikers were accused of murder and I, under the direction of the American Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, and the American Fund for Public Service, Incorporated, became chief defense counsel for all those who were charged with participation in the alleged crime. As such I was furnished with perhaps as much as \$25,000.00 to spend for counsel fees, and altogether we had as many as 9 lawyers engaged in the defense.

During the course of the trial, which was held in Charlotte, N. C., the Communist Party, which claimed to be financing both the strike and the trial, sent most of their bigwigs to Charlotte to supervise the same. William Z. Foster,

Leon Josephson, Julia Poyntz, Bill Dunn, and many others were there. They rented ample office space, took collections all over the country, and interfered with the defense of the prisoners in every way they could. They embarrassed defense counsel, tried to intimidate the court, and raised ructions on every hand. They demeaned Beal because he said on the witness stand that he believed in God and when the case was over they persuaded him and his co-defendants to jump their bail and flee to Russia. During the trial they brought to the city of Charlotte a mixed jury, mixed as to sex and race, which sat in the gallery of the courthouse and this jury later rendered a verdict from New York to the effect that the judge who tried the case was guilty rather than the defendants. During the trial members of the Communist Party and leaders thereof told me frankly that they hoped all defendants would be convicted of murder and sentenced to the electric chair because they said it would give the party greater publicity, greater appeal to the country, and would furnish them more (quote) "mass space".

(Signed) TOM P. JIMISON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of November 1939.

[SEAL]

D. C. CRUTCHFIELD,
Notary Public.

My commission expires December 21, 1939.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in room 550, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Starnes, Dempsey, Voorhis, and Thomas.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee, and Mr. J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

TESTIMONY OF FRITZ KUHN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, PETER L. F. SABBATINO AND WILBUR V. KEEGAN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair asks that we have absolute quiet so we can hear the testimony of this witness. All right, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, are you—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). Mr. Chairman, I would like to read to you a statement before you commence.

The CHAIRMAN. We have adopted a policy, and we have had to put it into force, with respect to all witnesses, and that is not to permit any statements being read. What does the statement pertain to?

Mr. KUHN. It pertains to the subpoena to appear here.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the same statement that was sent down to the committee?

Mr. KUHN. No; it is something else.

The CHAIRMAN. We have no disposition to preclude you from any right you may have, but we cannot make an exception with reference to the matter of making a statement. Let us proceed with the examination.

Mr. KUHN. It pertains to my constitutional rights, because, as you know, I am under indictment now in New York, and am under a \$50,000 bail, and this will be shortly before my trial.

Mr. STARNES. Suppose you submit the statement for the inspection of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see your statement so we may know what the nature of it is.

Mr. KUHN. I hand it to you.

The CHAIRMAN (after reading statement). Mr. Kuhn, the committee cannot permit you to make this statement, inasmuch as the matter is not relevant, so far as this committee is concerned, but you

can make your request, which request, as I understand it from the statement, is that you be relieved from the necessity of answering questions before this committee on account of the pendency in New York of criminal charges against you. Is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For fear that the questions or answers by you might prejudice your rights in connection with your trial on those charges?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. There is another point, as I understand it, and that is, you claim you will not have enough time to prepare your defense?

The CHAIRMAN. I am coming to that. Secondly, that in addition to that, or in addition to the fact you fear that it might prejudice your right to a fair and impartial trial in New York, you allege that you do not have sufficient time in which to prepare your defense, and that you want to devote the time that you would be spending in answering these questions to the preparation of your defense: Is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say in connection with that, that the committee considered this matter carefully in executive session yesterday. There is certainly no disposition on the part of the committee to persecute you or anybody else.

Mr. KUHN. But, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let me finish my statement. The point is that whatever answers may be made by you in the course of this investigation will be absolutely privileged, and they cannot be used against you in any court of law. That seems to be unquestionably the law, so that you cannot be prejudiced by any answer you make to any question before this committee. So far as time in which to prepare your case is concerned, we will be through with you shortly, so you will not be prejudiced in that respect. The committee felt that it would either have to hear you now or, perhaps, not hear you at all, because we have a large schedule of witnesses. We have witnesses scheduled to appear today, tomorrow, and every day. You were notified when you were here before that the committee wanted you to return. Therefore, the committee feels that it is not being unfair to you in denying your request that you be not required to answer the questions.

Mr. KUHN. I have been under subpoena for 2 months, or since the 21st of August, and now, 9 days before my trial, you call me down here while time is rushing. Do you think that is fair?

Mr. SABBATINO. As I understand, Mr. Kuhn—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Who are you?

Mr. SABBATINO. I am one of Mr. Kuhn's attorneys. I want at this time to make a legal argument, so the committee may reach some quick decision.

Mr. STARNES. I wanted you to identify yourself for the purpose of the record, and what you are here for.

Mr. SABBATINO. My name is Peter L. F. Sabbatino, attorney, and I am engaged in the practice of my profession at 270 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan, city of New York. I represent Mr. Kuhn in the criminal trial. The case is set for trial in New York on October 30. I first appeared in his behalf on October 10. Prior to that time I was

not familiar as an attorney with the case. On October 10 I appeared in court on his behalf, and on that day Judge Collins limited him to the State of New York. He said that he could not go beyond the jurisdiction of the court unless he wanted to forfeit the \$50,000 bail.

There are various fundamental questions of constitutional law that I think this committee should be interested in, and that I want to test in the courts of New York. I was to appear in court on two motions this morning. I was to appear on a motion this morning in the Supreme Court, but I thought that it was my duty to come here before the committee. We have a lot of work to do. The district attorney of New York County has a large staff of stenographers and assistants who have been devoting practically all their time exclusively to the preparation of this case. Since this committee is a committee on un-American activities, which, according to the booklet, or your documents, I understand is seeking to protect American traditions and the American Constitution, I ask this committee—and some of you are lawyers—to appreciate the importance of our situation. We have to go to trial on an indictment containing 12 counts, all of them serious. The district attorney has seized all of the documents which would help us in our preparation of the case. They have taken everything, including all of his books, and we must do what we can in this short time.

The New York constitution contains a provision which holds the home sacred, the person sacred, and property sacred at all times; yet they seized all of these documents from Mr. Kuhn's office. There is a new constitutional provision that was enacted in New York, at the last election, and I want to test that provision.

MR. THOMAS. I do not think that this has anything to do with our proceeding here this morning.

MR. SABBATINO. Every hour that is being spent down here, is an hour in which we are prevented from preparing this man's case for trial, and I hope that this committee, many of you being lawyers, will appreciate that.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, you have made your point.

MR. SABBATINO. I ask that Mr. Kuhn be excused until November, when the trial is over.

THE CHAIRMAN. The answer to that is that this committee will probably not be in session after the trial of the case, or we will probably not be in session here. We have many witnesses on the west coast that we want to hear, and we feel that it is necessary to hear Mr. Kuhn now. With reference to preparation for the trial, we will be through here very shortly, and I do not think you will be prejudiced in that respect. You are already here, and in a short time we will be through, and you can go back. With reference to the trial in New York, I understand that the matters he will be questioned about here do not involve any criminal charges pending against him in New York; so he will not be prejudiced on that account.

MR. SABBATINO. It is not that matter that we are worried about. I have to prepare two motions today, and an hour here is an hour that we could use fruitfully in New York in the preparation of our case.

THE CHAIRMAN. The committee has considered the request, and we will proceed.

Mr. KEEGAN. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. STARNES. Whom do you represent?

Mr. KEEGAN. I am Wilbur V. Keegan, general counsel for the bund. Would you tell us how long this will take?

The CHAIRMAN. We are just as anxious to conclude this matter as you are. We have two other witnesses to be heard. We are going to conclude with him today.

Mr. STARNES. We hope to conclude with him this morning, if he will make responsive answers.

Mr. KEEGAN. We have a very tractable client.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, did you bring with you the material that we requested, or, rather, that was included in the subpoena duces tecum served on you recently?

Mr. KUHN. I brought with me a list of the local units and addresses.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the names of the leaders of the units?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have that with you?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you bring with you the news articles relating to Mr. Baruch?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir; I could not find them. There are thousands of newspapers, and I could not go through all of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you make an effort to find them?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir; I made a serious effort to find them.

Mr. WHITLEY. From every newspaper source?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you could not find them?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir; not so far.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you say it was because you did not have time?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir; I did not have time.

Mr. THOMAS. How long ago was it that we made the request?

Mr. WHITLEY. The first request was made at the time Mr. Kuhn was before the committee.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that date?

Mr. WHITLEY. In August, I believe.

Mr. THOMAS. The latter part of August?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir; the latter part of August.

Mr. THOMAS. Almost 2 months ago. I do not think he made an effort to find them.

Mr. KUHN. That is your opinion, Mr. Thomas, but mine is different. You hounded us here——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let us not have any exchange of opinions.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, I believe you stated on the occasion of your last appearance here that you were acquainted with Mr. Oscar C. Pfaus?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of him?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know him?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any contact or correspondence with Mr. Pfaus in Chicago a few years ago?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my recollection.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know that he was the head of the German Alliance in Chicago at that time? Are you acquainted with that organization?

Mr. KUHN. I have heard of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that in 1934, when Mr. Pfaus was in Chicago, you were in Detroit, active in German organizations in that section.

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir; in Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you never came in contact with Mr. Pfaus?

Mr. KUHN. Not so far as I recollect right now. I may have met the gentleman, but not to my recollection now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know that he was at one time connected with the Chicago Weckruf?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you know a photograph of Pfaus if you saw it?

You say you do not remember him at all [indicating photograph]?

Mr. KUHN. No. What is his name—Pfaus?

Mr. WHITLEY. Oscar C. Pfaus.

Mr. KUHN. I do not recollect him at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not even remember the name?

Mr. KUHN. No; I don't remember the name.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether Mr. Pfaus was recently in the United States or not?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You printed an article, Mr. Kuhn, in the Weckruf dated New York, October 5, 1939. On page 8 of that issue of the Weckruf is a statement captioned, "We Accuse"—"Press statement made at Chicago by Oscar C. Pfaus."

Does that refresh your recollection in any respect?

Mr. KUHN. No. Who wrote the article?

Mr. WHITLEY. It says, "Press statement made at Chicago by Oscar C. Pfaus."

Mr. KUHN. You will have to ask the editor of the paper. I don't recall that at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know anything about the origin of that article?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you seen any statements emanating from the Fichte Bund in Hamburg, Germany, made by Mr. Pfaus?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is presently in charge of the American section of the Fichte Bund?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen no material coming out of it?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I saw material of the Fichte Bund, but I don't know who signed the letters, or who signed the statement. As I said before, the Fichte Bund don't mean a thing to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, this article in the October 5 issue of the Weckruf, "We Accuse," is a reprint of the mimeographed article of the same caption which was sent out from Hamburg, Germany; the

same caption, "We Accuse: Press statement made at Chicago by Oscar C. Pfaus." It appears in your organ in New York, and it was distributed directly from Hamburg in the United States. You have not seen a copy of that mimeographed statement?

Mr. KUHN. No; I haven't seen a copy of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you on the regular mailing list of the Fichte Bund?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my recollection; I don't think so. You have to ask the editor of the paper.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, on the occasion of your last appearance here, I believe one of the members of the committee asked a question with reference to your position in this country as head of the German American Bund as compared with Nazi political leaders in European countries; for instance, Henlein and other leaders in various other European countries. As I recall, you stated that your position was not similar in any respect to the position of the Nazi leaders in Austria, or Czechoslovakia.

Mr. KUHN. I told you at that time, and I tell you now, I am an American citizen. I am not a Nazi either.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your position in this country is not in any way similar?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. To the position of the leaders of the Nazi movements in those countries?

Mr. KUHN. Absolutely not.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Whitley, I would like to point out that I do not think the fact that he is an American citizen makes any difference, because those leaders in those countries were citizens of those countries too, were they not?

Mr. KUHN. How do you know?

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Kuhn's interpretation of this, which is a quote from his paper.

The CHAIRMAN. What has it reference to?

Mr. VOORHIS. It is right on that point.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am just going to develop that, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. Very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, in the official organ of the German-American Bund, dated New York City, August 31, 1939, page 3, there is an article which is a reprint from a Swiss paper. The caption of that article, which is in German, is: "Fritz Kuhn, America's Henlein. German-American Bund, the organization of which he is the leader, 8 to 10 thousand uniformed storm troops. The duel, Kuhn versus Dewey."

The article goes on in German. I do not have the complete translation.

Mr. KUHN. You mean that is a Swiss paper?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is printed in your official organ in New York.

Mr. KUHN. It is a Swiss paper, isn't it? It is a reprint of a Swiss paper?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a reprint of a Swiss paper, but it is printed in your paper, in the Weckruf.

Mr. KUHN. In a Swiss paper appears that? I can't help that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Its reproduction or reprint in your paper does not indicate your acceptance of that statement?

Mr. KUHN. No. You have to ask the editor of the paper what he means by that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you object when you saw this in your paper?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; as a matter of fact, I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. On what grounds?

Mr. KUHN. I think the whole article should not be reprinted.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the ground that it was not true or that it was inadvisable for this to be published in this country?

Mr. KUHN. I did not make it that clear. I just said that article should not appear in our newspaper.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did see the article, then?

Mr. KUHN. After it was printed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you issue a denial or retraction of this article?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You allowed the article in your own publication describe you as the Henlein of America, as America's Henlein—you let that stand without any denial or retraction?

Mr. KUHN. I didn't see it was necessary to have any denial.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just disapproved privately of it?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I did.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask a question. Mr. Kuhn, you stated that you could not hold the same relationship to the Nazi movement as a man like Henlein did in Czechoslovakia because you are an American citizen.

Mr. KUHN. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. Here is a quote from your paper, the Weckruf, which says:

We may have lying in the closet different citizenship papers and yet we are all German men and links of a big German community of hundreds of millions.

How do you interpret that?

Mr. KUHN. I told you before I am not the editor of the newspaper. I have not time to edit the newspaper.

Mr. VOORHIS. But the newspaper up until very, very recently, carried a caption on the top of it to the effect that Fritz Kuhn is responsible for everything appearing in it.

Mr. KUHN. That is right, I am responsible for it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then you are responsible for that.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, will you comment on that statement? It would seem to me that that statement would mean that American citizenship does not mean very much, so far as you are concerned.

Mr. KUHN. Well, no; I would not put it that way. It means a lot to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, on the occasion of your last appearance before the committee, there was some discussion as to whether you were connected with the Nazi movement prior to your departure from Germany in 1923, I believe it was?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you stated you had no connections whatever with the Nazi movement.

Mr. KUHN. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Germany.

Mr. KUHN. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that you did not participate in the so-called beer-hall putsch.

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of 1923?

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to have you read an excerpt from a copy of your paper, Mr. Kuhn, if you will.

Mr. Chairman, I do not seem to have that issue with me. I shall have to send and get it. There is some other material I have here that I want Mr. Kuhn to identify. Mr. Kuhn, you also stated, I believe, on the occasion of your last appearance, that at the time you met Chancellor Hitler in Berlin there was no discussion concerning the activities of the bund, the political activities of the bund in the United States.

Mr. KUHN. Of course there wasn't.

Mr. CASEY. What was the answer?

Mr. KUHN. There was not.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, Mr. Kuhn, a photostatic copy of an article from the Weckruf dated December 10, 1936, concerning a speech which you made in San Francisco in which you describe your trip to Germany on the occasion of the Olympic Games and your conversation with Chancellor Hitler.

This is in German, Mr. Chairman.

I ask you to read the section right there [handing document to witness].

Mr. CASEY. Translate it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just read the portion that is marked. You may read the whole thing, if you wish, but this is the part I am interested in [indicating on document].

Mr. KUHN (referring to documents). Well, I never made a statement like that, even if it is in the paper. In German it says here, "Go over there and continue your fight," or something.

Mr. WHITLEY. "Go back and continue your fight." Would that be it?

Mr. KUHN. That is roughly translated.

The CHAIRMAN. Explain what you mean by that. What was it supposed to mean?

Mr. WHITLEY. According to this article, Mr. Kuhn is making a speech in San Francisco following his trip to Germany in 1936, and he is describing his meeting and conversation with Chancellor Hitler, and he quotes Chancellor Hitler as stating—

Mr. KUHN. I didn't quote him; you said I quote him.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is quoted in the paper as having said that. This is the official organ—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the quotation? That is what I am trying to get at.

Mr. WHITLEY. "Go back and carry on your fight."

The CHAIRMAN. Go back to the United States and carry on your fight?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. KUHN. That is absolutely untrue. It is signed by E. Knapp. I do not even know the man.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is in the official organ of the bund, for which you are responsible.

Mr. KUHN. I beg your pardon; in 1936, December 1936, the Weckruf wasn't even our paper. It was an absolutely private corporation which I did not have any influence with then. I have influence since August 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. You even deny that.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I even deny that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You even deny responsibility since that time?

Mr. KUHN. To a certain extent. I mean, the editor is responsible. This is signed by Knapp. I don't even know the name.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the speech?

Mr. KUHN. I don't recall the speech; 1936—I have to look up; it might be—in San Francisco—it is probably true.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the reporter who reported your speech?

Mr. KUHN. No; I don't recall that Mr. Knapp.

The CHAIRMAN. What connection did you have with that official publication at that time?

Mr. KUHN. Nothing at all. We didn't have any connection at all at that time. It was a private corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no stock in it?

Mr. KUHN. I had no stock in it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not an officer in it?

Mr. KUHN. I was not an officer—not in 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. Who controlled it in 1936; do you remember?

Mr. KUHN. I know one man by the name of Kappe.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the man whose name has just been mentioned?

Mr. KUHN. No; that is different. That is Walter Kappe.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen that before?

Mr. KUHN. No; I never saw it before. That is 1936; I don't recall which articles I read in 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if you recall having seen it.

Mr. KUHN. I don't recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that ever been brought to your attention?

Mr. KUHN. No; it never was brought to my attention.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the first time it has ever been brought to your attention?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. In 1936 I still was in Detroit, and the newspaper was in New York.

Mr. VOORHIS. During what period was it that the Weckruf carried the caption that Fritz Kuhn was responsible for what appeared in it?

Mr. KUHN. Since August 1937.

Mr. VOORHIS. Since August 1937.

Mr. KUHN. Around that time, later in 1937. I don't know exactly the date.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that still the case?

Mr. KUHN. That is still the case. In 1936 I still was in Detroit.

Mr. VOORHIS. You did, however, pay a visit to Mr. Hitler, did you not?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; with the permission of the American Ambassador.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand. Do you have any comments to make on that statement; that is, to go back and continue your fight? What does it mean?

Mr. KUHN. Mr. Hitler certainly did not say that to me. That is absolutely out.

Mr. VOORHIS. Here it is in another issue of the paper, August 13, 1936. There is a story about it that says the same thing. It is a front-page story, right in the middle.

Mr. KUHN. Well, you know how reporters are.

Mr. VOORHIS. I also know that this is a sheet published for your movement.

Mr. THOMAS. What did Mr. Hitler say to you?

Mr. KUHN. I told you that the last time. Read it off the record.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to have you tell it now. I cannot recall what you said before.

Mr. KUHN. Roughly, we was in there about 10 to 12 minutes, it might be 15 minutes. I asked the permission of the American Ambassador first, Mr. Dodd. He denies it today but I have the proof, because I have a witness. Mr. Dodd asked me how long I was in Germany.

Mr. THOMAS. What I would like to know is what Mr. Hitler said, not what Mr. Dodd said.

Mr. KUHN. Yes. Well, then, we saw Mr. Hitler on August—I think the second. He asked us how long—when I was in Germany the last time. He saw my Iron Cross and asked me if I was a war veteran. He asked about the Olympic Games, how we liked the Olympic Games. He asked me if I think these Olympic Games will create a better understanding between the United States and Germany. Well, of course, we answered all these questions. Then he asked a couple of the other fellows if we was having a good time, and asked us how long we stay in Germany. That is about all.

Mr. THOMAS. He did not make any comments, then, about the United States?

Mr. KUHN. He did not. The only thing he made was, he asked me if I personally think that these Olympic Games, in 1936 in Germany, would create a better feeling, a better understanding.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he ask you how the feeling was in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. No; not a word about it.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he not ask you how you were making out with the bund here in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. Excuse me, I have to laugh.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, what is the answer to that?

Mr. KUHN. No; he didn't. Of course he didn't.

Mr. VOORHIS. He was not even interested, was he, in that?

Mr. KUHN. Well, how do I know what he is interested in? Why don't you ask Mr. Hearst what talk he had? Why don't you ask the King of England what talk he has with the President?

Mr. CASEY. Did you vouchsafe any information about the bund of which you were the leader, to Mr. Hitler?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not.

Mr. CASEY. You did not discuss it in any shape or manner?

Mr. KUHN. No; in no way.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you mean to say that you never even mentioned the bund during all of that 12 minutes?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not.

Mr. THOMAS. It was no concern to any of you in that conversation?

Mr. KUHN. We were there as a group of Americans and was proud to be received, just as I would be proud to be received by the President of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Weren't you dressed in some special uniform at that time?

Mr. KUHN. White shirt; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You were not dressed in regular civilian clothes; you were dressed in the regular bund uniform.

Mr. KUHN. In the O. D. uniform; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Kuhn, here is a paper that is dated in 1937, when you say you were responsible for what appeared in it.

Mr. KUHN. What date in 1937?

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it is February 1937.

Mr. KUHN. I had not anything to do with the newspaper then.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see. When was it that you started to have anything to do with the newspaper?

Mr. KUHN. I told you August or September 1937.

Mr. VOORHIS. This paper, in big type, says:

Our eternal loyalty to Germany and our eternal loyalty to Der Fuehrer.

Mr. KUHN. You must understand——

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute.

Mr. KUHN. Let me explain. You were not here the last time. That newspaper——

Mr. VOORHIS. I read very carefully everything that was said, Mr. Kuhn. The only point I want to make is this. What this committee is concerned about is the question of loyalty to the United States. I would just like to have your comment on that statement in your paper, in the light of this question of loyalty to the United States. Do you believe that is in conflict with it or not?

Mr. KUHN. It is absolutely not in conflict, so far as I am concerned. That newspaper was a German newspaper when it was created, and I did not have any influence at all. You see the change in the newspaper when I got hold of it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you disagree with that statement that appeared there or not?

Mr. KUHN. I cannot have a sentiment—I made that clear in a speech, that I am absolutely for neutrality today, but that does not mean that——

Mr. VOORHIS. I am not talking about neutrality.

Mr. KUHN. My sympathy will be on the German side. I don't know where you come from. If you are Irish, your sympathies are on the Irish side. You cannot go out of your feelings.

Mr. VOORHIS. But what I want to know is whether this business of eternal loyalty to Der Fuehrer is something that you agree with or not. Do you agree with that sentiment or not.

Mr. KUHN. Listen: I tell you one thing——

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to have your answer to that question.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I answer that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you agree with that?

Mr. KUHN. We were trying to be absolutely loyal Americans. But you hounded us so long that we cannot be, that we have to defend our loyalty to the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. What we want is loyalty to the United States, Mr. Kuhn.

Mr. KUHN. That is all we are.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not want to comment on that, then?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, when you were here before the committee previously, you were asked about the Aussland Institute in Stuttgart, Germany.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where is located the national headquarters of the League of Germans Abroad. At that time, as I recall, you stated you knew little or nothing about it, about that institute in Stuttgart, because it was strictly a Nazi organization and a Nazi Party institution.

Mr. KUHN. Correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, in your official publication, the Weckruf, dated September 10, 1936, there is an article captioned "The Bund in Stuttgart." I would like to have you read to the committee the first paragraph of that article. It is in German, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUHN. I told you, the last time we were in Stuttgart, we were received, we had a reception there in the Aussland Institute.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that is dated Stuttgart, September 25.

Mr. KUHN. The date of the paper is September 10, 1936 [referring to article]. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Read it.

Mr. KUHN (referring to article). After the Olympic Games the group of the German-American Bund came to Stuttgart, the group headed by Fritz Kuhn was received on August 22 by the mayor of the city of Stuttgart, Dr. Straelein, in the city hall. The mayor expressed his appreciation of the German-Americans that visit Stuttgart, that we have especially visited that institution.

Mr. STARNES. What institution is that, the Aussland Institute?

Mr. KUHN. The Aussland Institute. He was pleased that the German-American Bund—well, you have an official translator here, don't you? The German-American Bund have worked so successfully against the boycott. And then he thanked me personally that I brought a group down to Stuttgart. Do you want the whole article?

Mr. WHITLEY. Just the part that is marked, the first paragraph.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the occasion of that visit, whom did you meet in addition to the Lord Mayor of Stuttgart, Dr. Straelein? He gave you the official welcome.

Mr. KUHN. He gave me the welcome; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet Dr. Bohle?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I met Dr. Bohle. But I met Dr. Bohle not in Stuttgart. I met him in Berlin, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is the head of the League of Germans Abroad?

Mr. KUHN. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the function of that organization, the League of Germans Abroad?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know. You have to ask Mr. Bohle.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no idea what the functions are that are performed by that organization?

Mr. KUHN. I am not interested.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not interested?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you known Mr. Bohle?

Mr. KUHN. I know Mr. Bohle the first time in 1936 and the only one.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that meeting in Stuttgart?

Mr. KUHN. There was not any meeting at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you meet him?

Mr. KUHN. By accident in some office, in some other office.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where?

Mr. KUHN. In Berlin.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Berlin?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you attend, on the occasion of that visit, this 1936 visit, the Congress of Germans Abroad?

Mr. KUHN. I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was held while you were in Germany?

Mr. KUHN. No. That is held at the end of September, I think. I just was ready to come back. I came back on the 2d of October, so I left about the 24th or 23d.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not attend that congress?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever attended one?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have never attended one?

Mr. KUHN. No. I only was there twice, in 1936 and 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have any representatives of the German-American Bund ever attended the congresses of Germans Living Abroad?

Mr. KUHN. Certainly not officially with my permission. If we visit privately, well—

Mr. WHITLEY. Have they ever done so privately?

Mr. KUHN. I imagine.

Mr. WHITLEY. To your knowledge?

Mr. KUHN. Not officers.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know anyone connected with the bund who has attended the congress?

Mr. KUHN. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know?

Mr. KUHN. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Undoubtedly there would be—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). There was no official there who was sent by me.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. You think it is possible some have attended, some members have attended the congress?

Mr. KUHN. Might be.

Mr. WHITLEY. Might be?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The congresses were held annually?

Mr. KUHN. I think yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were annual?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the bund has never officially sent a delegate?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or a representative?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. To the congress. Have they ever been requested to?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Never have?

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know who does attend them, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. I was never there.

Mr. VOORHIS. I was just wondering who does attend them.

Mr. KUHN. No; I don't know.

Mr. VOORHIS. If representatives of the bund do not I wonder who would attend them.

Mr. KUHN. Naturally, citizens might.

Mr. VOORHIS. There are many people that live outside of Germany—

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, on the occasion of your previous examination before this committee you were asked whether the orderly division of the German-American Bund was similar to the storm troopers of the Nazi Party and at that time I believe you stated that there was no similarity between orderlies and storm troopers and that you have never attended a meeting presided over by storm troopers and you did not know what their function was, is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. That is correct. And I want to say that we checked over uniforms—that I even looked through books that we do not copy any uniform of Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then you were asked what function the Nazi storm troopers performed and you didn't know because you have never attended a meeting where they were in attendance.

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where they presided or did duty.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, I asked you to read an article appearing in the Weckruf of August 27, 1936.

Mr. KUHN. 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a translation of that article, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not have a full translation, Mr. Chairman. Will you look at this issue of the Weckruf, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. The paper is for August 27, 1936, again.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. You mean you disclaim any responsibility for it?

Mr. KUHN. There is a picture showing the march in Berlin and the left and right side of me is a storm trooper.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was the caption of that article?

Mr. KUHN. Received in Hanover.

Mr. WHITLEY. This describes the meeting that was held in Hanover?

Mr. KUHN. That was of the reception.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the reception?

Mr. KUHN. That shows the reception.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you read that article, the part where it says the meeting was presided over by storm troopers?

Mr. KUHN. The whole article, or where is that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Read the first paragraph of the article.

Let me ask you this question: Was that meeting that you attended in Hanover presided over by storm troops?

Mr. KUHN. No. I will tell you about Hanover. I came to Hanover and was received by a gentleman by the name—I can't recall him anymore; it doesn't give him any name here.

Mr. WHITLEY. No.

Mr. KUHN. Some official, some small official received us at the railroad station and he said some words of welcome and I answered him for his politeness and nice time they gave us there and he invited us to his banquet.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. KUHN. And I attended the banquet and after the banquet I had to leave for Berlin. There was a meeting there in the evening but I wasn't there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that meeting presided over by storm troopers?

Mr. KUHN. There wasn't any storm trooper meeting at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, it is customary in this country for orderly divisions of your organization to preside over meetings, to act as ushers and guards, is it not?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; and I told you that this was not a storm-trooper meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. And also you stated you had never attended a meeting in Germany, Nazi Germany meeting presided over by storm troopers.

Mr. KUHN. Well, I told you that I saw them at the National Socialist Congress in Neuremberg.

Mr. WHITLEY. I did not say the storm trooper meeting, I said a meeting presided over by storm troopers. Do you know whether it is customary in Germany for meetings of Nazis to be presided over by storm troopers, to act as guards and ushers?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you have never been at such a meeting?

Mr. KUHN. I have never been—I was at the meeting at Neuremberg. That was the big congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the headquarters where they hold the congress, at Neuremberg?

Mr. KUHN. It might be; I don't know; you know better than I.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am just asking you.

Mr. KUHN. That is not the one I spoke of.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were at the congress of the Nazi Party?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But the congress of the Germans abroad also followed immediately after the Nazi Congress?

Mr. KUHN. No; I wasn't there.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were not there?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not stay over for that?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this meeting described here, which you attended, was not presided over by storm troopers?

Mr. KUHN. Who wrote this article, anyway?

Mr. WHITLEY. Edwin Emerson.

Mr. KUHN. You had better ask Mr. Emerson.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. KUHN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether it is correct?

Mr. KUHN. No; I do not. I also can state when I was present, that we had been received with a few words of welcome and attended some banquet.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the statement you read correct?

Mr. KUHN. No; I wasn't there—so far as that goes, I was there. And then I left for Berlin and I wasn't there in the evening.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was the principal speaker at the Nazi meeting which you attended, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. Who was what?

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was the principal speaker?

Mr. KUHN. That takes 7 days, and I was out there twice. I heard as speaker, Mr. Hitler; I heard speak Mr. Hess.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is Rudolph Hess?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. And, I heard Dr. Goebels. And, I heard Peter Marshall Blomberg.

Mr. CASEY. Even admitting there were a lot of speakers, the principal speaker was Herr Hitler, was it not?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know, so long as he was there he opened the Congress and he closed it.

Mr. CASEY. But if he spoke he would be the principal speaker?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, yes. And there were a whole lot of diplomats; I was sitting between a diplomatic corps, diplomats of several countries were there and I was sitting among them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you make a speech at that meeting?

Mr. KUHN. Certainly not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You made no speech?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were there for how long, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. I told you I was there——

Mr. WHITLEY. Seven days?

Mr. KUHN. No; I was there about 3 days.

Mr. THOMAS. How did it happen that you were sitting among diplomats, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. I just had a seat there.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean you got your seat from them?

Mr. KUHN. There was a certain politeness over there, Mr. Thomas; they are very polite over there and if you come you would be seated there.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you have a reserved seat in that section?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; there were thousands of reserved seats.

Mr. THOMAS. Never mind about the thousands. I am trying to find out if you had a reserved seat?

Mr. KUHN. Thousands of reserved seats and I have one of them; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You got your reserved seat from whom?

Mr. KUHN. At the office; there is an office with a big sign showing the office where you get the seats.

Mr. THOMAS. And you were able to get a seat right among all these foreign diplomats out of the thousands of people?

Mr. KUHN. Thousands of people got seats and I got two seats, and isn't that nice?

Mr. KEEGAN. Mr. Chairman, this is getting to be difficult, with the lights in the face of witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Turn some of the bright lights off.

All right, Mr. Whitley, proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then in October of 1936, the issue of the Weckruf, the front page—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). What date?

Mr. WHITLEY. October 1, 1936.

Mr. KUHN. 1936 again?

Mr. WHITLEY. Right on the front page editorial captioned: "Are We Called German-American or American-Germans?"

Read the translation of that part of that editorial and see if you can verify it, Mr. Kuhn, if you want to as I read it. It is as follows:

If you prefer the term "American-Germans" to the term "the German-Americans" you do so for the same reason for which the former German-Russians called themselves Russio-Germans and the German-Brazilians, Brazilian-Germans, namely, for the reason that we are first of all Germans in race and blood and language. We belong to the great humanity of German people.

By obtaining your citizenship you have not lost your German character. You remain what you were, Germans in America. American-Germans because we do not become Americans by taking out second papers.

Is that consistent with your contention before the committee on the occasion of your last appearance, Mr Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. That is the story here.

Mr. WHITLEY. And I am asking you if that is consistent with your statement that you are American citizens.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; absolutely. I would like to explain that a little by saying that if Rabbi Wise said that he was 63 years old—or 66 or 64 years old—and was 63 years an American citizen, yet he is 4,000 years a Jew.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask you to explain if that is consistent—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). In the first place, I did not write the article; and, in the second place, it is in 1936, and I cannot be responsible for anything happening in 1936 in that newspaper.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you agree with that article?

Mr. KUHN. That would have to be explained. If I were Irish and came to the United States and took out citizenship papers, I would still be Irish by blood.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would be Irish, but I would be loyal to America.

Mr. KUHN. Who said that we were not loyal?

Mr. VOORHIS. It says there in that article which I read—

Mr. KUHN. I cannot change my blood.

Mr. VOORHIS. Nobody wants you to.

Mr. KUHN. Why don't you let me explain?

Mr. VOORHIS. I am asking you to give me an explanation of the article.

Mr. KUHN. I just gave you my explanation.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. KUHN. We are Americans, but we can't change our blood.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you want to explain the article?

Mr. KUHN. You have got all of them and you also prepared the questions; if you will give me time to prepare answers, I can explain it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, when the article appeared in the Weckruf, while you disclaim any responsibility for it, you have not previously disclaimed responsibility for this article or refuted it in any way?

Mr. KEEGAN. Mr. Chairman, that does not seem to be a fair question.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind stating for the record your name.

Mr. KEEGAN. Wilbur V. Keegan.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to keep the record straight.

Mr. KEEGAN. It seems to me that these papers which were published by other persons prior to the time that Mr. Kuhn's organization took over the publication are the expressions of opinions of others and Mr. Kuhn is being asked now whether he agrees or disagrees with this or that class of people. I do not think it is a fair line of inquiry because after all whether he agrees or disagrees is not material to any question here.

Mr. STARNES. The reason for the questions is this: Mr. Kuhn has been identified from the beginning, according to his previous testimony, with the predecessor organization of the German-American Bund. In other words, the Teutonia Society, or whatever it was called, and later, the Friends of New Germany and later on it went into the German-American Bund, into the formation of the bund in 1936, according to his previous testimony.

The same personnel, many of the same officers with the exception that Mr. Kuhn became the leader of the bund, and all during this period of time these papers that he is quoting from purport to set out the same aspirations and the background of that so-called German-American movement in this country, and we are trying to see whether or not it really expresses the philosophy of that movement. Is that your philosophy, Mr. Kuhn, or the philosophy of the group of people you are the leader of?

Mr. KEEGAN. Of course, the question clearly indicated that he is not in accord with the statement.

Mr. STARNES. Is the philosophy stated here?

The CHAIRMAN. Let counsel present any further statement, Mr. Kuhn.

Mr. KUHN. I would like to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KUHN. I will tell Mr. Starnes that he knows that the main purpose of the investigation is to try to find the connection between the German-Americans and Germany.

Now, why do not these investigations investigate after I took the job over? And, I did not start with it until 1937 and I have not written a letter since then. Do you not know that I did not write to my own mother because I know that if you get the letter that these men would say, "Here we have it."

The CHAIRMAN. You destroyed all the correspondence.

Mr. KUHN. Whose fault is that? That is your own fault.

The CHAIRMAN. Whose fault?

Mr. KUHN. Your fault, as I explained. If we get some children's literature from a private organization, a private organization in Germany, sent here for children, two dozen books, or if we get a letter, they say, "Here it is; that is just it."

The CHAIRMAN. But you destroyed all the letters.

Mr. KUHN. And I have not gotten a letter from Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. But you destroyed all the letters.

Mr. KUHN. And all I want is a fair—trying to get—a fair investigation, and it would not be necessary if we could.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, you not only deny the responsibility for statements appearing in the Weckruf prior to your assuming the leadership of the bund but you also deny responsibility for any statements since that, do you not?

Mr. KUHN. To a certain extent I have to take the responsibility and I have taken the responsibility.

Mr. WHITLEY. You take the responsibility for this issue of August 31, 1939?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In which you are called the American Henlein?

Mr. KUHN. I told you that was from a Swiss paper.

Mr. WHITLEY. But it was reprinted in your paper.

Mr. KUHN. That is the editor's view, statement of it; and I do not have to agree or be responsible for every statement that he puts in. As a matter of fact, I say I do not agree with this article because that is an article printed in an outside paper and you cannot hold me responsible for it.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is your official organ and you accept it as being a correct reprint of this paper, do you not?

Mr. KUHN. Is there anything wrong with that? Is that so wrong? We sometimes quote Communist papers.

Mr. STARNES. But when you do that, Mr. Kuhn, you always criticize the article, why you do or do not agree with it.

Mr. KUHN. Why, of course.

Mr. STARNES. That is when you quote from a Communist paper.

Mr. KUHN. When I do I take the responsibility for it, but the editor puts something in without my knowledge. As president of a newspaper what have you an editor for if every time an article comes he has to appeal to you to know whether the article can go into the paper or not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, this is rather an important article, is it not?

Mr. KUHN. Not so important.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is not?

Mr. KUHN. A Swiss paper, a Swiss paper, published 3,000 miles away, calling me the American Henlein.

The CHAIRMAN. But the facts are you take the Swiss paper's statement that you are the Henlein of America and you reprint it in your own publication.

Mr. KUHN. That is somebody else's opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. And thereafter you fail to retract the statement or to make any statement denying it, which creates the inference, does it not—in a paper which you have control of in America—

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you print something that you do not ever retract or deny in your own publication, does not that create the inference it is your own?

Mr. KUHN. I told you I couldn't say what the Swiss paper said.

Mr. THOMAS. What is that paper?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a German paper; the name of the paper is Voderwocken.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know anything about that paper?

Mr. KUHN. No; I saw it the first time then.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean the German which Mr. Whitley referred to?

Mr. KUHN. I saw it the first time; I saw it the first time after the issue came out.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you did not deny the statement in the publication—

Mr. KEEGAN (interposing). Mr. Chairman, I think the witness has answered the question that states that he disclaims responsibility for any statements in the paper, and that he is in disagreement with it, and I think any further arguments back and forth is beside the issue.

Mr. STARNES. I agree with the objection, Mr. Chairman. Let us proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, on the occasion of your last appearance you were asked if you were acquainted with Dr. Colin Ross, who formerly resided in this country and recently toured this country, and you stated you were acquainted with him. I would like to have more information regarding Dr. Ross and his activities.

Mr. KUHN. Well, the last time I saw Dr. Ross was about 2 years ago on his first lectures which he gave to the United States, and I attended some of the meetings in New York, and I think it might have been the third one. That is about the last time I saw him—2 years ago. In his second lecture tour through the United States I didn't see him.

Mr. WHITLEY. His second tour. When was the second tour?

Mr. KUHN. The second tour, I think, was a year ago or so.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. KUHN. I saw him the last time in 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. The last time in 1937?

Mr. KUHN. In 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand you attended the meetings of his lectures?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where, and how many?

Mr. KUHN. Two; or it might have been three of them. I recall two of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Two or three of them. Is that all the personal association you had with Dr. Ross?

Mr. KUHN. We had dinner together, the only thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You had dinner with him how many times?

Mr. KUHN. Well, it might have been twice; I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to find out is whether you were very intimately associated with him.

Mr. KUHN. In attending the dinners with him?

The CHAIRMAN. No; whether you had a lot of dealings with him. I just wanted to know whether you were intimately associated with him.

Mr. KUHN. No; I wasn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. While he was here.

Mr. KUHN. No; I wasn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, how many posts of the American Bund did he address while he was in this country on his last lecture tour, in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. Well, he didn't—well, I could not say how many. Of course, we were asked to bring out some advertising to help fill the hall, but I don't know exactly how many there were.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately; can you give us an estimate? Was it less than 10, or more? Just your best estimate?

Mr. KUHN. You mean altogether?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; on his lecture tours. He went from coast to coast.

Mr. KUHN. From post to post?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; he started from New York, did he not?

Mr. KUHN. You say from coast to coast or from post to post?

Mr. WHITLEY. From coast to coast.

Mr. KUHN. From coast to coast. Of course, we do not have any posts. I could not tell you how many; it might have been 10 or it might have been 12 or it might have been 4.

The CHAIRMAN. However, did not the bund arrange for the lectures by Dr. Ross in this country?

Mr. KUHN. No; he made them himself, but we helped.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you helped advertise them?

Mr. KUHN. For two meetings. I know to my knowledge he was the speaker on some lecture tours, but we helped him advertise.

The CHAIRMAN. You helped advertise to get a crowd?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; but to my recollection only two meetings where the bund, on the lecture tour when he was speaker, and that was in New York, one was in New York and I think the other in Brooklyn.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive advance information that Dr. Ross was coming to the United States before he came here?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not. I was approached by him through letter.

The CHAIRMAN. That is from Germany?

Mr. KUHN. He was in the States.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in this country?

Mr. KUHN. That was the first time I heard from him.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you in that letter?

Mr. KUHN. Well, if the lectures on the tour through the United States on certain—I don't recall right now—and if I would help him make his lectures a success.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have that letter?

Mr. KUHN. I do not think so; that was in 1937. I was in Detroit. I remember at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in charge, the head of the bund?

Mr. KUHN. I was the head of the bund but I was still in Detroit and I was working on a side line.

The CHAIRMAN. You were working that while you were still working for the Ford Co. Did Dr. Ross ask you or did you take Dr. Ross to the plant and introduce him to any of the officials there?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he went into the plant?

Mr. KUHN. I do not even know that.

The CHAIRMAN. At least with you?

Mr. KUHN. I wasn't there and I don't know if he was there. The only time I saw him that time was in Detroit when he delivered the speech in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the activities of Dr. Ross?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. While he was over here did he make any visits to your post?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, do you know whether in addition to the cooperation which the bund gave to Dr. Ross by arranging and advertising his meetings, do you know whether he received any cooperation from others, from German officials in this country?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know that?

Mr. KUHN. No; I didn't see any German consul for about 3 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether the German consuls in various parts of the country helped to arrange and advertise for these meetings?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is Dr. Ross' official capacity or relationship to the Nazi Government?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You only knew him through his lectures?

Mr. KUHN. I only know him as an author.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a what?

Mr. KUHN. As an author.

Mr. WHITLEY. As an author?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you known him?

Mr. KUHN. That is, the first I met him was in Detroit and that was, I think, in the beginning of 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Beginning of 1937?

Mr. KUHN. It might have been in December; it was in the winter-time, might have been in December of 1936, around that time.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew, did you not, that Dr. Ross was representing some picture company in Germany and was taking pictures throughout the United States?

Mr. KUHN. No; I didn't even know that; I heard that—

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't he inform you that was one of his objects?

Mr. KUHN. He only informed me that he was here on a lecture tour of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you or any of the officials in the bund cooperate with him in making pictures throughout this country?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Of industrial plants?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew of that?

Mr. KUHN. I know of that?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know he was taking pictures of navy yards and arms factories in this country?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not heard of it?

Mr. KUHN. This is the first time. I know that Ross is a scientist, of the scientist-teacher type, and if he is taking pictures of navy yards this was the first time I knew of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What pictures did you hear he took throughout the United States?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I heard later he took pictures—he made an article or picture of about 32 children, and of the names of cities and that was my impression of his work.

The CHAIRMAN. Of German settlements?

Mr. KUHN. German settlements.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the only pictures you know of?

Mr. KUHN. As an example of one picture I saw of an iron cross in some little cemetery, with a German name; that is the only picture I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was it, at what German meeting?

Mr. KUHN. It was in some newspaper, which I can't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of the picture or the newspaper?

Mr. KUHN. I don't recall now except I saw the picture.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, you gave us an approximation of how many local bund groups Dr. Ross addressed throughout the United States.

Mr. KUHN. Very roughly.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many did he address in New York, or the immediate vicinity of New York? Can you give us some accurate figure on that?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I told you, to my knowledge, there was two and maybe three.

Mr. WHITLEY. Maybe three?

Mr. KUHN. It might be more; but, to my knowledge, as I recall right now, it is two. I recall two meetings; I recall right now two meetings. There might be a third or a fourth one; I don't deny that; but I cannot recall right now; because, after all, we have hundreds of meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you attend all of those meetings?

Mr. KUHN. I told you I attended two of those meetings that Dr. Ross spoke at in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where he spoke?

Mr. KUHN. One was up there in New York, in Turner Hall, Eighty-fifth Street, and the other one was over in Brooklyn, or Astoria—the other one which I don't recollect right now.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the testimony before in reference to Dr. Colin Ross? Do you have it there?

Mr. WHITLEY. I have it right here, Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have it marked?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you kindly read that?

Mr. WHITLEY [Reading]:

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Colin Ross?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What office did he have in the bund?

Mr. KUHN. He never had an office in the bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Had no official connection?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he associated with you in any respect?

Mr. KUHN. I met him one year when he was speaker at Turner Hall; he was a speaker there, but we were not the sponsors.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. KUHN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only association you have had with Colin Ross?

Mr. KUHN. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you mean by this testimony that the first time you met Colin Ross was this Turner Hall meeting?

Mr. KUHN. No; that was not the first time. I told you the first time was in Detroit, because I was still in Detroit. No; I take that back; I think that was some other time. Yes; it was in Detroit; that is right; it was in Detroit and after Christmas. It was the beginning of 1937, was the first time I saw him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, under date of December 16, 1938, Mr. Otto Denzer—

Mr. KUHN. What is the name?

Mr. WHITLEY. Denzer—D-e-n-z-e-r; do you know him?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Nazi vice consul in Chicago, addressed a letter to Mr. Clifton Utley, of the Foreign Policy Association of Chicago, which is as follows:

Enclosed please find a few biographical data on Colin Ross.

May I assure you that if arrangements could be made for his appearance before the consul of foreign relations sometime during the first days of January 1939 this would be highly appreciated?

You are not acquainted with Mr. Denzer?

Mr. KUHN. No; I don't know Mr. Denzer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything about the Chicago meeting?

Mr. KUHN. No. I recall another meeting I met Dr. Ross now, Where Dr. Ross was speaking was down at the Biltmore Hotel. Some university, I think, was sponsor of this meeting at that time, and I was there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you attend the meeting?

Mr. KUHN. I attended the meeting; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know how many bund posts Dr. Ross addressed in Chicago?

Mr. KUHN. No; I could not tell you that. There is so many posts down there—I mean units—American Bund units.

Mr. WHITLEY. Units?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't call them posts?

Mr. KUHN. They are not posts.

Mr. WHITLEY. I say, you don't call them posts?

Mr. KUHN. They are not posts, and we don't call them when they are not.

Mr. THOMAS. Speaking of meetings, are you going to attend the meeting tonight?

Mr. KUHN. Where?

Mr. THOMAS. In New York.

Mr. KUHN. A meeting tonight?

Mr. THOMAS. I am just asking you.

Mr. KUHN. Is there a meeting tonight—a bund meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know; I just heard about one. Are you going to attend a meeting tonight?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, I know what you mean. That is just newspaper stuff. I know what you mean now.

Mr. THOMAS. Is there a meeting of any kind?

Mr. KUHN. It is just like you heard. I don't attend that. It has nothing to do with me there.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you first met Dr. Ross in Detroit, in 1936, or the early part of 1937, what was his mission in the United States at that time? Was he living here, or what was he doing?

Mr. KUHN. I understood he was traveling around.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was he living at that time?

Mr. KUHN. He was going from city to city; that is my understanding.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just on a lecture tour?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. I don't know where he was staying in Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything concerning Dr. Ross and an exchange of students—groups which he has taken to Germany from time to time?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know nothing about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never heard of that?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you know nothing about any official connection he might have with the Nazi Government?

Mr. KUHN. I never heard of that; I don't know nothing of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. All you know of his operations is as a private lecturer?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know nothing of his activities during the time and immediately following the war, in Germany?

Mr. KUHN. I don't; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever heard him referred to or described as a German propaganda agent?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know where Dr. Ross went when he left the United States?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know that?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was in contact with your west coast Bund units?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I think he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he lecture before any of those?

Mr. KUHN. It might be, but I don't know exactly.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. KUHN. Most likely he did, but I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was with Dr. Ross on the occasion of his last visit?

Mr. KUHN. His last visit—I did not even see him on his last visit.

Mr. WHITLEY. In 1937, then?

Mr. KUHN. He was alone at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was alone at that time.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How was he traveling—by automobile?

Mr. KUHN. I think he was going by trains.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, referring to this article a moment ago, with reference to the meeting in Hannover, at which you spoke, I believe—is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. In Hannover? No; I just answered; I told you I answered the welcome address.

Mr. WHITLEY. You answered the welcome address?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did speak, then?

Mr. KUHN. I spoke; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you make the following statement, as reported in the Weckruf, in that answer which you made:

We feel bound with Germany and are fortunate—

I suppose you were speaking on behalf of the bund delegation over there; is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Of course, I might, if I recall right.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

We feel bound with Germany and are fortunate to belong to such an organization. To be in Berlin and see the Fuehrer eye to eye was for us an experience. We will bear everything and will continue to fight further for the cause.

Mr. KUHN. Well, I certainly did not use that kind of expression: I certainly did not use that kind of expression. It might be——

Mr. WHITLEY. You said it in German, of course.

Mr. KUHN. Well, it might be I said I was proud and was glad to see Mr. Hitler, which I would still be today. It might be I said that; but I would not say that. What we mean by "the cause"——

Mr. WHITLEY. How would you read this, then: what would be your translation of it [handing to witness]?

The CHAIRMAN. I understand he is not denying that statement.

Mr. KEEGAN. He has already stated that he is not responsible for that statement, in his direct answer.

Mr. KUHN (after examining). Well, I said here correctly that we could be proud. I don't recall what I said 3 years ago, or 2½ years ago. I said I saw a lot of changes in Germany since I was the last time here, 12 years ago, and was glad to meet my own father and mother again.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you reading that literally?

Mr. KUHN. Well, yes; I would translate that where I said "I would be happy to be in Germany again, after so long a time."

And that shows me how you translate things so absolutely wrong. That means that I declared that I was glad to be back again and can see my old folks again, my own friends. And I still said, going

on, "We feel that we have some—that we are not belonging to you any more, because we are gone too long; we belong to a new country." That is the translation or, if somebody will translate it——

MR. WHITLEY. You don't say anything about continuing to fight further for the cause there? Could that translation possibly be put on that?

MR. KUHN. No—yes; I get what you mean, now. And further on, "We will fight in the future for a better understanding between Germany and the United States" and, referring later on——

MR. WHITLEY. You would not say "for the cause"?

MR. KUHN. No; not for the cause; but for the American cause, yes, for the American cause.

MR. WHITLEY. Is that what you were referring to here—the American cause?

MR. KUHN. Absolutely. [Laughter.]

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, how many meetings sponsored by Mr. McWilliams, Mr. Joe McWilliams, and his organization, have you attended, of the Christian Mobilizers?

MR. KUHN. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Have you attended?

MR. KUHN. Yes; I attended the Christian Mobilizers once in the Bronx—two.

MR. WHITLEY. Two meetings altogether?

MR. KUHN. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. How many meetings of the Christian Mobilizers, or Christian Front, have you attended and spoken at since you were last here?

MR. KUHN. As I told you, I was twice in the Christian Mobilizers, and I spoke on both occasions.

MR. WHITLEY. That is since you appeared here, in August?

MR. KUHN. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. You had never attended a meeting of that organization prior to your appearance here?

MR. KUHN. I don't think so; I don't recall the date, exactly. I was here in July.

The CHAIRMAN. August.

MR. KUHN. July.

The CHAIRMAN. Before this committee?

MR. KUHN. Yes; in July. Don't you know we got in a fight, Mr. Starnes, at that time?

MR. STARNES. No; your memory is bad. It was August.

The CHAIRMAN. No; it was August. We started on August 16.

MR. DEMPSEY. Is that what caused the fight—the heat?

MR. KUHN. I don't remember about that. It must have been the first day of August.

The CHAIRMAN. No; the 16th.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, what are the relations between Mr. Joe McWilliams and his Christian Mobilizers, and the German-American Bund?

MR. KUHN. They are very friendly to each other, because the Christian Front, the Christian Mobilizers really have ideas which we sponsor 100 percent.

MR. WHITLEY. You are in accord with their program, in other words?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; Christian Americans.

Mr. WHITLEY. And does Mr. McWilliams attend your meetings?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And speak in your meetings?

Mr. KUHN. He spoke twice, or three times, in our meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. Recently?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; last Saturday. As a matter of fact, he spoke last Saturday.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. And is there any other cooperation between the bund and his organization?

Mr. KUHN. No. We attend meetings of the Christian Mobilizers, and they attend our meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. By "we," you mean yourself and other members of the bund?

Mr. KUHN. Other members of the bund; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the Social Justice Clubs; do you attend any meetings of theirs?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or address any of those organizations?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you been invited to attend any—to speak at any?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I was invited.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were invited?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you declined?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not have time; I had something else to do.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you did not decline because you disapproved of it?

Mr. KUHN. No; certainly not. I don't disapprove; certainly not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had any representatives of the Social Justice Clubs attend meetings of the bund, or address bund meetings?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not to your knowledge?

Mr. KUHN. No. Well, you know, there were different speakers; but I don't know exactly to which organization they belonged.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know what their connections were?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Kuhn, when you testified before, you stated at that time your recollection was you had something like 100 units of the bund?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; between 90 and 100 units; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Does this list which you have handed the committee this morning, in response to a subpoena duces tecum contain a correct list of the bund units and their location?

Mr. KUHN. Of course it is a correct list.

Mr. STARNES. Of all of the bund units?

Mr. KUHN. Of all of the local units—71.

Mr. STARNES. Seventy-one; that is correct?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. STARNES. I notice, however, you did not comply fully with the request of the committee, in that in many instances——

Mr. KUHN. In every instance I did.

Mr. STARNES. In many instances you have failed to give the name and the address of the local leader. For instance, I am going to read you here:

Bridgeport, Conn.; Hartford, Conn.; New Rochelle, N. Y.; New Britain, Conn.; New Haven, Conn.; Stamford, Conn.; Yonkers, N. Y.; Ossining, N. Y.; Greenwich, Conn.; Providence, R. I.; and Boston, Mass.—

and you say out here, after grouping them together—

under supervision of Duncan C. Folger, Post Office Box 724, New Rochelle, N. Y.

In other words, you have given no other names there.

Mr. KUHN. That is a group that is connected; there is only one leader; I don't know of any other leader. It is taken care of by him.

Mr. STARNES. You mean he is the leader for all those groups?

Mr. KUHN. Correct; yes.

Mr. STARNES. In the four States named?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; that is correct. And the same applies to the other ones.

Mr. STARNES. If I am correct in my recapitulation, 23 of your units are in New York State, reading from this list?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And you say this is a correct list of all your local units?

Mr. KUHN. As of today.

Mr. STARNES. Twenty-three are in New York, four are in New Jersey, one in Maryland, five in Pennsylvania, six in Connecticut, two in Illinois, two in Wisconsin, two in Minnesota, one in Michigan, four in Ohio, seven in California, four in Indiana, two in Washington, one in Missouri, one in Rhode Island, one in Massachusetts, one in Oregon, one in Texas, and one in Nebraska? Is that a correct recapitulation?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And that is a total of 19 States out of the 48?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. So, instead of having them in all but 1 State, you have only 19 States in which you have units?

Mr. KUHN. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. And 41 of the 71 are located in New York State, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the New England States?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. Well, I told you we had a lot of other members in other States, single members, which we don't call units. If you want that, I will have to give you a complete membership list. We have a few members, for instance, in Alabama.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; I believe you said at Birmingham you had a unit.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. But today you don't have a unit, evidently?

Mr. KUHN. No. Some units are gone; some units are blown up, and the members belong to other units.

Mr. STARNES. You said you had a unit in Tennessee.

Mr. KUHN. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. But when you furnished the list, you did not have?

Mr. KUHN. We don't have any more, today.

Mr. STARNES. And none in Mississippi, and I believe you said you had them in every State except Louisiana, and I find you only have them in 19 States.

Mr. KUHN. That is true today.

Mr. THOMAS. Is there one in Maryland?

Mr. STARNES. There is one in Maryland, in Baltimore, under the Philadelphia, Pa., unit supervision.

Mr. KEEGAN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask, have you a copy of the bund constitution, or did you ever have?

Mr. STARNES. Oh, yes; it is in the record.

Mr. KEEGAN. The point I am trying to make is I think the constitution provides that there must be 20 members at least to form a unit, and where we find 2 or 3 odd members—and Mr. Kuhn just testified he had 3 or 4 in Alabama—there would not be a unit.

Mr. STARNES. Well, I asked for units, specifically.

Mr. KUHN. That is absolutely the unit list, up to date.

Mr. STARNES. And his testimony was there was a unit in all except one State.

Mr. KEEGAN. I do not know what he said to you, but I understand the constitution requires 20 men to make a unit.

Mr. STARNES. I had my very serious doubts about the accuracy of the statement in the beginning.

Mr. KUHN. Oh, you had, huh!

Mr. THOMAS. How many members do you have now?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know that; I cannot answer.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know, approximately?

Mr. KUHN. No; I would not even guess, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. The reason I ask is the last time you were here—

Mr. KUHN. You asked, but since that time the books are all in the hands of the district attorney, and I cannot even look at them.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you think you have as many today as you had the last time you were here?

Mr. KUHN. I think so.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it the intention of the bund to carry on activities in the future on the same scale as in the past?

Mr. KUHN. To go on with our activities, of course.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it the intention of the bund to carry on its activities—

Mr. KUHN. Yes; by all means.

Mr. THOMAS. On the same scale as in the past?

Mr. KUHN. By all means—no; not the last paragraph; I hope on a better scale.

Mr. THOMAS. On a larger scale?

Mr. KUHN. On a larger scale.

Mr. THOMAS. You hope to enlarge your scope of activity in the future?

Mr. KUHN. I hope to enlarge our scope of activity in the future.

Mr. STARNES. You went to Germany, I believe, in 1936. That was the time you visited the fuehrer and presented to him this contribution, you said, for German relief?

Mr. KUHN. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. What month did you go to Germany that year?

Mr. KUHN. I left in the latter part—the second part of July.

Mr. STARNES. And when did you return?

Mr. KUHN. I landed, I think, in New York on the 1st of October, or the 30th of September; either one.

Mr. STARNES. Did you visit Stuttgart, on that trip, Germany?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I told you I was at Stuttgart. Yes, I did; I saw the mayor there.

Mr. STARNES. I just want to know. I want to refresh my recollection. You went again, I believe, in 1938?

Mr. KUHN. I was there in 1938.

Mr. STARNES. When did you go in 1938?

Mr. KUHN. In February, I think the 19th.

Mr. STARNES. And how long did you stay on that trip?

Mr. KUHN. I came back the latter part of April.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go once or twice in 1938, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. Once.

Mr. STARNES. Once only?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go to Stuttgart on this second visit in 1938?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I think I passed through.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall a group of American boys and girls going to Germany in 1938?

Mr. KUHN. I did not meet anybody in Germany the second time.

Mr. STARNES. I did not ask you that; I said "Do you recall a group of American boys and girls going to Germany in 1938?"

Mr. KUHN. No; I don't recall nobody.

Mr. STARNES. Did a group of American boys and girls go to Germany in 1936, at the time you were over there; or what visit? What I am trying to get at is, during the time of either visit to Germany, in 1936 or 1938, was there a group of American boys and girls who went from this country to Germany?

Mr. KUHN. In 1936, I went as head of the German-American Bund, which traveled over there. There was 425 officials traveling to Germany—what you call officials of the bund. In 1938, I went absolutely private; it was a private visit, I took nobody along.

Mr. STARNES. I did not ask whether you took anybody along; I asked if, while you were there, a group of American boys and girls came to Germany?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my knowledge; I did not see them there.

Mr. STARNES. You did not meet such a group at Hamburg?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Or Hanover?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not meet nobody.

Mr. STARNES. Down at Berlin?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Or Stuttgart?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Stuttgart is the place where the Aussland Institute is located, of course?

Mr. KUHN. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. And that is the institute, or institution, which keeps a link between, or seeks to keep a link between the mother country,

or the fatherland—whichever you choose to term it; it does not make any difference—Germany and the Germans abroad; is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know that is the purpose. I only can tell you what I saw at Stuttgart. I went to that institution and saw all kinds of culture things; for instance, how many of German population in different countries. That is what I saw.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, statistics showing the German population—

Mr. KUHN. There is a permanent exhibition there.

Mr. STARNES. And they had maps and data and publications which would show the number of German citizens living abroad; say, for instance, in America, France, England, Poland, Russia, or other countries?

Mr. KUHN. There might be; yes.

Mr. STARNES. And there was a method or means of communication, or attempt to keep alive in the hearts of those German people living in other countries, some contact and love for the fatherland; is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know; I don't know that.

Mr. STARNES. But they do send publications and booklets and treaties, and so forth, on German culture, language, and ideals, to these Germans in other lands; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. KUHN. Well, maybe.

Mr. STARNES. I notice here you have units located in Albany, N. Y.; Astoria, Bergen County, N. J.—that is in New Jersey; Bronx, New York; Baltimore, Md.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; New Rochelle; Yonkers; Ossining, or whatever it is, I don't know—Jamaica.

Mr. KUHN. You know where Sing Sing is, don't you?

Mr. STARNES. Lindenhurst, New York City. Schenectady, Syracuse, Rochester, Troy, Poughkeepsie, Utica, Buffalo, Staten Island, South Brooklyn, Glendale. Those seem to be the most. Is there any significance in the location of these posts at these particular points? I notice, too, you have them at Bridgeport, Conn., Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, and Stamford and Greenwich; I notice you have only one in Maryland, which is at Baltimore; and those that you have in New Jersey seem to be in and around the metropolitan area of New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. How many units do you have in New Jersey?

Mr. KUHN. Four.

Mr. STARNES. They have four in New Jersey. And those you have in Pennsylvania are one in Philadelphia, the other at Reading.

Mr. KUHN. Why are you making so much fuss about it?

Mr. THOMAS. Where is the unit located in Bergen County?

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute; I am not through: let me get the question answered. You have one at Providence, R. I. Is there any significance in the fact that in that comparatively small geographical area of this country, in New York, you have 41 units, and in that same area are located more than 90 percent of the munitions plants and navy yards in this country?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, it has nothing to do with it.

Mr. STARNES. No significance at all?

Mr. KUHN. None at all. That is logical, because in the eastern part the population is higher.

Mr. STARNES. That may be true, but the German population is in Wisconsin and in the Chicago area, and there it is very heavy, and in St. Louis—you only have one post in Missouri.

Mr. KUHN. Well, there is only one big town.

Mr. STARNES. You only have two in Illinois and you only have two in Minnesota, and one in Michigan, and in all those States there is quite a heavy German population.

Mr. KUHN. As you see, it is only in the bigger towns, the big cities.

Mr. STARNES. I just want to know if there is any significance to attach——

Mr. KUHN. No, there is no significance to attach whatever; no.

Mr. STARNES. With most of your bund units located in and adjacent to navy yards?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Where there are plants which manufacture planes——

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute; I am just asking you—plants which manufacture airplanes.

Mr. KUHN. I don't know whether they manufacture them.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know?

Mr. KUHN. No. That is Lipshitz's stuff you just bring up.

Mr. STARNES. I see. You have heard of it before?

Mr. KUHN. I heard it from Mr. Lipshitz. Mr. Lipshitz made that statement once in a paper. Do you know who Mr. Lipshitz is? Walter Winchell; that is his real name. A lot of fellows change their names.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; let us proceed in an orderly way.

Mr. KUHN. A lot of fellows change their names.

Mr. STARNES. I believe you stated, when you were on the witness stand before, in response to some questions which I asked, when I asked you to give the aims of the bund—I said "What are the aims of the German-American Bund?" I am quoting now from page 3770. Mr. Kuhn answered:

"To unite the German element, in the first place."

I asked "What are the other purposes?" and you said, "To fight the Communists in this country."

I said "What is next?" and you said "To give the German element a political background."

And you said, further, it was your purpose to form a political party in this country when you could become strong enough to do so, composed of this German element.

Now, are you still fighting the Communists in this country?

Mr. KUHN. Of course.

Mr. STARNES. Are you still fighting them since the pact between Stalin and Hitler?

Mr. KUHN. Mr. Starnes, I am surprised at you. You are a Congressman, and I am surprised that you do not know more than that.

Mr. STARNES. What is your attitude with reference to the non-aggression pact and the military pact between Germany and Russia?

Mr. KUHN. If I have time to explain——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Can you not give your attitude toward that pact?

Mr. KUHN. I cannot answer in one sentence.

Mr. STARNES. Do you approve that pact?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. On what grounds do you approve it?

Mr. KUHN. I could make a speech of 25 minutes on that.

Mr. STARNES. I think it will take much longer than that to explain it satisfactorily.

Mr. KUHN. If you do not understand it.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you mean by that, "If you do not understand it"?

Mr. KUHN. I said I could not explain it in less than 25 minutes.

Mr. STARNES. I say that he may take all the time he wants, but I doubt very much if he can explain it successfully in 25 minutes.

Mr. KEEGAN. He asked three questions. How can he answer three questions in one answer?

The CHAIRMAN. First, he asked him if he approved the Soviet-Nazi pact, and he said he did. Then he asked him to give his reasons for being in favor of the pact.

Mr. KUHN. I will explain it.

Mr. SABBATINO. I would like to save some time. I want to go back to New York and do some work.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He said he wanted to answer it, I believe.

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir. Germany, as I see it, is a very small country with a high population, and with its political organization, Germany has accomplished a lot of things.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. KUHN. They have accomplished a good many things. I said they have accomplished a lot of things through their government.

The CHAIRMAN. Hitler is the government. Go ahead.

Mr. KUHN. Now, Germany has no raw materials. Germany needs raw materials, and it needs food. Germany begged Great Britain for years to furnish them the raw materials they needed, but they did not get them. They turned them down. Then they went to the United States and asked for raw materials, and there was a boycott. There was a boycott in the United States. Germany asked, "Why do you have a boycott in the United States," and they begged the United States to let them have the surplus. They asked, "Why fight us?" You know, for instance, that Germany was one of the best customers that the United States had, and was a cash-paying customer, too, but now there was a boycott against Germany, but the sufferers were the workingmen of the United States, and not Germany. They bought their cotton and raw materials somewhere else.

Still, Germany asked for our surplus raw materials, but there was this boycott. So what could Germany do but open up the door to the East. They went to the East, because Russia had all the raw materials they needed. They made a treaty with Russia to get surplus raw materials from that country; to get them from Russia, which is larger than the United States, and has every kind of material that is needed. That does not mean, because it is stated on both sides, that either Germany approves the ideology or political philosophy of Russia, or that they approve the German political philosophy. It does not mean that they accept the Bolshevik philosophy in Germany. Because two countries make peace, it does not mean that they have

to take each other's fundamental ideologies. We are still fighting the Communist ideology. We are still fighting the ideology of all Marxists.

Mr. VOORHIS. In Germany they are not doing that.

Mr. KUHN. I do not know. I was not in Germany. I have read speeches and newspapers, and it was made clear. Do you know that since the pact has been on there were carloads of priests going to Russia. You should be proud of that in this Christian country.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yet you say there is nothing in the pact having to do with a change in the internal relationships or ideologies of the two countries. I think that would indicate that, at least, there was a change in one direction.

Mr. KUHN. No, sir; because Germany, as I understand it—it is entirely up to them. They feel that they like it, and whether anybody else does, or not, is not their business.

Mr. DEMPSEY. England and France have tried to make a pact with Soviet Russia.

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir; for political reasons. Not economic reasons, but political reasons. England tried to make a contract with Soviet Russia, but it was not because of any economic questions, but on account of political questions. Because they have communism, that is not our business in their country, but we still fight the Marxist theories just as before.

Mr. STARNES. Do you approve the partition of Poland, and the manner in which it was done?

Mr. SABBATINO. I object to that question. That is a question of foreign policy. Why should you go into the ideologies of Europe?

The CHAIRMAN. You object to the question?

Mr. SABBATINO. Yes; that is unfair to the witness.

Mr. STARNES. The witness stated in his reply a moment ago that it became necessary for Germany to open the door to the East.

Mr. KUHN. That is my own private opinion.

Mr. STARNES. And I asked him if he approved the manner and method by which it was done.

Mr. KEEGAN. I think that is unreasonable.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I do not think that question is a proper one. I do not see that we have anything to do with that.

Mr. SABBATINO. Let the committee get facts, and not crackpot opinions.

Mr. STARNES. I asked that question in view of the fact that this committee has heretofore asked the attitude and views of Communist Party members with reference to the Stalin-Hitler pact, and in order to ascertain whether or not it had the approval of those organizations in this country, either the Communist Party or the German-American Bund. That is the only reason I wanted to develop it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You forget that the testimony before this committee, insofar as the Communists are concerned, is that they are reporting directly to Moscow and are under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union, whereas, as I understand it, this organization is not. I can see why you should check on it there, but I do not see why it has any place here.

Mr. STARNES. This witness should be able to answer the question.

Mr. SABBATINO. It is not within the scope of the committee's jurisdiction.

Mr. KUHN. I told you, and will repeat again, that we fight that ideology in every Marxist theory.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until 1 o'clock.

(Thereupon, the committee took a recess until 1 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

(The committee reconvened at 1 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies, chairman, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. I want to ask Mr. Kuhn a question at this time. Mr. Kuhn, when you appeared before the committee the last time, you were asked some questions with reference to the German Bund in Chicago, an organization that you said you had nothing to do with; is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. They were formerly members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them were?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior——

Mr. KUHN (interposing). They were members of the Friends of New Germany?

The CHAIRMAN. They were members of the Friends of New Germany prior to the formation of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That bund was formed of members who were German citizens?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir: when the bund was formed, it was of only American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. They were only American citizens from the beginning of the bund, on down?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many members of the German Bund there are in Chicago?

Mr. KUHN. I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not state in your previous testimony that it was a small organization, of not more than 100 members?

Mr. KUHN. At that time, in 1936, but since that time, I was not in contact with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Not since 1936?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know, as a matter of fact, that the German Bund has a membership of 1,000 in Chicago at the present time?

Mr. KUHN. I do not believe it, but I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. If the leader of this bund unit in Chicago, Dr. Willumeit, testified that it has 1,000 members, that would be fairly accurate, would it not?

Mr. KUHN. He ought to know; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know Fritz Heberling, do you not?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that Mr. Heberling was connected with the consulate, or was in charge of the consular office in Chicago?

Mr. KUHN. That is news to me.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know that he has ever had any connection with the consulate?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If Dr. Willumeit said that he was, he probably would have the information, would he not?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At least some members of the German Bund were members of the Friends of New Germany: Is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you testify before that you called on the organization, or that you talked to the organization with reference to German citizens?

Mr. KUHN. In 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. That was with reference to the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what is the purpose of this organization known as the German Bund?

Mr. KUHN. I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any officers of it, besides Mr. Heberling?

Mr. KUHN. Only him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, whether, or not, they have many meetings?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever addressed that bund unit?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contact between the German Bund and the German-American Bund unit in Chicago, or is there any?

Mr. KUHN. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether, or not, the members of the German Bund meet with the members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether this organization was formed and is carried on in the United States under a man that Dr. Willumeit said was or had been connected with the German Consulate?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no information with reference to that?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know Fritz Heberling?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you known him?

Mr. KUHN. From 1935, in Chicago, and in 1936 in Chicago. That was about the last time.

The CHAIRMAN. You first saw him in Chicago in 1935?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was he doing at the time you met him?

Mr. KUHN. He was a member of the Friends of New Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you intimately acquainted with him, or just casually?

Mr. KUHN. Only casually.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss with him the matter of German citizens belonging to organizations in this country?

Mr. KUHN. That might be, in conversations.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall any particular conversation on that?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir. The last time I saw him, he was not an officer in the Friends of New Germany in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a fact that you and Dr. Willumeit discussed the matter of cooperation between the German Bund and the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. It might be that that subject came up.

The CHAIRMAN. In the course of conversations between you and Dr. Willumeit?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent did you feel that cooperation was justified?

Mr. KUHN. As I said before, I have no connection with that organization. That is an organization of German citizens, and is not a political organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What degree of cooperation would you say was justified between those organizations?

Mr. KUHN. There were no detailed talks about that. That was an organization existing in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a question of cooperation, more in a spirit of friendliness?

Mr. KUHN. I can only give the general rules. We have nothing to do with German citizens. As an organization, we have nothing to do with them. It is only a Chicago organization of German citizens; so that comes under the supervision of Dr. Willumeit, with which society he is in contact.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that Dr. Willumeit is in charge of the Chicago bund unit, and you stated that you and Dr. Willumeit had some discussion looking to cooperation between the German Bund and the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. That might be, that we touched on that question.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of cooperation did you have in mind?

Mr. KUHN. I have no cooperation in mind. We cannot have cooperation.

The CHAIRMAN. I said cooperation.

Mr. KUHN. I mean no cooperation at all. As an organization, they have nothing to do with us. If you come to me and say that, I cannot stop you from going into it.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean when you said that you and Dr. Willumeit discussed the matter of cooperation between the German Bund and the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. If you want the honest fact, I have nothing to do with the German Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. That would not be cooperation.

Mr. KUHN. There would be cooperation between Dr. Willumeit and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The question I asked you—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). There is no cooperation.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the conversation that you admitted you had with Dr. Willumeit?

Mr. KUHN. As I told you, in general, we have a political organization, and we cannot have any contact or cooperation with German citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that your discussion?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you and Dr. Willumeit, after talking it over, agree that you could not have any contact with the German Bund?

Mr. KUHN. That would be logical, because a German citizen cannot be in a political organization.

Mr. STARNES. You said he could have no political connections?

Mr. KUHN. I said no connection with a political organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would explain to the committee what was the necessity for the forming of the bund. What did you feel was the necessity? You were instrumental in it?

Mr. KUHN. The German-American Bund—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Were you not instrumental in forming it?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was at first the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was dissolved, and a new corporation formed known as the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Friends of New Germany began in this country immediately after Hitler's rise to power, or was it before?

Mr. KUHN. Before.

The CHAIRMAN. Before his rise to power?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir. I do not recall the exact date, because I was not yet in it.

The CHAIRMAN. Why was it deemed advisable to dissolve the Friends of New Germany and form the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. Because the German-American Bund wanted an organization composed of only American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, after it was decided to have no one but American citizens in the German-American Bund, it was decided to form another organization, and give it a new name?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir; to form another organization and take a new name.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the only reason for that a change of policy with reference to the question of whether, or not, German citizens should belong to the organization? Is that the fact?

Mr. KUHN. To a certain extent: yes, sir; but that is not the only reason.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of that reason, what other reason was there?

Mr. KUHN. In the first place, the Friends of New Germany was not a very good name.

The CHAIRMAN. What was wrong with the name "Friends of New Germany?"

Mr. KUHN. It was too German.

The CHAIRMAN. There was too much German about it?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted to get some American in it?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir; the name did not fit. It was voted on in the convention, and they decided on a new name. The next one was that the German-American Bund is supposed to be a political organization, while the Friends of New Germany was not a political organization.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not a political organization?

Mr. KUHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was deemed advisable to build up a political organization in the United States composed of German people?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of people of German descent?

Mr. KUHN. That was the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. The political reason was the second reason?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the third reason?

Mr. KUHN. To take out German citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the only reason, or the principal reason, for the formation of a new organization: Is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The matter of the name, I believe you said, was a matter of taking out German citizens, and then to have a political organization. What was your idea with reference to a political organization? Did you, as a founder of the German-American Bund, feel that you could make a contribution to American life and stability, or to the country, by forming a political organization built around any particular race?

Mr. KUHN. There are some organizations like the Polish-American organizations; the Italian-American; the Irish-American organizations; the Chinese-American organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Political?

Mr. KUHN. Political.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the names of them?

Mr. KUHN. I can't offhand.

The CHAIRMAN. That you know are political?

Mr. KUHN. I would have to look them up.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a big difference between a fraternal group, a social organization, and a political organization.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; and there are some people who will call themselves fraternal organizations and do a lot of political work, and we came out honestly and told the people what we wanted to do——

The CHAIRMAN. Can you furnish us the names of some other political groups in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. You will have to give me time.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of having a political group?

Mr. KUHN. To get some political activity, because you know the Germans never have any American representation. We have about seventeen or eighteen million German-American people in the United States but do not have anyone speaking for them in Congress or other offices, because they were never politically minded.

The CHAIRMAN. The policy of the German-American Bund, so far as its politics was concerned, was merely that they be politically minded?

Mr. KUHN. Just like the French-Americans, or the Anglo-Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. To be politically minded?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not that be practically what was done in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, and in other countries—

Mr. KUHN. (interposing). It has nothing to do with Czechoslovakia; just like the French or the Irish or the Poles and everybody else does.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get an explanation of, Mr. Kuhn, is this: How it happens that throughout the world after the rise of Hitler to power—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). I don't know throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know that Germany was doing some political organizing in other countries?

Mr. KUHN. Well, that doesn't belong to me.

The CHAIRMAN. But you know that is true, don't you?

Mr. KUHN. Well, you know; you tell me.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything except what I tell you?

Mr. KUHN. I know nothing about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You know nothing about it.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get an explanation of is why your organization changed its name and changed its purpose and built up a political organization in the United States if it were not in line with the known Nazi policy—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). It has not.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you.

Mr. KUHN. It has nothing to do with the forming of any party over there.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. You did not organize a party in this country after Hitler came into power?

Mr. KUHN. What has that got to do with it?

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute; not so fast. When did Mr. Hitler become the leader of Germany?

Mr. KEEGAN. I object to that question. If he is to answer any inquiries let them be on Americanism. You are asking about un-American activities here, and Mr. Hitler's leadership is not involved.

Mr. STARNES. You started the party after Hitler came into power; that is what I want to ask about.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute; one at a time.

Mr. KEEGAN. Will you rule on that question?

The CHAIRMAN. The purpose of this line of inquiry is to ascertain what relationship there exists between the German-American Bund and other political organizations of the German people in other countries throughout the world.

Mr. STARNES. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. We have the circumstance of that in Czechoslovakia and in Poland and in Austria and in other countries where the German people, after the rise of the Nazi power, formed into political groups.

Mr. KUHN. When?

The CHAIRMAN. In other countries.

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know about that.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you.

Mr. KUHN. I never heard of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything about that, but as a matter of general knowledge—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). Well, I don't know; I never heard of them. How are you going to prove that?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there are some things you can accept as a matter of judicial notice, and you do not have to subpoena some man from another country, for instance, to prove that a war is going on in Europe.

Mr. KUHN. We aren't concerned with that; I am speaking about the German-American Bund in America.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Hitler came into power in 1934, was it not?

Mr. KUHN. Well, if I am correct it was in 1933.

Mr. STARNES. In 1933?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In 1933 he came into power, and you organized the bund in 1936 in this country?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And, therefore, you did organize the German-American Bund after Mr. Hitler came into power?

Mr. SABBATINO. That is an unfair question, Mr. Chairman; that is an unfair question, because he just told you that there was another organization in existence before Hitler came into power, and all he did was to make an American organization out of it by keeping out non-Americans. You are twisting the witness up.

Mr. STARNES. I am not.

Mr. SABBATINO. I mean with reference to the order of events to which he testified.

Mr. STARNES. I do not want counsel to misunderstand my statement or to say that I am twisting him up. I am not trying to twist anybody up. I asked a simple question.

Mr. Kuhn first said that his organization was not formed here after Mr. Hitler rose to power in Germany.

Mr. KUHN. I never said that. That is wrong. I never said that.

Mr. STARNES. I must have misunderstood the testimony.

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not believe the Friends of New Germany was in existence prior to 1933.

Mr. STARNES. In the Teutonia Society.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; there was before that.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to develop in my question is the organization was not changed until after Nazi-ism became an issue.

Mr. KUHN. Nazi-ism; what do you mean by that?

The CHAIRMAN. You do not understand it?

Mr. KUHN. No; I do not. Please express yourself.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, say Hitlerism or the philosophy he represents.

Mr. STARNES. National socialism.

Mr. KUHN. National socialism.

Mr. STARNES. I am learning.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, as a result of that rise to power, then you changed the Friends of New Germany from a nonpolitical organization into a political organization.

Mr. KUHN. You are wrong. Mr. Chairman; you are wrong. In the first place, the old organization was—and it was not until after 3 years that the change was made, and you say he started in 1933, and it was 1936 that the German-American Bund was organized.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KUHN. And there was no German citizens allowed.

The CHAIRMAN. But you said, in answer to my question, this: That you had a convention at which the name of the Friends of New Germany was changed.

Mr. KUHN. Bring in a new name.

The CHAIRMAN. They adopted a new name.

Mr. KUHN. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. You did that because the name was too much German and you wanted to bring the American name in, so you added the German-American instead of "Friends of New Germany."

Mr. KUHN. I had not changed it.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). That was said in the testimony, that was the purpose of forming the German-American Bund; that it was to make it a political organization because the Friends of New Germany was a nonpolitical organization and you wanted to make a political organization out of it.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the reason for the change?

Mr. KUHN. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. And then the next reasons was that you wanted to get rid of German citizens who were members of the bund. Is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. It wasn't a question of getting rid of them in the new organization—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). In the formulation of the German-American Bund into a political organization the first point was to accomplish that, was it not and you accomplished it by having a political organization?

Mr. KUHN. As I said before to make the German-Americans politically educated; to get them more politically minded.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us get down to that. Was that the purpose of it to build up in this country a political organization for the benefit of Germans in this country?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was the purpose of it to build up an organization for the benefit of Germans in Germany?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what I am trying to find out is for whose benefit was it organized?

Mr. KUHN. You will have to explain that.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to answer my question.

Mr. KUHN. Americans for America.

The CHAIRMAN. See if you understand me. You said you formed the American Bund to have a political organization. Is that not correct?

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you just a moment ago said it was for the purpose of combating boycotts?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I asked you whether the purpose, the principal purpose of the German-American Bund was to help the German citizens, people of German descent in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. Of course; Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the boycott have to do with helping the people of German descent in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. You do not know?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you for an explanation.

Mr. KUHN. You know how the boycott operates, do you not?

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, what I am trying to develop is this: Your idea was that in combating boycotts you would be helping people of German descent in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you did not have in mind helping Germany or the German Nation or these people in Germany?

Mr. KUHN. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to follow that up——

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute and let me develop this question and I will be through.

Let me see if we understand each other. Primarily the purpose of the formation of the German-American Bund was to help the people of German descent in the United States by combating boycotts which hurt the German people here.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, boycotts would not permit of commercial relations between the two countries.

Mr. KUHN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not permit of selling goods or the exchange of commodities between the two countries.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And any boycott, whether it is from Germany or any other country, whether it is a tariff or in the form of a voluntary boycott would hurt the German people in Germany, would it not; any boycott would hurt the German people.

Mr. KUHN. It would.

The CHAIRMAN. Everybody, including the German people.

Mr. KUHN. Including them, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why did not your organization oppose all boycotts and all restrictions; why did you limit it to Germany if that is the purpose of it?

Mr. KUHN. Why, that is wrong, because we are against every boycott: it is unconstitutional.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in these various publications have you ever denounced any other character of boycott except the boycott of German goods?

Mr. KUHN. Of course.

The CHAIRMAN. You have?

Mr. KUHN. Of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you show that to this committee?

Mr. KUHN. I can't show—there would be no other boycotts; no other boycotts but Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Japan?

Mr. KUHN. Well, it was against boycotting.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you show us where your organization opposed the boycotting of Japanese goods?

Mr. KUHN. Well I could go through the papers, if you want me to; I can go through the papers for years.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing that you have opposed boycotting?

Mr. KUHN. Are against boycotting regardless, because it is against the Constitution of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you do that?

Mr. KUHN. You know the sentiment used against German goods—

The CHAIRMAN. What I am asking you to do is to show the committee any record where your organization denounced boycotting some other country.

Mr. KUHN. You will have to give me time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KUHN. I will take time.

The CHAIRMAN. I will be glad to have you send that to the committee.

Mr. KUHN. But you have to give me time for that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in addition to the purpose, the political purpose you have in mind you also wanted more representation for the people of German descent in America.

Mr. KUHN. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean representation in the Federal Government?

Mr. KUHN. In all government.

The CHAIRMAN. In all governments?

Mr. KUHN. In all governments.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean by that that you wanted to have more representatives who were of German descent; is that right?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You feel that a representative of a section composed of German people, who is not a German, cannot properly represent the people of that section?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, yes; he can, if he wants to; but somewhere, unfortunately, they do not, like Mr. Thomas; that gives an example.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not have any personalities involved.

Mr. KUHN. Well, that gives you an example.

The CHAIRMAN. Your idea was that in order to secure the proper representation for people of German descent—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). Well, Mr. Chairman, is there anything wrong with that?

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Let me finish, please. In order to secure proper representation of people of German descent you ought to elect more German representatives; is that the purpose of it?

Mr. KUHN. That is one.

The CHAIRMAN. Then on the same logic other racial groups, such as the Italian people, the Ukraines and other national groups in America would have the same right, under that same logic?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. To do the same thing?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The whole system of representation, under that theory then would become racial, would it not?

Mr. KUHN. Yes—not racial; not racial.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not?

Mr. KUHN. The same as the Irish race is American.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now the Irish do not come into this.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean when you want to get more people of German descent in public office it was in order to represent people of German descent?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you said?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now my question to you is this: In equal justice every other racial group in America should elect someone from their own people to represent them in various offices?

Mr. KUHN. They do, do they not?

The CHAIRMAN. The Italians would have an Italian representative here in Washington, and the Jews would have a Jew representative, and Germans would have a German representative, under that philosophy?

Mr. KUHN. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you would make race the paramount qualification?

Mr. KUHN. No. What do you have now? Some nationals—do you not have some Irish, some French?

The CHAIRMAN. I am not arguing the question; I simply want to ask you what the purpose of the organization is and what you hope to accomplish in the United States; that is what I am interested in, not in arguing the matter.

Mr. KUHN. I am only interested in a fair representation of the German-American element in this country; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I was developing was that under that same philosophy every other national group in America would be just as much entitled to an organization.

Mr. KUHN. Do they not have it?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that not correct? I am arguing not the question; I am asking you if that is not true under that philosophy.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; but they do; they do. For instance, the organizations picked out this man and another organization picked out another man.

The CHAIRMAN. The Italians and the other groups—

Mr. KUHN. Of course, with America first.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Kuhn, what are the principles of national socialism as you understand them?

Mr. KUHN. Mr. Starnes, I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. You don't know?

Mr. KUHN. That doesn't belong to us here, and you read literature; I can give you specific literature—

The CHAIRMAN. You have some idea; you have read some of it?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, some; I have.

Mr. STARNES. You have made some study of it?

Mr. KUHN. You have some, too.

Mr. STARNES. Therefore, as a leader of a political element in America you should have made some study of government; is that not true?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And you have studied different forms of government.

Mr. KUHN. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Well will you kindly tell us what national socialism represents?

Mr. KEEGAN. I object to taking the witness so far afield. Mr. Kuhn is here to give facts, not opinions. I suggest he ask Hitler. He knows.

Mr. STARNES. I am asking the witness, who is a very responsible man, as a leader of a political element in America about his political leadership in America and I want to know from him what his understanding of national socialism is.

Mr. SABBATINO. The witness is using the word "political" in a different sense. What he means by that, I think, is that he seeks to have the people of Germanic blood enter into the political life of America and he feels he is entitled to his opinion that the Germanic element has not entered into its political life and that is the motive and that is the aim in which he seeks to have all races enter into it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you answer the question?

Mr. KUHN. But I do not know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Well, you previously stated——

Mr. KUHN. I do not know anything about it, Mr. Starnes. I have not had any discussions with Adolf Hitler or with any national socialists——

The CHAIRMAN. He said he did not know.

Mr. KEEGAN. He said he did not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You have changed your ideas then since you testified before.

Mr. KUHN. I did not change my ideas, what I understand you to ask.

Mr. STARNES. In the record before me you testified, as you have testified today, that the principle for which the German-American Bund stood when you were here before giving an explanation of your understanding of what national socialism was.

Mr. KUHN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. And that meant what?

Mr. KUHN. In the meantime I do not touch that question; I do not have anything else, and suppose you look at the record as it is the same then as it is today. I have not added anything to it.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I ask to elicit from this witness, who is the leader of the German-American element in this country, as represented by the German-American Bund, his understanding of what national socialism is.

The CHAIRMAN. He said he did not understand it; did not know.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know but you have some idea of what it is?

Mr. KUHN. I have an idea.

Mr. STARNES. You have no complete understanding of what it is?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. You said something a moment ago about the German element in this country being boycotted.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And by whom?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I guess you know they are boycotted. Didn't you see pamphlets and see leaflets and see articles "Don't Buy Anything German," and that sort of thing?

Mr. STARNES. I have not seen that.

Mr. KUHN. You haven't?

Mr. STARNES. That has not been circulated in my part of the country.

Mr. KUHN. They will have to give you some if you never saw it.

Mr. STARNES. Where is it?

Mr. KUHN. There are a lot of instances where it is done, in the anti-Fascist League; the League for Peace and Democracy, and so on.

Mr. STARNES. Now you are being specific. Those are the groups that have been boycotting the German-American element in this country?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I believe you stated in your examination before that certain citizens of German-American descent in America were being persecuted.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. By whom?

Mr. KUHN. For instance, myself, by the district attorney in New York, Thomas J. Dewey.

Mr. STARNES. Well, are they being persecuted by some people who are attempting to boycott them?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know that.

Mr. STARNES. Well, what I mean is this: Do you know of any organization in this country, as an organization, that is attempting to persecute the people of German-American descent in America?

Mr. KUHN. Well, don't you know of it, of Germans losing their jobs as the refugees come in?

Mr. STARNES. Can you tell this committee, under your oath, that people of German descent in the United States are being boycotted and being persecuted?

Mr. KUHN. I state that wholeheartedly.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us the names?

Mr. KUHN. And I can give you hundreds of names, hundreds of examples of German-American citizens—10, 15, or 20 examples where they are losing their jobs. That answers the question?

Mr. STARNES. Do you mean to tell this committee that the German-American element in this country does not have the protection and is not represented politically in this country?

Mr. KUHN. I said that.

Mr. STARNES. You stated that?

Mr. KUHN. I said that.

Mr. STARNES. And you formed this organization in order to make that sort of a protest?

Mr. KUHN. Is it not a good protest?

Mr. STARNES. I know; but you said this country is failing to do that—that is, failing to represent these people—and that is the purpose of the organization.

Mr. KUHN. I didn't say that.

Mr. KEEGAN. I object to putting words in the witnesses mouth.

Mr. STARNES. Well, let me state my question——

Mr. KUHN. A question of that kind cannot be answered yes or no.

Mr. STARNES. You have stated that one of the primary purposes of the German-American Bund is to unite the German element in this country?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. The German-American element.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And you formed a political party——

Mr. SABBATINO (interposing). He does not mean "political"——

Mr. KUHN (interposing). I didn't say that.

Mr. SABBATINO (continuing). As describing a party.

Mr. KUHN. I didn't say that. I have never said party.

Mr. STARNES. I turn to your testimony before this committee on August 16, 1939. I said,

"In other words, then, you say that it is a political movement?"

And I was referring to the German-American Bund. And, you said, "That is right."

Then I said, "It is your purpose to establish a separate political party"? And you said, "Yes; if we are strong enough."

Mr. KUHN. That is right; that is right.

Mr. STARNES. And I merely repeat to you what you said then.

Mr. KEEGAN. May I have that reference?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; you will find it on page 3770 of the printed hearing.

And, you told the chairman of this committee a moment ago, in response to certain questions with reference to the aims and purposes of this German-American Bund, that you sought to give a political voice and political representation to that element of American citizens, did you not?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right. And you affirm here under oath before this committee that the people of German descent in this country have been boycotted and persecuted?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; right.

Mr. STARNES. And they have not been fairly represented in this country?

Mr. KUHN. That is right; that is right.

Mr. STARNES. And that being true it was necessary for you and the others who believe as you do to establish an organization of this type and character such as the German-American Bund.

Mr. KUHN. You have an organization which elects you? Don't you have a party behind you? What is wrong about that?

Mr. STARNES. I am asking you.

Mr. KUHN. I am just illustrating; that is the best answer I have.

Mr. STARNES. You appeal particularly and only in your appeal here of the German-American Bund to people of German descent in this country, do you not? Is that not true?

Mr. KUHN. No; not any more.

Mr. STARNES. Not any more. But there was a time when you did?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. At one time?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And the difference between all other parties and your organization, what it one time stood for as contradistinguished to other political parties in this country is they appeal to men of every race, nationality, sect, and creed; is that not right?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. You still do not appeal to some?

Mr. KUHN. Well, most everything—

Mr. SABBATINO. I suggest, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. KUHN. Well, most everything—

Mr. STARNES. You said that, and I am quoting from your testimony—

Mr. SABBATINO. He is an American citizen.

Mr. STARNES. I understand that.

Mr. SABBATINO. And he also said that he was trying to get German-American people politically minded.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I said that.

Mr. STARNES. And in that way, if he could develop to such an extent, a separate political party if it were strong enough.

Mr. KUHN. Yes. But that is along time ago, from 1936.

Mr. STARNES. That is all right. If it is American I do not care how many you form or what organization you have or what you think—if it is American. You said you did not believe in boycotting.

Mr. KUHN. No; we do not.

Mr. STARNES. All right; that will be all for the moment.

Mr. VOORHIS. On this question of the political purpose of this bund, the paper from which he was quoting, the Weckruf, states that it is the task of the bund to undertake in this country the political leadership of the German population. I take it that is a fair statement of the purposes, the political purposes of the bund; is that right?

Mr. KUHN. No. The bund has always stood—stood always—for majority government.

Mr. VOORHIS. But from your own paper—

Mr. KEEGAN. What is the date of that?

Mr. VOORHIS. This issue of the Weckruf on December 10, 1936.

Mr. KUHN. When is it?

Mr. VOORHIS. I do not think the question of whether you were responsible for the paper at that time, in this instance, is material.

Mr. KUHN. Could I see it?

Mr. VOORHIS. It is in the speech he made in San Francisco.

Mr. KUHN. Oh, that is the San Francisco speech?

Mr. SABBATINO. You mean here in this country?

Mr. KUHN. First, it was in December 1936, in 1936, and it was signed by the same fellow—I am sorry I can't call his name—it represents newspaper stuff.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is in the Weckruf; it is in the Weckruf.

Mr. KUHN. That paper didn't belong to me and I did not have anything to do—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). Well, it was the official paper of the German-American Bund.

Mr. KUHN. It wasn't.

Mr. SABBATINO. That is a very unfair statement.

Mr. VOORHIS. It said so.

Mr. KUHN. That is in 1936.

Mr. SABBATINO. That is a very unfair statement for the record.

Mr. VOORHIS. It says here it is the official organ of the German-American Bund; that is the only point I am trying to make; it says that on the paper.

I can read German to some extent.

Mr. KEEGAN. This German-American Bund, if the committee please, took over the control of this paper, as has been testified here by the witness, late in 1937, and I do not think it is fair to have a remark by an honorable Representative of the committee go into the record that the German-American Bund's organization had taken it over when this was published in here.

Mr. KUHN. I haven't anything to do with it.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is stated on the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. In that case maybe you can explain, Mr. Counsel, why the publication states that it is the official organ of the German-American Bund.

Mr. KEEGAN. I do not see it on this particular page.

Mr. VOORHIS. I did not have all the pages before me.

Mr. KEEGAN. You are talking about a paper—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). I have a photostat copy of six pages of the paper, and this one here is dated December 10, 1936, and the one that I have is August 13, 1936, which is a prior date.

Mr. KEEGAN. And my objection is simply that you are taking particular people that cannot be identified with this paper and making special references to it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you trying to say that this is not a copy of the Weckruf?

Mr. KEEGAN. I am saying that we did not publish that paper in 1936, and he is not responsible for it.

Mr. KUHN. I haven't any influence on the Weckruf until late 1937.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. All right; the paper speaks for itself.

Mr. KEEGAN. That is right.

Mr. KUHN. But I can't be responsible for it.

Mr. STARNES. On this list that you handed to Mr. Whitley, counsel for the committee, this morning, you have identified under oath, after setting forth the locations of the various units of the bund—

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. With the local unit leadership and their addresses?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I ask that that list be inserted in the record at this point in connection with Mr. Kuhn's testimony.

(The list above referred to is as follows:)

UNITS OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND

Albany, N. Y.	Karl Bachmann, 58 Quail St., Albany, N. Y.
Astoria, N. Y.	Hermann Schwarzmann, 178 East 85th St., New York, N. Y.
Bergen County	John Budelmann, P. O. Box 237 Westwood, N. J.
Bronx, N. Y.	Henry Von Holt, 3303 3d Ave., Bronx, N. Y.
Baltimore, Md.	(Under Philadelphia, Pa., unit supervision.)
Brooklyn, N. Y.	Henry Wagner, 267 St. Nicholas Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bridgeport, Conn.	Under supervision of Duncan C. Folger, P. O. Box 724, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Hartford, Conn.	
New Rochelle, N. Y.	
New Britain, Conn.	
New Haven, Conn.	
Stamford, Conn.	
Ossining, N. Y.	
Greenwich, Conn.	
Providence, R. I.	August Klapprott, P. O. Box 716, W. Union City, N. J.
Boston, Mass.	
Hudson County	Fred Liebler, 160-16 79th Ave., Flushing, Long Island, N. Y.
Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.	
Lindenhurst, Long Island, N. Y.	Hans Rompe, P. O. Box 555, Lindenhurst, Long Island, N. Y.
Nassau County	Karl Weiler, P. O. Box 24, Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y.
Newark, N. Y.	Matthias Kohler, P. O. Box 65, Irvington, N. J.
New York, N. Y.	Acting chairman, J. Wheeler-Hill, P. O. Box 75, Station K, New York.
Passaic County	Carl Wagner, P. O. Box 2045, Paterson, N. J.
Philadelphia, Pa.	Theo Martin, P. O. Box 5020, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sellersville, Pa.	
Laurel, Pa.	Paul Kullman, 109 Reading Ave., Wyomissing, Pa.
Reading, Pa.	
Rockland County	Hermann J. Hoeflich, New City, N. Y.
Schenectady, N. Y.	
Syracuse, N. Y.	Paul Anding, 215 N. Elm St., Schenectady, N. Y.
Rochester, N. Y.	
Troy, N. Y.	
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	
Utica, N. Y.	
Buffalo, N. Y.	Frank Bojes, 91 Targee St., Stapleton, Staten Island, N. Y.
Staten Island, N. Y.	
South Brooklyn	Fred Vanderbergh, 660 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Glendale, Long Island, N. Y.	
White Plains, N. Y.	H. H. Greve, P. O. Box 148, Thornwood, N. Y.
Chicago, Ill.	Dr. Otto Willumeit, 3855 North Western Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Kenosha, Wis.	
South Chicago, Ill.	George Froboese, 3855 North Western Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Milwaukee, Wis.	
Sheboygan, Wis.	
Dayton, Ohio	
Indianapolis, Ind.	
Pittsburgh, Pa.	John H. Schreiber, 15846 Woodingham Drive, Detroit, Mich.
Minneapolis, Minn.	
St. Paul, Minn.	M. Wax, 4024 Woburn Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Omaha, Nebr.	
Taylor, Tex.	Fred Schattat, 734 Virginia St., Gary, Ind.
Detroit, Mich.	
Toledo, Ohio	Henry Schaphorst, 811 Kinnaird Ave., Fort Wayne, Ind.
Cleveland, Ohio	
Cincinnati, Ohio	
Gary, Ind.	
Fort Wayne, Ind.	

South Bend, Ind.....	H. Purwien, 1022 South 35th St., South Bend, Ind.
Los Angeles, Calif.....	} Hermann Schwiun, 634 West 15th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Santa Barbara, Calif.....	
Saint Gabriel Valley.....	
San Diego, Calif.....	John Lutz, 1365 Rosecrans St., San Diego, Calif.
San Francisco, Calif.....	} H. G. Hein, P. O. Box 4109, San Francisco, Calif.
Oakland, Calif.....	
Petaluma, Calif.....	
Portland, Oreg.....	Hans Scheurer, Route 14, Box 257, Portland, Oreg.
Seattle, Wash.....	} Paul Stoll, R. D. 3, Box 26-A, Seattle, Wash.
Spokane, Wash.....	
St. Louis, Mo.....	Dr. P. Kohl Liedertafel, Louisiana Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. STARNES. In your prior testimony you said you had a unit at Albuquerque, N. Mex. I noticed when the final official list was in there was no such unit.

Mr. KUHN. There isn't any unit in Albuquerque, N. Mex., anymore.

Mr. STARNES. There is not any more?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. There was at one time but not now?

Mr. KUHN. There was at one time.

Mr. STARNES. When did it cease to exist?

Mr. KUHN. Well, lately.

Mr. STARNES. Lately?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one point I am interested in in asking you this question. Has your organization gone on record in opposition to the conquest of countries in Europe?

Mr. KUHN. I don't get——

Mr. SABBATINO (interposting). I object to the question as being unfair.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I asked that question is that in section 8 of article II, of the constitution of the German-American Bund, one of the purposes as expressed by the organization in its constitution is as follows:

To work incessantly and courageously for the fundamental rights of every civilized nation to tend to its own business of self-government without interference from outsiders.

Now since it was one purpose of the Bund to condemn any outside country for interfering with self-government within another country I merely asked if your organization has gone on record condemning the conquest of Poland and of Czechoslovakia and of Austria?

Mr. SABBATINO. I submit the question is unfair. The failure to act by any organization cannot lead to an inference; it merely indicates that the organization has taken no action. What is the purpose of it? It cannot possibly affect the inquiry here.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through?

Mr. SABBATINO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The answer is this: We are trying to inquire as to what the real purpose of the German-American Bund is: not what its supposed purpose may be. We are investigating many organizations and all of them have certain professed purposes which

on their face show their motives are right, but we are going beyond the preamble and the declarations of these organizations to find out what is the real purpose, if there is any real purpose for the organization.

Now, here is an organization that says to the people of this country that one of its purposes is to work incessantly and courageously for the fundamental right of every civilized nation to tend to its own business of self-government without interference from outsiders.

Now, I am simply trying to find out if this organization has worked incessantly for independent countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia which have been destroyed by outside parties. The reason I am asking that is simply because I want to know what the organization has done to carry out the purposes as announced in its constitution.

Have you any objection to that?

Mr. SABBATINO. From your question you would infer that it is the duty of this organization—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I am not inferring anything. I am simply asking the witness what he knows about the work of the organization, as the head of the organization, in carrying out certain announced purposes.

Now, is not that the same thing that Nazi Germany: is it not the same kind of an organization that is created in Sudetenland? Now, I am asking the witness a question with reference to one of the professed purposes, what the organization has done, or did, to show this committee that there is truth in the profession that the purpose of the organization, as expressed in its constitution, one of the purposes, is to do what is stated in this section.

Now, I believe counsel will agree that is a proper question for the witness to answer.

Mr. SABBATINO. I beg to differ with the opinion of the chairman with reference to that.

Mr. KUHN. Well, in the first place, your interpretation of the section is wrong; and in the second place we only—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Well, let us get one at a time. You say I am wrong in my interpretation?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the interpretation?

Mr. KUHN. Mind our own business; that is, that we must mind our own business; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not this say, Mr. Kuhn, to "work incessantly and courageously for the fundamental right of every civilized nation"? And, that includes Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Mr. KUHN. Well, that is a question I haven't—can't answer. However—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Of every civilized nation to tend to its own business of self-government without interference from outsiders.

In other words, what you contend for, Mr. Kuhn, is that no country interfere with the right of another country's self-government. That is what you contend for?

Mr. KUHN. What has the German-American Bund to do with that?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know.

Mr. KUHN. We haven't any influence, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know; I am asking you.

Mr. KUHN. I can't even answer that; I can't answer it, other than to say that one of the purposes is only to the United States, to let everybody tend to its own self-government.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say here, "Every civilized nation." You lay down the fundamental principle that no outside country has a right to interfere with the self-government of another country.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the reason we are inquiring into this, to find out if it is consistent; in other words; if the purpose of this organization is what it says it is, in the constitution. And, I would like to know if you have anything in the way of records to show what you did in the way of accomplishing that purpose.

Mr. KUHN. We never took that question up.

The CHAIRMAN. You never?

Mr. KUHN. We have, for our own purposes, dealt with——

The CHAIRMAN. All right; the answer is you have not taken any action as an organization?

Mr. KUHN. How can a private organization take action on such a matter?

The CHAIRMAN. In the way of resolutions.

Mr. KUHN. That is another question.

The CHAIRMAN. You have condemned Communist Soviet Russia, have you not?

Mr. KUHN. Not as Soviet Russia, but as an ideology.

The CHAIRMAN. You have condemned communism in Russia and you have had much to say about Russia.

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Weckruf?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have condemned England?

Mr. KUHN (interposing). That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And Chamberlain and Daladier?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. You say that Hitler is wrong, and I can express my opinion, can I not?

The CHAIRMAN. But the point I am asking you is this: You have expressed your opinion with reference to international questions, but as I understand the answer is you have taken no action as an organization; you have passed no resolutions.

Mr. KUHN. We never take any action so far as outside countries are concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the bund did not take any action by passing any resolution condemning the conquest of these countries, but, as a matter of fact, it celebrated the taking of Czechoslovakia?

Mr. KUHN. We didn't celebrate it; we liked it.

The CHAIRMAN. During a meeting, did not you have a celebration?

Mr. KUHN. No; we did not; we did not. I refer to the President of the United States, in which he said we have to be absolutely neutral, but our sympathies must be on one side or the other, and why should they not?

The CHAIRMAN. But you have made this statement——

Mr. KUHN (interposing). And I expect that the Polish Americans are for Poland; that their sympathies were on the Polish side, but

my sympathies were on the German side and I believe that is my right. You may be against German.

The CHAIRMAN. But the point is that your constitution condemns the very thing that you are now talking about.

Mr. KUHN. No, no. No. It does not.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of persecutions of minorities in other countries?

Mr. SABBATINO. Wait a minute. What has that to do with the investigation?

The CHAIRMAN. What was the inquiry?

Mr. SABBATINO. Whether he knew of persecution of minorities in other countries. I object to the question as getting too far afield from the announced purpose of the committee.

Mr. STARNES. I asked if he knew of any persecutions of minorities anywhere in the world.

Mr. SABBATINO. I object to that leading us too far afield.

Mr. KUHN. No, I can't answer; I never saw any; I don't know of my own knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. KUHN. I do not know of my own knowledge.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not the German people were persecuted in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. KUHN. Do you?

Mr. STARNES. I am asking you.

Mr. KUHN. I do not; no.

Mr. STARNES. You do not?

Mr. KUHN. I do not; do you?

Mr. STARNES. I am asking you, Mr. Kuhn; do you?

Mr. KUHN. I do not.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know. Do you know whether the German people were persecuted in Poland?

Mr. KUHN. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you not state in your paper they were persecuted?

Mr. KUHN. That is not my personal opinion there; that is a quotation of other papers: that is newspaper stuff, as to what you quote in the paper. But I am here before you answering to my knowledge, not knowledge of the newspapers.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not Germans were persecuted in Austria?

Mr. KUHN. Mr. Chairman. I ask that——

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have one at a time.

Mr. KUHN. I ask you to be fair.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to be.

Mr. KUHN. I ask that he be fair.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. The purpose of that question is in line with the express purpose, in further developing the thought of the chairman a moment ago with reference to the organization's constitution. Furthermore, that in their published statements, in the official publication, which is now recognized to be the official publication of the organiza-

tion then—wait a minute—since 1937, in which he takes the responsibility for the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, he said he did not know, and I am wondering whether that is satisfactory.

Mr. STARNES. I am trying to lay a precedent; I have got to lay a precedent in order to establish a foundation for the introduction of the publication.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. STARNES. Did your organization, through a column in the paper that is named Weckruf, since you have been head of the bund, and since you have been responsible for the policy of the paper, express either editorially or otherwise comment on the situation in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Austria?

Mr. KUHN. Give me the article which you refer to.

Mr. STARNES. All right. I hand you herewith a copy of the paper of September 7, 1937, with the headline on it:

“Poles Commence First Act of War;” and it speaks about raising issues, and Polish terrorism committed against—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). I asked you, Mr. Chairman—well, that is in English—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Will you look at that paper and say whether or not it expresses the attitude of your organization in your official paper?

Mr. KUHN. That expresses my sympathy.

Mr. STARNES. What?

Mr. KUHN. That expresses my sympathy and I have a right to express it.

Mr. STARNES. Of course you do.

Mr. KUHN. And I know where your sympathies are.

Mr. STARNES. Now in this issue here, that is your official paper since you have become the leader of the bund and have become the responsible party for that publication and what goes in there as expressing your own opinion in the publication.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; many of them are not my own.

Mr. STARNES. I will refer you to the article.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. There are three of them in that particular paper I referred to.

Now does the organization, the political organization which you seek to establish, permit men of every race or nationality to become a member?

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You will not permit Jews to become members of it?

Mr. KEEGAN. I am going to ask that you leave that question out, Mr. Chairman. We have been leaving it out and I feel that the committee should.

Mr. STARNES. Well the question is—

Mr. KEEGAN. Will you rule on that question?

Mr. STARNES. I asked this question when the witness first appeared. He identified application blanks for membership in the German-American Bund, that he stated were official applications, and that is a part of the testimony in this case, this investigation, and in all these printed applications are specific rejections of applications of any Jews or Negroes, and I just wanted—

Mr. KUHN. I can answer your question.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. KUHN. Do you have to be a Catholic to go into the Knights of Columbus?

Mr. STARNES. I do not know. I am neither a Knights of Columbus nor a Catholic.

Mr. KUHN. All right, that answers the question.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, I want to know if this witness, who says that he is the head of a political organization in this country, can say whether it is true that his organization excludes from membership Negroes and Jews?

Mr. KUHN. We never exclude them——

Mr. STARNES. Do you exclude them?

Mr. KUHN. We do not take them in.

Mr. STARNES. You refuse to take them in?

Mr. KUHN. Right.

Mr. STARNES. Therefore, if the political philosophy of the bund became the dominant philosophy of the United States of America, Jews and Negroes would not have any right of representation in this country?

Mr. KEEGAN. I object to that question. I believe in a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States with respect to a colored citizen of the Southern States who tried to become a member of the Democratic Party, where he was excluded, and appealed his case, the Supreme Court upheld the exclusion. The Democrats have already done that.

Mr. STARNES. May I say that one of the members of that race is a Democratic Member of the House.

Mr. KEEGAN. I was just referring to the fact that that principle has already been upheld by the Supreme Court.

Mr. STARNES. I am merely trying to establish what the purpose of this organization is; I am trying to ascertain the true purpose of this organization, and I am trying to ascertain, through the leader of the organization, whether he says they have a right to become a political element in this country, organize a political party to exclude others.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; let us proceed.

Mr. STARNES. That is all for the time being.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Voorhis, you had some questions.

Mr. VOORHIS. This paper which counsel objected to contains notices to which I would like to call attention: It has two notices signed by Fritz Kuhn in it, and it was photostated by the Library of Congress, and that is the paper in which reference is made to taking over the leadership of the Germans in America appears.

Now I would like to ask you this question, Mr. Kuhn. Suppose the bund succeeded in organizing an effective political party, such as you had in mind here, what would be your answer to this question; would you, in connection with its work, use the same tactics that were used in other nations——

Mr. KUHN (interposing). Mr. Chairman, I think——

Mr. VOORHIS (continuing). By other German organizations?

Mr. KUHN. That question is very unfair.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, you can answer it "Yes" or "No."

Mr. KUHN. You said if I had a party. In the first place, we are not a party. Then, you said what we would do, and nobody knows what we would do in 10 years.

Mr. VOORHIS. What tactics would you use, I said.

Mr. KUHN. I don't know what tactics we would use 10 years from now.

Mr. VOORHIS. You want the statement to stand, do you, that you do not know of any efforts being made to bring together into closer harmony the German people, of any effort being made to strengthen the ties between the German people in different parts of the world?

Mr. KUHN. Not so far as I am concerned.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not know of any such thing?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. STARNES. You did testify, however, I believe that you had been to Stuttgart to visit the World Service there?

Mr. KUHN. What?

Mr. VOORHIS. You said you had been on a visit to Stuttgart?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. When you were in Germany?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. To visit the office of the World Service?

Mr. KUHN. The World Service?

Mr. VOORHIS. The Aussland Institute.

Mr. KUHN. The Aussland Institute; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did your organization distribute any material put out by the Aussland Institute?

Mr. KUHN. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. VOORHIS. You never distributed any?

Mr. KUHN. I did not, not to my knowledge.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you ever read it?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You have. Do you agree with the sentiment that it expresses?

Mr. KUHN. Could you refer to it?

Mr. VOORHIS. This quotation: That—

North America seemingly appears to be lacking at this time a man like Mussolini and Hitler to clean out with strong hands the democratic Augean stable of all party prejudices and diplomatic and mercantile tricks.

That is a reprint in the Weckruf and is a quotation from the World Service.

Mr. KUHN. I don't know that. I am not interested and I do not know just what it refers to. You are picking out articles in hundreds of papers.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I am asking you if you agree with that or not.

Mr. KUHN. I have no opinion on that at all.

Mr. VOORHIS. You have no opinion.

Now, when a German ship docks at any port in the United States is it the general practice to entertain the crew and the captain of that ship at bund meetings; is that frequently done?

Mr. KUHN. No; it is not.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is not?

Mr. KUHN. Once in a while. I invited a captain who was a personal friend of mine.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just occasionally?

Mr. KUHN. Just occasionally; yes. We had one visit when we had one crew come down to a camp.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Starnes asked a question a while ago in which he inquired of the witness if the philosophy that lies behind the organization of the bund was ever the dominant philosophy in the United States whether people of certain races would have any political representation. And counsel objected to that because he said over a period of years attempt had been made to keep the racial question out of discussion.

I would like to point out some of these articles that appear in these papers. Here is one:

Help fight the mad, infamous hounding of Fritz Kuhn by the hate-blind, desperate, international Jew and his political slaves.

The CHAIRMAN. What issue is that in?

Mr. VOORHIS. This is in the September issue of 1939. In other words, it does not seem to me the effort has been very successful.

Mr. KUHN. Well, I beg your pardon. It was not me that made that statement.

Mr. VOORHIS. Counsel made the statement.

Mr. KEEGAN. I would like to clarify this statement, that over a long period of time, if you will take all publications which were prior to that event and up to today I think you will then admit there has been a marked change.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it would be fine if that is the case, and I am perfectly open to be convinced.

Mr. KEEGAN. Isolated cases cannot be avoided.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask this other question, if I may.

Mr. Kuhn, sometime ago there was a meeting held in Madison Square Garden in New York City and from what I hear about that meeting I was considerably disturbed about it. Not because you held the meeting. Obviously you have a perfectly good right to hold meetings, but because at that meeting, it appears that when the name of the leader of the German Nation was mentioned there was very great acclaim, and when the name of the President of the United States was mentioned it was very unsympathetically received, to say the least.

I would like to know what you think about that.

Mr. KEEGAN. Where did you learn that?

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I got that from hearsay. But maybe Mr. Kuhn would care to comment on that, if he wants to.

Mr. KUHN. So far as I know, the President got a very good reception. As a matter of fact, about 75 percent of the people in the hall were not bund members; they did not belong to the bund.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see.

Mr. KUHN. I get you.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a question or two, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Kuhn, I think it would be interesting for the record for you to outline in just a few words again the purposes of the bund.

Mr. SABBATINO. We have had that today.

Mr. THOMAS. Today mention was made that one of the purposes was to oppose boycotting, and another purpose was a political movement, I believe that is the way you termed it.

Is the bund also a social organization?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Cultural?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Educational?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Who do you educate?

Mr. KUHN. Well, we have our own school, together with other organizations.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you educate them on?

Mr. KUHN. Well, in the American Constitution; on American laws; on American acts and give them English lessons.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you not think the public schools can do that?

Mr. SABBATINO. Private schools are everywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the question?

Mr. THOMAS. I am trying to find out the purpose of the bund, and we have been discussing—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the specific question, I mean?

Mr. THOMAS. Here you say the bund is an educational organization.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And I am trying to find out who they educate and what they educate them on.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; can you answer the question?

Mr. KUHN. I answered the question, yes; that we give them English lessons.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you not think the public schools can do that?

Mr. KUHN. Well, how would you like to go to a public school and sit between an 8- or 9-year-old child to learn German? They are learning English here.

Mr. THOMAS. Then you think that is the extent of the purpose of the organization—

Mr. SABBATINO. He is referring to adults.

Mr. THOMAS. Referring to the education of adults?

Mr. KUHN. In history, the way the country was built; how the country commenced to give them an idea of what they want to vote for in a man.

Mr. THOMAS. And you also educate them on foreign matters?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. THOMAS. On foreign ideologies?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Not at all?

Mr. KUHN. Not at all.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you conduct the schools in English, German, or some other language?

Mr. KUHN. Well, in both; mostly in English.

Mr. THOMAS. And your organization also is an organization to try to bring peace?

Mr. KUHN. Absolutely.

Mr. THOMAS. And to maintain neutrality in this country?

Mr. KUHN. Absolutely; that is the purpose of the organization.

Mr. THOMAS. You want to maintain neutrality throughout this country; is that right?

Mr. KUHN. Absolutely.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you not think one of the ways to do that is to discontinue your activities, such as have been continued?

Mr. SABBATINO. That is a political question that leads us far afield.

Mr. KEEGAN. I object.

Mr. THOMAS. My reason for bringing that up, Mr. Chairman, is this, that I am of the opinion, and correct me if you think I am wrong, I am of the opinion that organizations like the bund that carry on such activities as these things are not conducive to continued neutrality, that is, through the German people.

Mr. KUHN. Well, that is your opinion.

Mr. THOMAS. And you do not agree.

Mr. KUHN. That is your opinion.

Mr. THOMAS. And you do not agree?

Mr. KUHN. I have no opinion—

Mr. THOMAS. You do not agree with that?

Mr. KUHN. You are of that opinion and I do not agree with you.

Mr. THOMAS. I am trying to find out your opinion.

Mr. KUHN. I have no opinion; I don't discuss yours.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kuhn, will you explain to me section 6 of the aims and purposes of the organization, which reads:

To abstain from useless, harmful, and ignoble propaganda and incrimination of any kind.

What do you mean by that?

Mr. KUHN. Well, what it says.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain what you have in mind when you put that in your constitution?

Mr. KUHN. Well, no vicious criticism.

The CHAIRMAN. Of any race?

Mr. KUHN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Any kind of propaganda against a race would be contrary to the purposes of the bund?

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And your bund would, according to that purpose, condemn the condemnation of any race; is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, was the purpose of your organization solely to help people of German descent in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say no?

Mr. KUHN. I simply told you we have about 40 percent of the members—that is one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. I also understood your testimony before in which you stated that the purpose of this organization, the bund, was to help people of German descent in the United States.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; that is one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. And I am asking you if—

Mr. KUHN (continuing). But that is not the exclusive purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. And you opposed boycotting of people of German descent and you said that a boycott was hurting them?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And everybody else?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And was not the bund organized, as a matter of fact, to help Germany, as it was to help the German people in this country, people of German descent in the United States?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you say it was not?

Mr. KUHN. It was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact and do you not agree that one of the real purposes of this organization was to help Germany?

Mr. KUHN. No; absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Its purpose was——

Mr. KUHN (interposing). Instead of hurting them, to help the German people in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the purposes is to help them?

Mr. KUHN. To help them here.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, what do you mean in the constitution, in the preamble of the constitution, which states:

We associate ourselves together to unite all honorable, seriously minded, courageous, and unselfish men and women of the Germanic race, loyal and prospective citizens of the United States, proud of their German blood, and treasuring German traditions, language, and ideals of national and individual liberty, justice, truth, duty, and absolute honesty, into one great, free, proud, and respect-commanding German-American Bund for the mutual benefit of the United States of America and Germany.

Now what do you mean in the preamble when you say for the "mutual benefit of the United States of America and Germany?"

Mr. KUHN. Well, for the reason, as I pointed out in my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. You said a moment ago to benefit—the purpose was to help the people in the United States and not help Germany, and I am trying to reconcile that statement with this preamble. I am simply trying to reconcile that statement with the preamble of the constitution which says that it is for the mutual benefit of both Germany and the United States.

Mr. KUHN. Yes; better relations between the two.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement you make is on behalf of trade——

Mr. KUHN (interposing). Because if we sell to them it helps them, and if we do not sell to them it does not help them, and if they do not get from us they will get from somebody else, some other place and it does not help anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you a number of questions with reference to whether or not the purpose of the organization was to help the German people and the people of German descent in the United States.

Mr. KUHN. Certainly; we want to help both peoples here.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just trying to reconcile that statement in the preamble of your constitution which says that the purpose is to help both Germany and the United States.

Mr. KUHN. Surely, to a better relationship between them; if you have a better relationship it helps us and it helps Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you meant?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was it?

Mr. KUHN. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, according to the preamble here where you say,

We associate ourselves together to unite all honorable, seriously minded, courageous, and unselfish men and women of the Germanic race, loyal and prospective citizens of the United States.

What do you mean by "prospective citizens?"

Mr. KUHN. Such which really have in mind to stay, and not go back to Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean those who want to become citizens of the United States?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you reconcile that preamble with the statement of purposes? You state in your preamble that you associate yourselves together to unite all German citizens, Germans living in the United States, and so forth. How do you reconcile that with the statement that you have nothing to do with German citizens?

Mr. KUHN. We have nothing to do with German citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. But here you say your purpose is not only to unite the American citizens—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). No; you interpret that wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Your preamble states that your purpose is:

We associate ourselves together—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). That is not only German citizens; that is Italian citizens, Irish citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand; but I am dealing now with your testimony before this committee in the two times you have been here, in which you have repeatedly said that you do not cooperate with German citizens residing in the United States. That is what you said in response to my questions about the German Bund, did you not?

Mr. KUHN. That is about the German Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. No cooperation with German citizens?

Mr. KUHN. That is the German Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, under the preamble of the constitution, the purpose is—

To unite—

What did you mean by the word "unite"?

Mr. KUHN. Well, first you will have to lay out what you mean by cooperation. For instance, there are thousands of German-American societies, not political ones. If you go there and talk to them, is that cooperation?

The CHAIRMAN. We are not talking about that; we are talking about your declaration in the preamble that the purpose of the organization is to unite not only people of German descent in the United States but German citizens who are prospective citizens of the United States.

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. So that your real purpose is to unite—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). No; you interpret that wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me read it again:

We associate ourselves together to unite all honorable, seriously minded, courageous, and unselfish men and women of the Germanic race, loyal and prospective citizens of the United States.

Now what did you mean when you said you wanted to unite not only the American citizens of German descent—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). To educate them, as I told you before, to become American citizens; to unite them. We want to teach them. I think that is a good thing; don't you?

The CHAIRMAN. So it is true that your purpose is to unite together—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). Together. Is that uniting if you come together with German citizens?

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by the word "unite"? To get them together; is not that true?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. To form a union?

Mr. KUHN. Those who want to be American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. To get them together?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the Bund had in mind not only American citizens of German descent, but it likewise had in mind German citizens, did it not?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why did you say in your preamble that the purpose was to unite?

Mr. KUHN. I just told you, to educate them to become citizens—not only German citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are limited here to German people, are you not?

Mr. KEEGAN. I think it is now getting argumentative, Your Honor, if you please. I think he stated simply that the object was to educate the alien so that he would become an American citizen, and after he became an American citizen, to educate him into the organization. That being his answer, I think that is conclusive.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, I am trying to get what he understands is the meaning of the language:

We associate ourselves together to unite all honorable, seriously minded, courageous, and unselfish men and women of the Germanic race, loyal and prospective citizens of the United States, proud of their German blood, and treasuring German traditions, language, and ideals of national and individual liberty, justice, truth, duty, and absolute honesty, into one great—

That is what it is to be united, is it not? (continuing):

into one great, free, proud, and respect-commanding German-American Bund for the mutual benefit of the United States of America and Germany.

Mr. KEEGAN. That was your question, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KEEGAN. Now in his answer he stated that they organized the United States citizens of German origin, and they were educating those German citizens to become Americans, and thereafter to make them members of the bund. Now whether the answer is satisfactory or not, that is his answer.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KEEGAN. I know something about that, because I drew it.

The CHAIRMAN. You drew the preamble. Perhaps you can say what you meant by that language.

Mr. KEEGAN. Because I know the mechanics of the organization.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Keegan, what is the difference, in your mind, between an alien who intends to become an American citizen and an alien who intends to return to his home country?

Mr. KEEGAN. We have here a man who knows nothing about the surroundings, not even the language. We encourage that man to study the American language and the American institutions, and to go to those schools where these people are eligible; because he is a grown person and not a child.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I understand that perfectly. I want to ask you one other thing. When you talk about prospective American citizens, you are speaking of the alien who is here and who is not eligible, or for some reason has not as yet become an American citizen, although he intends to stay here, and you distinguish between that person and the German who is here but who intends to return?

Mr. KEEGAN. That is right. Now, if a man goes along and accepts all this teaching, and evinces a strong desire to take out his first papers, that is the time the bund, as an organization, becomes distinctly interested in him.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; let us proceed.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Kuhn, did your organization publish a yearbook for 1938?

Mr. KUHN. No. We only printed two. I think. There was one in 1936 and in 1937. They printed two; I don't know what year.

Mr. STARNES. To refresh your memory, was it not 1936 and 1938?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; 1936 and 1938. There hasn't been any printed since.

Mr. STARNES. Is there any significance to be attached to the fact—here is the book for 1938 (handing a book to the witness). That is the yearbook of 1938; is that right?

Mr. KEEGAN. That is 1938.

Mr. STARNES. You do identify that as the yearbook for 1938?

Mr. KEEGAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Is there any significance to the fact that the first picture there is of the Fuehrer of the German Government, and that is followed later in the book by the picture of the President of the United States?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. I think that is the best place for them.

Mr. STARNES. Hitler is first, and the President of the United States second.

Mr. KUHN. No; it is an outstanding place.

Mr. STARNES. That is all.

Mr. KUHN. Now, what do you say, Mr. Starnes—come here; I am not through with you—what would you say if I were to take that and put Hitler's picture here—I mean, I did not put it together, but if they put Hitler's picture here beside me; oh, boy! What would Starnes say?

The CHAIRMAN. Now, two more questions following along that line. Mr. Kuhn, what is the purpose of the distinctive uniform worn by bund members?

Mr. KUHN. We do not wear any uniform.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the orderly division; what was the purpose in the orderly division wearing a distinctive uniform?

Mr. KUHN. We do not have any uniform.

The CHAIRMAN. You have abolished that entirely?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you abolish it?

Mr. KUHN. About July of this year.

Mr. THOMAS. That is two changes that you admit to, this afternoon, in this past year.

Mr. KEEGAN. You might refer to them as improvements.

The CHAIRMAN. So you abolished the uniforms. Why did you abolish the uniform?

Mr. KUHN. We never had a uniform. Well, if you call that a uniform, it is up to you. I do not call that a uniform.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you call it? It is a distinctive dress, is it not?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; it is the same shirt and the same necktie.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is a distinctive dress. Would it not be correct to say that you did wear the same sort of dress or uniform?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; to know each other.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, why did you change it?

Mr. KUHN. To overcome all that criticism.

The CHAIRMAN. Criticism?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What criticism did you have in mind?

Mr. KUHN. You know; there has been a lot of criticism.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the criticism that it was patterned after the storm troopers in Germany?

Mr. KUHN. Any criticism.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get the idea of the orderly division? Did you originate that?

Mr. KUHN. I originated that. That came out of the necessity of our movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that orderly division instituted at the same time the bund was created?

Mr. KUHN. Well, just a little later.

The CHAIRMAN. How much later did the orderly division—

Mr. KUHN (interposing). It came out of each unit. At each meeting there was a certain amount which did the work and which did the protection, and so forth, and that is the way it started.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you still use the swastika and the Nazi salute?

Mr. KUHN. No; we do not have any swastika.

Mr. VOORHIS. In your meetings you do not use either the swastika or the Nazi salute; is that right?

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why did you discontinue those?

Mr. KEEGAN. Mr. Chairman, why we improve our organization is no concern of this committee. You are looking at our faults, not our improvements.

The CHAIRMAN. You consider it a distinct improvement, then, to do away with the swastika and Nazi salute?

Mr. KEEGAN. I do. It levels off all this criticism that has been prevalent for a long time.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the only reason you made the change—to offset the criticism?

Mr. KEEGAN. I am a lawyer, you know.

Mr. THOMAS. I know, and I would like to get an answer from a lawyer.

Mr. KEEGAN. I told you it was an improvement, and that is all-conclusive. We must have had some progressive thought in mind if we considered these things an improvement.

Mr. THOMAS. But the real reason is to offset the criticism?

Mr. KEEGAN. Honorable sir, it is one of the reasons to avoid all these inflammatory statements that have been made public.

Mr. VOORHIS. When did you discontinue the use of those two things?

Mr. KEEGAN. Last July. Well, Mr. Kuhn just corrects me; at the beginning of August. It was on or about that time—July or August.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the official symbol that you use now instead of the swastika?

Mr. KEEGAN. None whatever.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not have any symbol now at all?

Mr. KEEGAN. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. If I went to Camp Hindenburg out in Los Angeles, I would not see any swastikas or anybody giving the Nazi salute? Are you sure of that?

Mr. KEEGAN. You come up to Camp Nordland, where I frequently visit, and you will not see anything but real Americanism. Come up incognito, so no one will know that you are there.

Mr. THOMAS. What would happen to him if he did not?

Mr. KEEGAN. I don't get the point.

Mr. THOMAS. You said, "Come up incognito."

Mr. KEEGAN. I wanted him to get a full view.

Mr. KUHN. He was up there.

Mr. THOMAS. Wouldn't he get a full view if he did not go incognito?

Mr. KEEGAN. Suppose he had announced who he was; they would say they did not do that because he was there.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask for another explanation, please? At the time the bund was formed in 1936, you said, I believe, you set forth these declarations of principles and purposes, did you not?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was in the first application for a charter; is that right, Mr. Attorney? When you applied for your charter, you set forth your declaration of purposes and principles?

Mr. KEEGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You say here in the statement of purposes:

To cooperate freely and willingly with all persons of good will, to promote mutual understanding and friendship among nations, and for an honorable peace among mankind.

What did you mean by "an honorable peace among mankind?" I mean, what did the bund have in mind with reference to that language?

Mr. KEEGAN. It was really "Live and let live." That is what it means.

The CHAIRMAN. "Live and let live?"

Mr. KEEGAN. "Live and let live."

The CHAIRMAN. Opposition to any country overrunning another country?

Mr. KEEGAN. I would not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to do is to get your idea of the phraseology used in your constitution. Now, this implies that you are fighting for an honorable peace; is not that right?

Mr. KEEGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you and Mr. Kuhn and others have in mind at that time, when you used the language "honorable peace?"

Did you mean that the peace of the Versailles Treaty was not an honorable peace?

Mr. KUHN. We said nothing about that.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you what you did mean.

Mr. KEEGAN. The object in drawing that constitution is very similar to any other constitution. We referred to peaceful relations among all classes of men, or women, if you will.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I am trying to get at is, did the bund at that time have in mind the necessity for a new peace arrangement throughout the world to take the place of the Versailles Treaty?

Mr. KEEGAN. I can answer that, sir, by saying that at that time I was not even familiar with the Versailles Treaty.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1936 you were not?

Mr. KEEGAN. No. Since that time, with the discussion of the last few years, I have become somewhat familiar with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. It did not have anything to do with the Versailles Treaty?

Mr. SABBATINO. Mr. Chairman, I do not think this attorney, Mr. Keegan, drew that constitution with the same care that our own Constitution was drawn in 1787. Some phrases are rather loose.

Mr. THOMAS. Are we to understand that the reason for the language which has been referred to was that the phrases were rather loose?

Mr. SABBATINO. I mean to say that we are going into this constitution now as if it were the Constitution of the United States. If you have ever been a member of any organization, you know how loosely the constitution is drawn up. They meet, and something is proposed, and everybody gets up and ratifies it, and they say it is over, and years after that you tear it apart.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kuhn, in the course of your activities, your speeches and your publications, you have stressed the fact, have you not, that in your opinion the people of German descent in this country are persecuted; is not that a fact?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, one form, racial hatred against people of German descent, would be just as detested and just as un-American as it would be against people of any other descent; there is no question about that, is there? Of course you would not favor, since you yourself are complaining of what is thoroughly un-American—that is, any attempt to arouse hatred against any great people—and the German people in this country are great Americans, the great majority of them; there is no question about that, because we all have evidences of it, and this committee has repeatedly stressed it; and while there may be a minority that may have other views, the majority are loyal and patriotic—how can you reconcile your attitude of complaining against the persecution or the alleged persecution of the people of German descent with many statements of yours in speeches and in publications in which you yourself condemn another race?

Mr. KUHN. Who was attacking us first? You know, there was nothing known about the German-American Bund until one of your colleagues, Mr. Dickstein, got up in Congress and started the fireworks against us. You are just defaming us.

The CHAIRMAN. Your argument is, then, that someone has started a movement against Germans, and therefore you are justified in doing the same thing?

Mr. KUHN. No; that is defending yourself. Don't you defend yourself?

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think, Mr. Kuhn, that such a contest on American soil, regardless of who precipitated it—we are not dealing with that question here—don't you think such a contest on American soil is absolutely un-American and has nothing to do with this country?

Mr. KUHN. You are right, but still I have to defend myself. I was attacked. Nobody in the whole country knew anything about me, and we were going along quietly and nobody was worrying about us until Mr. Dickstein started the fireworks.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you defending yourself by persecuting somebody else?

Mr. KUHN. No; I am not persecuting nobody.

Mr. KEEGAN. I object to that question going into the record.

Mr. THOMAS. What I had in mind—

Mr. KEEGAN (interposing). Mr. Chairman, I ask that that word be stricken from the record.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, what I had in mind was this: It was just referred to a few moments ago; I think you referred to the matter, where Mr. Kuhn in his speeches made remarks against the Jewish race. Now what I am trying to find out is whether he did that in self-defense.

Mr. KUHN. Of course. You pick up a paper, and in every paper you pick up you see something about me, and never something good.

Mr. THOMAS. You admit, then, that you did do it; that you did make defamatory remarks against the Jews?

Mr. KUHN. Haven't I a right to fight back?

Mr. THOMAS. He admits it. It is all right.

Mr. KUHN. I admit it. I fight back.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, gentlemen. Are there any questions?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Keegan, how many units does the bund have in the State of Washington?

Mr. KEEGAN. I do not have the record before me.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has the bund had a unit in Seattle, Wash.? That does not show on our record here.

Mr. KUHN. I think since 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. And does this record show the leader of the unit?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many members are there in the Seattle unit of the bund?

Mr. KUHN. I do not know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You could not make an estimate?

Mr. KUHN. No; I could not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no idea?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is the Seattle unit an active unit? Is it considered a large or a small unit?

Mr. KUHN. A small unit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Kuhn, what are the relations between the German-American National Alliance of Chicago and the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. Well, that is a local question. You will have to ask—the German-American Alliance is a Chicago organization, and you will have to ask the local unit. I am not in a position to answer that question.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your local units do not keep you advised of those things?

Mr. KUHN. Of course; but lately I have had other things to do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you follow up the work of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know any of the officers of the organization?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I know Mr. Kecker.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is the president, is he?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. No; I think not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Dr. Silge, a member of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I have heard of him. I don't know him personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know him as an officer of the German-American Alliance?

Mr. KUHN. I do not know him as an officer of the German-American Alliance.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know how long the German-American Alliance has been in existence?

Mr. KUHN. I think a couple of years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether a similar organization, an organization with the same name, was in operation during the last World War?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. And if your local unit cooperates with that organization, you do not know it?

Mr. KUHN. If they do, that is all right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You would not object if they did?

Mr. KUHN. Why should I? I don't have any reason.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you evidently approve of the organization and know something about it.

Mr. KEEGAN. I object to that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am trying to find out, Mr. Chairman, what the relations are between the German-American Bund post or unit in Chicago and the German-National Alliance of Chicago, and Mr. Kuhn says he does not know; that I would have to ask the unit leader in Chicago.

Mr. KUHN. That is a local. I explained that.

The CHAIRMAN. I may say that counsel probably is not familiar with this particular phase. We have the testimony of Dr. Willumeit, taken in Chicago, and also the head of the German Alliance. We have that testimony which the Chairman took while in Chicago,

and it sets forth the facts or the alleged facts with reference to the relationship.

Mr. KEEGAN. My objection was this, your Honor: The witness said that he did not have any personal knowledge of this, and that if there was a conference between Dr. Willumeit and the leader of this other organization, he did not think he would have any objection to it. But of itself it raises no presumption that he is in favor of something that he has no personal knowledge of. That is what I am objecting to.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, how much propaganda material has the German-American Bund sent out recently with reference to the embargo fight?

Mr. KUHN. What do you mean by—

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean the pending neutrality legislation.

Mr. KUHN. We had that argument last time between "enlightenment" and "propaganda."

Mr. WHITLEY. You prefer to call it enlightenment?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How much enlightenment has the Bund sent out recently with reference to the so-called neutrality legislation?

Mr. KUHN. We did send out some leaflets.

Mr. WHITLEY. To whom did you send them?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, I could not say exactly. I don't do this detail work. If you would tell me it was 50,000 or 500,000, I would not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. In an important matter like that, would you let some subordinate draw up leaflets and send them out?

Mr. KUHN. I saw the leaflets.

Mr. WHITLEY. You approved the leaflets?

Mr. KUHN. Surely; but you asked me how many, and I don't know. I don't handle those details.

Mr. WHITLEY. It might have been either figure, then, so far as you are concerned?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know the figures at all. The leaflet is here; the leaflet is approved. It don't make any difference if we sent out 50,000 or 500,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. And is that the only type of enlightenment activity that the bund has engaged in with reference to the pending legislation?

Mr. KUHN. Well, newspapers and speeches.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you send those leaflets to Members of Congress?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know if that was done or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, did you employ an individual known as George Biehl, of the Hudson News?

Mr. KUHN. Ask that question again.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you employ an individual named George Biehl—B-i-e-h-l?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the Hudson News, as a publicity man?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Mr. Biehl?

Mr. KUHN. I know Mr. Biehl.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he ever worked with the bund?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has never worked with the bund?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Either for pay or voluntarily?

Mr. KUHN. I never paid him. He never worked for us.

Mr. WHITLEY. He did not distribute a pamphlet or literature on behalf of the bund requesting donations or contributions, did he?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know that.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to know whether you ever gave him any donations or contributions.

Mr. KUHN. I give him something?

Mr. THOMAS. No; whether the bund ever gave him any donations or contributions.

Mr. KUHN. I never gave him any.

Mr. THOMAS. How about the bund?

Mr. KEEGAN. The bund never engaged him; I can tell you that.

Mr. THOMAS. Never had any contact with him?

Mr. KEEGAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did August Klapproth bring Biehl to your office?

Mr. KUHN. No; I met Biehl the first time I came to Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he has never been employed by the bund?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he has never been engaged in any activities on behalf of the bund?

Mr. KUHN. No. He runs his own newspaper, doesn't he?

Mr. WHITLEY. He is with the Hudson News.

Mr. KUHN. I believe you stated the last time that the organization of the bund is such that you were the absolute head of the organization; in other words, you had the last word in every appointment and any decision of any importance.

Mr. KUHN. Well, to a certain extent I am. That is a broad statement you make. Each local leader has his own rights. I mean, in the policy of the bund, I am the last word, but the policy of a local organization, is up to the local leader and not to me, so long as it is peaceful.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there a number of members of the bund who are technicians, engaged in technical work in this country, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know. You ask too much. I don't know what they are.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not have any idea with reference to the membership, as to what their qualifications or employment might be?

Mr. KUHN. Well, we have everything, starting with a doctor or a lawyer, around a floor sweeper. I don't know how many we have.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you keep any record of their occupations?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the places of employment of the members of the bund?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do the local unit leaders keep such records?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. The local unit members would know if a member, or at least some of the membership—they would know what occupations they were engaged in, would they not?

Mr. KUHN. Well, they might, and they might not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know, Mr. Kuhn, whether a number of bund members are employed as technicians in airplane factories and munition plants in this country?

Mr. KUHN. No; I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know that?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You would not be interested in it?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what are the relations between the German-American Bund and the Ukrainian societies in this country, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. Well, we have—to be frank, I remember one time we had a meeting at one park in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was that meeting?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, that was—we had it some day, I think it was—in 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the summer of 1937?

Mr. KUHN. The summer of 1937. We had a meeting in one of the parks there, and the relationship at that time was friendly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who sponsored that meeting—the bund or the Ukrainian societies?

Mr. KUHN. The bund, which rented the park.

Mr. WHITLEY. Rented the park from the Ukrainian societies?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the only time there has been any cooperation between the bund and the Ukrainian society?

Mr. KUHN. To my knowledge; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. To your knowledge?

Mr. KUHN. We have not any cooperation, so far as I know.

Mr. WHITLEY. No relations at all between the two organizations, as far as you know?

Mr. KUHN. No relations? I said "friendly."

Mr. WHITLEY. Friendly; that means you attend their meetings and they attend your meetings?

Mr. KUHN. That means "friendly." We don't fight each other; we are not unfriendly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, is there any cooperation there—any meetings, or demonstrations, or social events?

Mr. KUHN. Ask me what you mean by "cooperation."

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; do they attend your special events at your camps, for instance, Camp Seigfried or Camp Nordland?

Mr. KUHN. No; I don't think we ever had them out there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you invited them?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I don't know whether we invited them, or not. You see, you have to ask the local unit leader; he does the inviting, not me.

Mr. WHITLEY. You attend a great many of those demonstrations yourself?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this meeting you referred to in Chicago, in the summer of 1937: Was the German Bund also represented at that meeting?

Mr. KUHN. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was not?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, was not Mr. Heberling present and did he not sit on the speakers' platform at that meeting?

Mr. KUHN. Not at that meeting, while I was there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever attended a meeting in Chicago when Mr. Heberling was also a speaker and sat on the platform with you?

Mr. KUHN. Not since the bund was in existence.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, have you ever? I did not limit my question.

Mr. KUHN. Well, I remember he was once sitting at the speakers' table, but he did not make a speech.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was that?

Mr. KUHN. I think 1935, if I am correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was not in 1937?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did make a speech in Chicago in 1937?

Mr. KUHN. Yes; I made one speech in Chicago in 1937; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. To the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. It was at that meeting in the Ukrainian Park.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the German consul general, Dr. Baer, present at that meeting?

Mr. KUHN. I think not. I saw him later—yes; I saw him later.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he on the speakers' platform with you?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was not?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not see Mr. Heberling later, if he was there?

Mr. KUHN. No; I did not see him.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you don't know whether the German Bund leader and its members were invited to that meeting?

Mr. KUHN. I don't know if he was invited or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, when did you first go to work for the Ford Motor Co., or any of its affiliated organizations?

Mr. KUHN. In 1927.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that was where—in Detroit?

Mr. KUHN. In Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what duties did you perform?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I was in the Henry Ford Hospital—chemist.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you continue your employment with the Ford Motor Co.—you did continue it until what date?

Mr. KUHN. Officially, until the 1st of January, 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. The 1st of January, 1937?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time, what was the nature of your employment?

Mr. KUHN. I was chemist in the Ford Motor Co.

Mr. WHITLEY. What salary were you receiving at that time?

Mr. KUHN. The last I had was one hundred and twenty-five.

Mr. WHITLEY. One hundred and twenty-five dollars?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. A week?

Mr. KUHN. A week.

Mr. WHITLEY. What years, during the time you were employed by the Ford Motor Co., Mr. Kuhn, did you file income-tax returns?

Mr. SABBATINO. Now, wait a moment; I object to this line of questioning. It is no aid to the committee in the legislation it proposes to recommend to the Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is what?

Mr. SABBATINO. I object to the question as not within the scope of this committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, if the leader of this organization has failed to file income-tax returns, individually or on behalf of his organization, it would be pertinent.

Mr. KEEGAN. I object to the question. It is entirely improper to inquire now into whether or not he filed an income-tax statement. Beware of where you are going. This is not a criminal-investigating body. I don't know whether he did, or not, but that is certainly an impairment of his rights, to ask a question of that nature here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you consider that un-American?

Mr. KEEGAN. Now, Mr. Whitley, don't address questions like that to me. That is an impairment of my rights, also.

Mr. VOORHIS. You object to that question?

Mr. KEEGAN. I am objecting to the question, sir, and I would let him stand upon his absolute rights, and object to it on the ground——

Mr. SABBATINO. I think it is sufficient to object to it. It is not within the scope of this committee.

Mr. THOMAS. I think we should have the reasons why you object.

Mr. KEEGAN. Well, it is irrelevant, immaterial, and improper here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, in the scope of an organization such as the German-American Bund, or any other organization which might be under investigation——

Mr. SABBATINO. You are inquiring about his personal income before he became head of this organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, it is not beyond the realms of possibility, and we have found instances where it has happened, in other organizations, with certain organizational funds, the fact they belonged to the organization, or were funds of the organization, was concealed by putting them in bank accounts of individuals. That has happened in a number of cases already, which have been brought out before this committee.

Mr. KEEGAN. Well, if your Honor please, this is not a grand-jury investigation and, if there has been a violation of law, that is where the investigation of the violation should take place. That seems elementary.

Mr. WHITLEY. We are not inquiring into it from the standpoint of a criminal violation.

Mr. KEEGAN. I advise him to stand on his rights and not to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. On what ground?

Mr. SABBATINO. On the sole ground it is not within the scope of this committee. Now we have here your printed book, "Investigation of Un-American Activities," and at the very beginning, or somewhere, I read what the scope of the investigation is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, you will recall that practically all of the accounts, and the organizational accounts of the Communist Party appeared in the names of individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were carried in the individual names of officers and not the names of the organizations. I think it is certainly within the scope of this committee to inquire into the finances of this organization.

Mr. SABBATINO. You are not inquiring into the finances of the organization; you are inquiring into his personal income when he worked for Henry Ford, and that is not within the scope of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That is prior to the time he was head of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. We will limit it to the time he has been head of the bund, then.

Mr. SABBATINO. Just a moment. The resolution of Congress, or the House Resolution 282, states the purposes of this investigation, "the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States." That certainly has nothing to do with his income as a private individual from Henry Ford.

"Diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda," and so on. That certainly has nothing to do with his income from Henry Ford.

The same with the third part "All other matters with relation thereto that would aid Congress in the enactment of necessary remedial legislation."

That question does not come within any of those three purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will withdraw that question and ask another one.

In what banks and under what names, Mr. Kuhn, have you maintained bank accounts since you became head or leader of the German-American Bund?

Mr. SABBATINO. We object to that. This man has to go to trial next week and we don't want this inquired into prior to then. That has nothing to do with this investigation.

Mr. VOORHIS. This is the first time a question like that has ever been objected to, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is this: He is limiting it to the time since Mr. Kuhn has been head of the German-American Bund. We have had that question asked a number of witnesses and there has not been any objection; except, where the witness based it on the ground it incriminates him, we have not pressed it.

Mr. KEEGAN. Will you bear with me a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the point you raise?

Mr. KEEGAN. Without raising that point, I just want to emphasize something: This morning, before we began the hearing, it was Your Honor's statement you would not attempt to inquire into anything that may be involved in the defense of matters now ready to be tried in New York, and inquiring into his bank accounts today is a very dangerous thing and very close to our defense, and I have again to tell my client not to answer that question, if you insist on an answer. The bank accounts and all those questions are going to be tried out.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the ground of your advice to your client not to answer that it might tend to incriminate him?

Mr. KEEGAN. It might disclose a very pertinent and relevant piece of evidence that may be destructive to one of his important defenses.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not objecting, then, or not contending that question is not within the scope of this investigation?

Mr. KEEGAN. May I just ask now if you get my point? I am not objecting to the scope of the inquiry; I am leaving that out; I am sticking strictly now to the indictable matter and the evidence that will be presentable in the defense of his actions along that line, and

I am not going into that realm now and hope my client will not be compelled to do that, because that is going to prejudice his rights. I don't want to say "incriminate him," because I know they cannot incriminate him.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not want to place it on the ground it might tend to incriminate him?

Mr. KEEGAN. Not because of the unfair representations or, rather, representations that would be made of that in the press, but right now we have to concern ourselves, as well with the surrounding millions of people in the community that would be inflamed by such things. But leave that out of it, it is simply based on his constitutional right that he must decline to answer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to state for the benefit of Mr. Kuhn and his counsel that my asking that question is not prompted by any considerations of his pending trial. That question has been asked every witness that has come before this committee who is the head of an organization and, as I stated a moment ago, we found in some organizations where practically all of the accounts of the funds of those organizations were carried under the names of their officers as personal accounts. And I think it is very proper that that question should be answered.

Mr. KUHN. I can answer that question.

Mr. KEEGAN. No; I don't want you to answer it. You see, counsel (Mr. Whitley), a very unusual thing occurred just a day or two ago. I, as the general counsel for the bund, was summoned before the grand jury in New York and asked that very question.

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not like the implication there was any ulterior motive in asking that question, Mr. Chairman. If you will look at the record, you will find it has been asked every witness who has appeared before this committee who was the head of an organization, and has been inquired into.

Mr. KEEGAN. I assure you, sir, I am not imputing any bad motives to anything you do.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, you stated a moment ago you did not know the extent of enlightenment which had been distributed by the bund with reference to the pending neutrality legislation. I would like to make a request, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Kuhn determine the extent of that enlightenment and advise this committee. Will you do that?

Mr. KEEGAN. That is all right; yes.

Mr. SABBATINO. Some time after the trial.

Mr. DEMPSEY. This has nothing to do with the trial.

Mr. SABBATINO. No; but it has to do with myself. I am anxious to leave Washington, to go back to New York. I have a dozen motions to make, and have only 5 or 6 days to do it. This man faces an immediate trial, and I may not be able to get a continuance from the court.

Mr. DEMPSEY. As I understand, what counsel wants is for him to send it.

Mr. SABBATINO. In due time.

Mr. WHITLEY. All you have to do is to make inquiry of whoever is in charge of that program.

Mr. KEEGAN. I will assume that responsibility and see that the committee has that data.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Attorney, will you also see that we get the data asked for at the last time?

Mr. KEEGAN. About Baruch?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. KEEGAN. We have to go through a huge file of papers, you see, but I will see if we can get that, too.

Mr. SABBATINO. And a lot of our clippings are in the hands of the district attorney of New York County.

Mr. KEEGAN. I will look for that religiously.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, there has been some question about the proper translation of this article, which was brought up this morning, appearing in the August 27, 1936, issue of the Weckruf. This particular issue bears the statement that it is the official organ of the German-American Bund. So, if Mr. Kuhn disclaims any responsibility for that—

Mr. KEEGAN. What is the date, please?

Mr. WHITLEY. August 27, 1936.

Mr. KEEGAN. Well, the point is this: It may have been the official organ of the German-American Bund, but if Mr. Kuhn did not control the paper at that time—

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, he is the head of the bund and would be responsible for the official organ, would he not, Mr. Keegan?

Mr. KUHN. No; I am not.

Mr. KEEGAN. Just a moment; I am discussing it with him. If he did not at that time control that newspaper, sir, and he has testified he did not—I think the purchase date was in 1937; if he had no control over the paper, no relationship as principal and agent, so to speak, could exist and imputations would not arise from it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why would Mr. Kuhn, as head of the bund at that time, permit the Weckruf to carry on its masthead the statement it is the official organ? Did he ever object or protest?

Mr. KEEGAN. The point I think is pertinent on that would be this: Suppose the publishers of that paper they were buying, for want of money at the time, had an arrangement with Mr. Kuhn whereby the circulation was increased fourfold long before the purchase, by inserting that—that the bund would speak officially through that paper, it would only be the articles that the bund itself would put in that paper that would be binding on Mr. Kuhn.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, as a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Kuhn this morning also disclaimed any responsibility for an article which appeared within the last 2 months.

Mr. KUHN. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. As I understand it, this newspaper carries on its front page the statement it is the official organ of the bund.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. If that is true, I think you can question him with regard to and he can say whether an article represented his views, or did not represent his views; he can say whether he was responsible for it, or not. He can certainly be questioned with regard to the official publication of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. All I want to do is to get the proper translation of a portion of this article that was brought up this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. The article is headed "The Beginning in Hannover," which I presume, literally means "arrival" or "entrance" in Hannover. And the portion of the article that has to do with the reception in Hannover of Mr. Kuhn and the visiting members of the German-American Bund, the portion of the article that I have had translated, has to do with Mr. Kuhn's speech at the reception which he received, and I will ask Mr. Kuhn if he wants to object to that translation. It is marked there in blue pencil.

Mr. KEEGAN. What do you mean— if he objects to it?

Mr. WHITLEY. I am going to read the translation, which has been collaborated in by about four people.

We feel ourselves bound together with Germany.

Is that all right, Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUHN. No; it is not all right.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; what is your translation of that?

Mr. KUHN (translating):

We feel ourselves friendly to Germany.

Mr. VOORHIS. Will you read the German?

Mr. KUHN. That "bound" is something else. Whoever translated that evidently don't know much about German.

Mr. VOORHIS. Read the German.

Mr. SABBATINO. The Congressman understands German, and he wants you to read it to him.

Mr. KUHN (reading):

Wir fühlen uns mit diesem Deutschland verbunden.

Mr. WHITLEY. We feel ourselves bound together?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. You disagree?

Mr. KUHN. I absolutely disagree.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Kuhn, continuing—

* * * and are fortunate to belong to such an organization?

Mr. KUHN. No. Who said anything about "organization" here?

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; what would be your translation of that portion of it?

Mr. KUHN. "And we are glad to be," or "happy to be part of the Volkskörper."

Do you know what "Volkskörper" means?—a part of that "race" or "that race."

Mr. VOORHIS. It does mean a little more than "organization."

Mr. WHITLEY. It means more than "organization"—a broader relation?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; a group of people.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then, if your translation means more than "organization," you would not object—

Mr. KUHN. But he said "more"; I did not say "more than organization." It means the same stock.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The same race?

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The same race, or stock?

Mr. KUHN. The same stock.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

That we have been able to see the Fuehrer face to face in Berlin.

Is that all right?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

* * * was for us an experience the greatness of which cannot be over-estimated.

Mr. KUHN. Oh, no. I will read it to you in German. Whoever translated that is funny.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, this morning you had your mother and father in the same article.

Mr. KUHN. Yes, down here; yes; it is in there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Read that part, and see if we agree on the translation.

Mr. KUHN (reading):

We saw the Fuehrer in Berlin; that we had the opportunity to see the Fuehrer face to face.

That is the German expression for "eye to eye."

What was our "greatness," the German name for "greatness"—was a big moment in our life.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, that is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what it said.

Mr. KUHN. Oh, no; it does not say that.

Mr. KEEGAN. Who would not be proud to see the President of the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute; let us get this.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

We will endure everything and will continue to fight on—

Is that correct?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

* * * so that we may establish our Germany?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. " * * * unite our Germany" then?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your translation?

Mr. KUHN. "We will go on with our fight and be worthy of our stock, as American citizens"—meaning as American citizens.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not say anything about "American citizens"?

Mr. KUHN. No; but that is the meaning of it, because you made some wrong meaning.

The CHAIRMAN. But read it in German, and then you translate it for us.

Mr. KUHN (reading):

" * * * und werden weiterkämpfen, um uns für unser Deutschland einsetzen zu können."

Mr. VOORHIS. What did you have?

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

And will continue to fight on, so that we may establish (or unite), our Germany.

Mr. KUHN. Where does it say anything "establish"?

Mr. WHITLEY. "Unite", then.

Mr. KUHN. Establish is something accomplished.

Mr. VOORHIS. "Einsetzen"—I think that means "established."

Mr. KUHN. But the imputation he gives is an entirely different meaning.

Mr. VOORHIS. There is not anything in there about American citizens.

Mr. KUHN. No; but that is the meaning, from the American standpoint.

Mr. WHITLEY. Having made the speech, you should know what you meant, Mr. Kuhn.

Mr. KUHN. Tell me what speech you made in 1937, and tell me what you said.

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't make speeches.

Mr. KUHN. You made speeches to me; you made a lot of speeches to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am glad we agree on the translation, Mr. Kuhn.

Mr. KUHN. No; we don't agree.

Mr. SABBATINO. No; the witness absolutely does not agree.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it speaks for itself. Is there anything further?

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask one question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Kuhn, I take it you believe, as I do, that there are no finer American citizens than the people of German extraction; is that right?

Mr. KUHN. Finer?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes—that there are no better American citizens than people of German descent? Do you agree with that?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you honestly think that you are going to do those people a service—

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And give them help by setting them apart into an organization such as you are trying to promote?

Mr. KUHN. May I answer that?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; that is what I want you to do.

Mr. KUHN. If I would not believe it, I would not be the head of that organization, because I have a profession, and I can make more money if I follow my profession.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I do not agree with you.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, gentlemen?

Mr. KEEGAN. Let us get back to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more questions? If not, do you want to call any more witnesses this afternoon? What time is it?

Mr. WHITLEY. A quarter after three.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to finish with Mr. Beal, so that he can go back?

Mr. WHITLEY. I will finish with him now, or take him the first time in the morning, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us take him in the morning. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(The committee thereupon took a recess until tomorrow, Friday, October 20, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Mr. Voorhis.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel, and Mr. J. B. Matthews, director of research.

TESTIMONY OF FRED E. BEAL—Resumed

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, at the time we adjourned, I think on Wednesday, Mr. Beal had gotten to the point in his testimony where he was just getting ready to leave Russia after his first trip there. We will go on from that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. I think Mr. Beal had just testified that the Comintern had agreed to let him leave, and had him sign a statement exonerating them from any responsibility, and also wanted him to sign a statement condemning Roger Baldwin.

What date did you leave Russia, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. January 3, 1931.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you used the same passport on which you had gone over?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you leave?

Mr. BEAL. What do you mean, how did I leave?

Mr. WHITLEY. What route did you take coming back? Did you come back through Germany?

Mr. BEAL. I came through Germany and took the boat, S. S. *New York*.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you contact any Communists, any Communist organizations, while you were in Germany, on your way back?

Mr. BEAL. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. One point I do not believe we have covered, Mr. Beal. Who took care of your expenses, all of your living expenses, and every expense of any kind during the entire time you were in Russia?

Mr. BEAL. The Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Communist Party did that. Now, you came back through Germany. Where did you sail from on your return trip?

Mr. BEAL. I sailed from Hamburg.

Mr. WHITLEY. On what ship?

Mr. BEAL. On the S. S. *New York*.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall the date of your arrival in New York?

Mr. BEAL. March 6, 1931.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time, at the time of your return, what was the status of your case, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I was, of course, still a fugitive—I was a fugitive. The State Supreme Court of North Carolina turned down the appeal for a new trial and that made me a fugitive in this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. Had your bail been forfeited, your \$5,000 bail?

Mr. BEAL. My bail had been forfeited at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you do upon your arrival in New York?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I immediately got in touch with Roger Baldwin.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you do then?

Mr. BEAL. If I might explain a little bit here?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, indeed.

Mr. BEAL. When I arrived in New York, I immediately got in touch with Roger Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, as I had been very much in favor of going to prison and not leaving the country at all. I found in Roger Baldwin at that time a friend who agreed with me, and I must say, I want to say here, that Roger Baldwin did not harbor me during that period of time as a fugitive, but just simply as a friend who agreed with me, that I should go to prison and carry out my ideals of that period of time. He took me over to his camp in New Jersey with that one idea in mind, that I was going to return to North Carolina and begin my sentence.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say that camp was in New Jersey?

Mr. BEAL. In New Jersey, to his own personal camp.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you contacted there by any representatives of the party?

Mr. BEAL. Well, immediately the Communist Party ganged up on me and William Z. Foster, of the Communist Party, and George Maurer, of the International Labor Defense, and Leon Josephson, the Communist Party G. P. U. man over here—

Mr. WHITLEY. That was one of the I. L. D. attorneys who participated in your defense at Charlotte, was it not—Josephson?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they get in touch with you at the time?

Mr. BEAL. And Clarina Michaelson; no, they did not get in touch with me at his camp. They sent notice through Roger Baldwin that they wanted to see me. So Roger took me over to his home in New York and at Roger Baldwin's home in New York I met Clarina Michaelson. She was sent there from the Communist Party to try to urge me to go back to Soviet Russia. Foster and George Maurer, and Leon Josephson met me at some private dwelling, somewhere up near the Bronx, in New York, and at this place they urged upon me to return to Soviet Russia, because they said it was useless to go to prison at that period of time, because the world situation had now

changed, and that America was going to have new relations with Soviet Russia; that the situation had changed down in the South, too, that they did not really want me in prison.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, do I understand you that they informed you that the attitude of the United States Government toward Russia was materially changed?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, instead of hostility that had theretofore existed, one of friendship and cooperation now existed, is that true?

Mr. BEAL. They said that was coming about and that it would be all right for me to stay over there; that I had not seen enough of Soviet Russia, and if I had been discouraged at what I had seen over in Russia, I should go back now and pick up where I had left off, and learn what I could about the better conditions over there.

They said that they knew that conditions were bad over there, but that very soon they would change.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they were trying, by every possible means, to persuade you to return to Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. And Leon Josephson was of the opinion that they should have shot me over there before I left; that would have been the best means of getting rid of me entirely.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he express that view to you?

Mr. BEAL. He expressed that at the meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that because you would not readily agree to go back?

Mr. BEAL. I refused to go back even then, at that period of time, and said I was going to wait for the other boys to come back. They said, "Well, if you go down South now, you will just become a martyr," and all that sort of thing; that it would not look good. I did not want to return until the other boys, or some of the other boys, would come back and go down with me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Some of the other defendants?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; that were in Russia. They had already said that they were coming back, some of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were waiting until they came back?

Mr. BEAL. I wanted to wait until they were here.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you remain in this camp around New York, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. I remained at Roger Baldwin's camp, I imagine it must have been about 3 or 4 weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then where did you go?

Mr. BEAL. During all this period of time, of course, the Communist Party and all the friends I had in the movement at that time, on orders from the Communist Party, they reached me and tried to persuade me to go back to Russia, and pointed out to me that Roger Baldwin was a very bad character, and other things that I do not wish to say here. There is no use of saying what they said about him; it was just a lot of lies, anyway. They said that I should get out of his influence. They asked me to go on to Clarina Michaelson's farm in Connecticut.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go up there?

Mr. BEAL. I went up there.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you remain there, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. I remained there about, I should say, around 4 or 5 months, 6 months.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that time, were they working on you—that is, the Communist Party and the I. L. D.?

Mr. BEAL. George Maurer, of the International Labor Defense, and, I believe—I am not positive, but I think Foster came there once. I am not positive of that now. I hardly remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you did talk to Foster in New York, did you not?

Mr. BEAL. In New York City; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that representative of the International Labor Defense that came there?

Mr. BEAL. George Maurer. He was the head, or the secretary, of the International Labor Defense at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Maurer?

Mr. BEAL. M-a-u-r-e-r, I believe it is.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he come down there to see you about?

Mr. BEAL. As a member of the Communist Party, he had instructions from the party to try to get me to go back to Russia, because they felt that if it was known that I was in America and had left Russia, that it would show that conditions must be pretty bad over there, for me to come back and want to go back to prison.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not say anything about defending you in any way or trying to get the wrong that was done you rectified?

Mr. BEAL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing of that sort?

Mr. BEAL. No, sir. He had no idea of getting me to give myself up here.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they offer to account for this large sum of money that they raised, apparently in your behalf?

Mr. BEAL. No, sir; they never mentioned that any more.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever give you an accounting?

Mr. BEAL. They never gave me any accounting.

Mr. WHITLEY. This farm was Clarina Michaelson's?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you had been there for several months, what did you finally do, or decide to do—after you had been there, under the influence of the Communist Party and the I. L. D.?

Mr. BEAL. After that lengthy period of time, it did seem to me that it was quite useless to go to the South and to start any prison sentence; that the Gastonia situation seemed to have blown over entirely, and it seemed that I might as well give up the idea of going. I did not hear from the boys.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did any of the other defendants come back?

Mr. BEAL. No, sir. I did not hear anything from them. So I felt that there was only one thing to do. I was then a fugitive in this country. I could not go out and do my organizational work among the workers. I could hardly do any kind of work without getting caught. And if I did get caught, why, then, I would not be defended by the Communist Party or, probably, I thought at that time, by anybody else. I felt, well, I might as well give it another try and go over and stay there and live there in Soviet Russia and be just like anyone else.

Mr. WHITLEY. So, what was the date of your departure, your second departure, from New York for Russia?

Mr. BEAL. I left on September 11, on the North German Lloyd, S. S. *Columbus*.

Mr. WHITLEY. September 11 of what year?

Mr. BEAL. 1931.

Mr. WHITLEY. What passport did you use on that trip?

Mr. BEAL. The same one.

Mr. WHITLEY. Samuel Cohn?

Mr. BEAL. The same one.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who secured your visa for you for that trip?

Mr. BEAL. A Communist Party member named Jack Hardy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is his correct name Dale Zysman?

Mr. BEAL. He told me that was his real name, but he used Jack Hardy as a party name.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his profession, do you know?

Mr. BEAL. Teacher.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the New York public schools?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is vice president of the Teachers' Union, Local No. 5, in New York?

Mr. BEAL. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. We have had previous testimony to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Dale Zysman, alias Jack Hardy.

Mr. VOORHIS. We have had previous testimony, but I just wondered how Mr. Beal knows that right now.

Mr. WHITLEY. He said that he did not know it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I beg your pardon.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just knew him as a Communist Party member?

Mr. BEAL. He was up at the farm with me, too, part of the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go back on this trip by yourself, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. No. I went back with Myra Page, representing the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they give you credentials, again?

Mr. BEAL. No. She took my credentials. She carried them over for me.

Mr. WHITLEY. But they did issue you another ribbon, like they had in the first instance?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they sent her along to handle the money and your credentials, and so forth?

Mr. BEAL. They sent Myra Page and her husband along with me.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was her husband's name?

Mr. BEAL. I do not know, I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was their duty? Why were they sent along with you?

Mr. BEAL. I know that the Communist Party gave them my credentials, and they carried the money along with them, got the tickets, and Jack Hardy secured the visa and my passport, and when we arrived over in Berlin, we all went to the Communist Party and they got the Soviet visa.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they handled everything, the money, the credentials, the passport?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you get the impression that probably they were sent along by the Communist Party in this country to watch you and see that everything went along all right, and that you did go back?

Mr. BEAL. The Communist Party felt that possibly I might even leave them in Berlin, or something of that kind. They had a feeling that I was—that is, I believed they had a feeling that I was linked with some kind of an opposition force in this country. I do not know what it was at the time, but I believed that they had that feeling.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were just sort of sent along with you, to watch you?

Mr. BEAL. I believe so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go back through Berlin?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And on to Moscow?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. On what date did you arrive in Moscow, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. September 23, 1931.

Mr. WHITLEY. Upon your arrival there, what happened?

Mr. BEAL. Well, when I arrived, they took my trunk away from me; that is one thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did they do that?

Mr. BEAL. They seized all my baggage and everything I had in the trunk. But at the moment they said it was lost at the station. Although my trunk went along with Myra Page's trunk and her husband's and they had a lot of baggage, too, not any of their things were lost, but my trunk was suddenly missing. And I spent 3 months in Moscow running around from one Soviet agency to another trying to rescue it.

Then, after about 3 months of that sort of effort, I went up to the representative of the Communist Party from this country over in Moscow, and told him that I would like to have the trunk again, and after a dozen times that I had gone to him he said, "You need not bother about the trunk any longer. You are never going to get it. We took that long ago."

Mr. WHITLEY. What was that American representative's name?

Mr. BEAL. He was using Randolph then. It was Weinstone—William Weinstone.

Mr. WHITLEY. Weinstone was the representative of the Communist Party of the United States at the Comintern?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he was using the name of Randolph?

Mr. BEAL. All the representatives of the Communist Party from this country that go to Moscow use that name Randolph; every one of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean that all of them use the same name?

Mr. BEAL. When they switch around, like Clarence Hathaway, he was over there some of the time as a representative of the Communist Party over here. As soon as they take their quarters over at the Hotel Lux, in Moscow, they immediately switch their name over to Randolph.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean they have a name Randolph sort of hung up on the wall, on a peg, and as soon as the American representative in Moscow gets there, he takes it down.

Mr. BEAL. That is right. All the Communist Party members, they knew, every one of them. I knew Hathaway.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just wanted to understand. You mean all of the different ones used the same name, so that there was always someone named Randolph stationed there.

Mr. BEAL. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. So that there would be no indication that there was a change in the representative, Mr. Congressman.

Now, what happened to your passport and your credentials when you arrived in Moscow?

Mr. BEAL. They took them. They always take everyone's passport when they arrive there; I mean, anyone that is going to stay there any length of time.

Mr. WHITLEY. They took your passport and your credentials and your trunk?

Mr. BEAL. They took everything I had, about.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you decide to do? What did you want to do on this trip, Mr. Beal? As I understand, you did not do anything on your first trip—

Mr. BEAL. Just toured around.

Mr. WHITLEY. On speaking tours?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And propaganda work?

Mr. BEAL. That is right. This time I told the Communist Party representative there in Moscow that I wanted to go to work over there and do something. I was going to live there. He said, "All right; we will find a place for you out somewhere. But we will have to send you out of Moscow so that you won't get in touch with any of the Americans coming over, and just stay away from the American correspondents. We will take you outside of Moscow and we will find you someplace to go." So he immediately got in touch with the Russian Government there to find ways and means of putting me to work.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not have any difficulty getting in on this second trip?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they expecting you? Did they know that you were coming?

Mr. BEAL. It worked like clockwork. Once you get the Communist Party's permission to go in, you do not have any trouble. It is getting out that you have trouble.

Mr. WHITLEY. In spite of the fact that you were a fugitive from justice in this country, the Communist Party in this country made all the arrangements to get you over there, and the Soviet Government accepted you?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it appears that our treaty—not our treaty, but our understanding with Russia—is very much a unilateral proposition. Everything was on the Russian side. They have not lived up to any stipulation of the agreement that they made with the United States Government because here they were aiding and abetting and an accessory to in the violation of a law, harboring a fugitive from justice and encouraging and in fact bringing about violations of the passport laws.

So that it seems to me that all this evidence should cause considerable concern down at the State Department with regard to future

relations between the United States and the Soviet Government, and any other government that is a party to the violation of our laws.

Mr. WHITLEY. This just happens to be one case that we know specifically about.

The CHAIRMAN. We know that they forged passports and counterfeited money. It seems to me that with a clear violation of the letters that passed between our State Department and the Soviet Government, that should raise a very serious question.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, where did they send you to work, in compliance with your request?

Mr. BEAL. The Kharkov tractor plant.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you work there at the tractor plant?

Mr. BEAL. I worked at the plant there from that period until I left there, August 15, 1933.

Mr. WHITLEY. You left Russia again in——

Mr. BEAL. 1933.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and why did you decide a second time to come back to the United States, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. Well, that is a long story.

Mr. WHITLEY. Cover the salient points as briefly as possible.

Mr. BEAL. Conditions in Russia were not just as I expected. I had always, for a number of years, been fighting for a workers' and a farmers' government. I had felt during that period of time that those who produced the good things of life should be able to run the government and run the industries. And during all the period that I was fighting for that sort of thing in this country, I thought the Communist Party was also supposed to be fighting for that sort of thing, too.

I always had been reading about these things, that the workers and farmers in Russia had been running their own government, in the factories and the farms, and all that sort of thing, and that all of this thing did not happen, that it was not true at all.

After my arrival there the second time I found out that conditions there were even worse than I suspected.

Mr. WHITLEY. Worse than you had seen them the first time?

Mr. BEAL. That is correct. Of course, during the first time I was there my whole idea was, my mind was focused on getting back to America, to return to prison, and I did not pay such strict attention to the life among the workers and farmers. But this time, of course, my work took me right into the tractor plant, and it was here that I was able to see just how the Soviet Government worked.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that supposed to be one of the better plants there?

Mr. BEAL. That is supposed to be a first-class plant over there in Russia. They turned out tractors.

Mr. VOORHIS. Whereabouts was that?

Mr. BEAL. Kharkov.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you try to do anything about conditions while you were there, did you try to help?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I had charge of the foreign element there, the foreign workers, and specialists that came over there. My work was to try to induce the American specialists and skilled workers to show the Russian workers how to do the work.

I had charge of around 500 foreigners, mostly Americans and their families in that community; the idea being to try and get them to show the Russian workers just how to do the work.

The conditions there were so horrible it is difficult to explain here in such a short period of time.

As I have said before, I had been fighting against all kinds of conditions in these factories over here in America—less hours and better wages and against piecework, and doubling up of work, and all that sort of thing.

But I found out over there in the tractor plant that these things were even worse than over here, and that the workers over there could not do anything about them; there was not anything they could do. They could not protest about it. They could not go out on strike.

Every time they said anything they were liable to be thrown out of the factory, and if they were thrown out of the factory, they would lose their home, what little shack they might have, or their room. They had to have a work card in order to work in the factory, and if they did not have that card, with their picture on, they could not work at all. And once they took that work card away, or their food card away from them, they were left to go out in the world to starve and no place to live.

So, as soon as they started to criticize things, they would be thrown out of work. The American workers that were working over there were former Communists or all Communist sympathizers in Detroit, and they were all opposed to what they were doing, and they were leaving there little by little. Conditions became so unbearable there that it was almost impossible to live there, that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, as I understand it, one of the inducements used to get you and other members into the Communist Party was the picture they paint of how this system has worked out in Soviet Russia, is that correct?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you are describing it as you actually saw it when you went over there and lived and worked there.

The CHAIRMAN. One point there. These other people who went with you, these other defendants, they never have returned, is that right?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; some of them returned.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are serving?

Mr. BEAL. One served.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know why they returned, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. Well, they told me that they did not like it. One of the boys returned, and I met him in New York—I think I mentioned this previously, though—he wanted to tell about the conditions, the bad conditions, over there, but unfortunately he got in touch with the Communist Party at the same time over here and they threatened to do damage to his wife and child over there if he did not return.

Mr. WHITLEY. He had a wife and child over there?

Mr. BEAL. He had a Russian wife and child and he returned in order to save them. I do not know what has happened to him by now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, you are talking about conditions that were so distasteful to you and which disillusioned you and caused you to

make up your mind to return to this country. Are you referring to conditions that you had to live under and conditions that you had to work under, or conditions that some of the others had to work and live under?

Mr. BEAL. I have only referred to the conditions of the Russian workers because I was living in as good a condition as any of the Soviet or Communist leaders there. I had an apartment of my own in the foreign section there, foreign apartment houses, and I lived as good as anyone could live there. I have referred wholly to the Russian workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those were the Russian workers?

Mr. BEAL. The foreigners that were living there, they had a little better conditions of life than the Russian workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there any question about your remaining there indefinitely, and living and working in Soviet Russia from then on?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, I was supposed to stay there all the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you decided to return, how did you get possession of your passport in order to get out of Russia? Did you tell them that you had decided to return and were coming back?

Mr. BEAL. That took months to do. I had planned 6 months to get out of there, and finally I had to do various things to try to get out. I had to be careful because I could not let any of the Communist Party officials know that I wanted to leave and come back here. I was very friendly with the Communist Party leader there, the head of the Kharkov tractor plant, and I told him that I had permission from Moscow to leave the country and they had my passport in Moscow, but I was able to get it through a ruse. This party official in Kharkov at the tractor plant, he thought that I did get permission and he went in and put in my passport a visa to cross over to Latvia, to renew my passport. I told him that I was going over to renew my passport and coming back again. He thought I was coming back again. If he had known that I was going to leave at that time, he would not have done that. But he thought I must have been in good standing with the Communist Party in Moscow. I told him all the time that I was, and he gave me this visa.

Mr. WHITLEY. He did not check up with the Comintern?

Mr. BEAL. He did not check up. I suppose they have checked up with him by now.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you got your passport, how did you return to the United States?

Mr. BEAL. I returned through Latvia and on to Berlin and Paris.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you finance your trip? Did you have the necessary funds?

Mr. BEAL. No; I did not. I had hardly any money at all. I happened to raise a little money from some of the Americans that were in Russia to renew my passport and I got on to Berlin and I went to see Arthur Garfield Hays who was there at the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is with the Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. BEAL. American Civil Liberties Union. He was there at that time, at the time of the Reichstag fire trial that they had.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he let you have some money to come back to this country?

Mr. BEAL. I told Arthur my story. He thought that I should tell the workers, or everybody in this country, just what I saw over there.

He urged upon me to get out a book and write it up and let everyone know. He said he would get in touch with Roger Baldwin and see that I had my fare paid across to this country, and then he supplied me with some money so that I could live in Paris while I was waiting for Roger Baldwin to help me out. But I received a cablegram from Baldwin to go back to Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. He cabled you to go back to Russia?

Mr. BEAL. He wired me, "Go back east."

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you finally get funds to get back?

Mr. BEAL. I went to the American consul in Paris under the name of Cohn, you must remember. I went there under the name, Sammy Cohn, and talked with the consul over there, and he looked at my passport and all that sort of thing. I told him that I needed some money to come back to America, and he said, "How is it that you have not got any money?" I said, "I lost it in the 1929 crash over here, and I could not get back." He says, "We cannot give you any money from here. There is a society in Paris that takes care of all those that are stranded over here. You better go to the American Club and get some money from there."

So I went to the American Club and they provided me with half the fare and Arthur Garfield Hays' daughter provided me with the other half, to come back to America.

Mr. WHITLEY. What date did you arrive back in New York?

Mr. BEAL. December 30, 1933, on the S. S. *Albert Ballin*.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you do upon your arrival in New York on this occasion?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I immediately got in touch with Roger Baldwin again.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you do subsequently?

Mr. BEAL. This time Roger was not so friendly. Since I evidently was not going to stay over there, Roger Baldwin thought he had better not help me out so much this time. So, when I got back this time, I found myself friendless. Since all my friends had been in the Communist Party I had it more difficult this time.

Mr. WHITLEY. You decided to write some articles and write a book, did you not?

Mr. BEAL. I decided to do that when I was over there in Kharkov, after seeing those conditions over there, I decided right there and then that I was going to try and do everything I could to condemn the Communist Party whenever I got over here, no matter what happened.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, as a member of the Communist Party in this country, you had been telling the workers that that was the workers Utopia, and, after learning the truth, you felt that you should tell them what you had found out.

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you do that?

Mr. BEAL. There was one great thing that changed my mind over there and made me feel as if I must do it. One time, when I was out in the snow, near the apartment house, I saw a grand old lady, a Russian, who was in the snow there, practically starving to death. And it occurred to me at that time, I felt, what if that had been my mother in the snow starving to death. The whole thing came to me, the feeling that the Communists over there were making the Rus-

sians a hard lot, a cruel people, to see all this suffering and torture and starvation that was going on all around me over there; millions of people were starving to death and laying all around and dying right in front of us. The Russians would go by and not notice them at all. And the foreigners would go by there and after a while get hardened to that sort of thing.

And this grand old Russian lady there, that was in the snow, just starving and freezing to death, we could not do anything about it. There is nothing you could do. You could not bring her into your apartment house, because the commandant, or the manager, as they called him, would not permit you to take them into the door. You just could not do anything about it, with them all laying around like that. And the thought just occurred to me, if that had been my mother, I would have shot anybody that had put her in that condition.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, did you write some magazine articles, and a book, after you returned to this country?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your book is, *Proletarian Journey*?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which described your experiences?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if I might go back to the time when you were active in the Communist Party, in the labor movement. Did you just gradually get into the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; I would say that I did. As I believe I mentioned in my previous testimony, I was in favor of industrial unions, and it seemed to me at that time that the Communist Party was the most militant group along those lines, and that they favored that sort of organization. I had worked for several months in the Socialist Party, and I had friends who belonged to the Communist Party. I gradually did get into it.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time you got into the Communist Party, did you have any idea that it was linked to Russia or to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; I did. They always brought out the idea.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, at the time you first got into it, did you then understand that it was tied to Russia, the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. Well, yes; in this sense, that they always spoke at every meeting about Soviet Russia, and I came to the conclusion that they must have some knowledge of it, or something of that kind. I did not know exactly that they were agents from Russia, or anything like that, but I always heard the same from leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that they had a very tender feeling for Russia; that was the extent of your knowledge?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And when you got into the party, did you have occasion to meet a great many party members throughout the country?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You met them in a number of States, did you?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You sat in fraction meetings with various party members?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did the Communists work in the labor unions; how did they manage that?

Mr. BEAL. All members, all Communist Party members, that belonged to any union at all would meet before a general meeting of the membership in what they called a fraction meeting, or nuclei, as they would sometimes call it, and they would meet and decide what action they would take at the regular general membership meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they would get together in advance and work out a program for their regular membership meeting of the union?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And they would have an agreement as to who was to make the motion, who was to second the motion, and who was to speak?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All the details of the program were worked out in advance at the fraction meeting by the Communists.

Mr. BEAL. Everything. And in case it would go wrong, and things would not turn out, if they had a minor force and only a small handful of members, they would start trouble and in that way break up the meeting; something of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to that. Now, after they agreed to the program at the meeting, did you find it difficult to control the rest of them?

Mr. BEAL. No, we did not find it so very difficult.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, because you and the other Communists were well organized and knew what you were going to do in advance, you were able to control the whole meeting; is that correct?

Mr. BEAL. That is right. Only a handful of us would control the whole meeting that way.

The CHAIRMAN. In that way, you were able to form the policy of the meeting, its program, what was going to be done, and so on, and so forth.

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir. That is because the great majority of the membership did not understand that there was an organized group inside.

The CHAIRMAN. They thought that it was spontaneous?

Mr. BEAL. They thought that it was some kind of democracy, and they would get up and talk and find out that there would be a handful against them popping up on the floor here and there, well organized, and they would feel that it was useless to go on fighting. They were not organized at all. We would always capture the works.

The CHAIRMAN. So that a small organized minority of Communists within the unions were able to outmaneuver the disorganized majority; is that correct?

Mr. BEAL. Every time; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What type of people generally did you meet in the Communist Party? Were they workers, mostly?

Mr. BEAL. I always met the workers because, I cared very little about mixing with the so-called intelligentsia.

The CHAIRMAN. Among the workers, what type of workers did you meet?

Mr. BEAL. Textile workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they men who received very low wages?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not have many of the better-paid workers?

Mr. BEAL. I never worked as an organizer among the higher-paid workers in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. So you do not know anything about that?

Mr. BEAL. I never worked anywhere as an organizer among the really high-paid workers. I was always among the textile workers, or the shoe workers, the lower-paid workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you making considerable progress at the time of this trouble?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. When I did not have the Communist Party leaders around me, I was doing pretty good, organizing them strictly along trade-union lines.

The CHAIRMAN. The leaders did not want you to organize them on strictly trade-union lines, did they?

Mr. BEAL. No. That was the great fault of it all. We would begin an organization of the workers along trade-union lines, and they would all think along those lines, too, and immediately we would get the thing started, they would come in, and because I was a member of the Communist Party, and they had to enforce discipline, they would insist that we carry out this policy or that policy, and we would know that if we did not do it, I would be expelled or suspended from the party, and if I kept right on organizing in opposition to them they would start assassinating my character and all that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. After you got in and saw what it was, you must have been disillusioned about the whole thing—before this trouble occurred, and you began to see that they were dictating to you and the others and were not particularly interested in the laboring man, except in carrying out their own policy, what was it that kept you in the movement? That is, after you began to realize what the situation was.

Mr. BEAL. Because I felt that there was no other kind of a militant organization or leaders around that were really organizing the workers into that type of union, and that if I went in opposition to them at all, the only thing they believed in, their policies, I would be thrown out of the party, and therefore I would not be able to appear before the workers without being condemned as some kind of a traitor, because they would immediately gang up on you.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, after you get in it is almost impossible to get out later on.

Mr. BEAL. That is correct. If you stay in with them, they have such a strong discipline within the party that you feel compelled to go along with them, and then when you do finally break, they are ready to call you everything and call all kinds of lies about you. I believe that is what happens to many of the writers who go over to Russia—some of them—they come back and they have already belonged to some kind of a writers' organization and they are afraid to say anything for fear that they will be ostracized by their friends. They fear to make the break. When they make the break and come out and tell the truth about the situation, they get slammed left and

right in the Daily Worker and in other Communist papers. They gang up on them in the unions. They collect together and gang up on them.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a few questions about this. Did you raise money from the workers when you were organizing them? Did you ever collect any funds and give it to the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BEAL. No, sir; I never paid any attention to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not handle any of that part of it?

Mr. BEAL. That is correct. Usually the International Labor Defense or the Communist Party or the Workers International Relief—all these organizations that are in the control of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. They were collecting funds during that strike?

Mr. BEAL. They had collected all the funds through their own agents, paid out to relief.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that a large part of those funds were sent to New York to the Communist Party instead of being used for the purpose for which they were collected?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. At Gastonia I had a fight with Alfred Wagenknecht over it. He came there. He was the Communist Party organizer for the Workers International Relief. He came to Gastonia. I wrote him that he must come down, because they were not sending any relief for the strikers. They were collecting it all over the country and the money went to New York. On their relief appeals the address was New York instead of Gastonia. I wrote him, saying that it seemed rather silly to have a strike down in Gastonia and have all the money go to New York. I did not see why the people would want to send it to New York when the strike was in Gastonia.

He came down and tried to argue it out with me. He said they needed the money to carry on propaganda, Communist propaganda, and all that sort of thing, and pay the wages of the officers up there. I found out through him that they were traveling over to Moscow and all that. I said that we needed it for the starving Gastonia strikers, and after a while I got him to agree that all the money that was coming in to the office for the strike, that was coming in from the southern part of the country, would go to Gastonia, and the rest, the money from New York and the rest of the country, would go to New York. And I realized they got the best of that, because there was not any came in from the southern part.

The CHAIRMAN. Going back to this one-hundred-and some-odd-thousand dollars raised by the International Labor Defense to defend you when you were on trial, have you any way of knowing how much of that fund was actually paid lawyers to defend you?

Mr. BEAL. No; I don't know how much was paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly they did not use any \$110,000 to pay those attorneys, did they?

Mr. BEAL. No; they certainly did not do that, and I think they raised a lot more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they raised more than \$110,000?

Mr. BEAL. I think that is their own official report—\$110,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Their official report was \$110,000, presumably raised to defend you?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But, actually, you have reason to believe they raised considerably more money than that?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, they raised much more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were in this movement, and throughout the time, you were absolutely sincere; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. I certainly was.

The CHAIRMAN. In your beliefs?

Mr. BEAL. I certainly was.

The CHAIRMAN. That you were helping the laboring people?

Mr. BEAL. That I was helping the laboring people.

The CHAIRMAN. You were trying to improve the conditions of your fellow workers?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what actuated you in getting into the party and staying in it; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never had any intention of committing any crime or being involved in any trouble, or anything of that sort?

Mr. BEAL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you feel you were maneuvered into this position and were the victim of Communist Party treachery, in their whole attitude in this matter?

Mr. BEAL. I believe all that; and it is for that reason, Mr. Chairman, that I am here today; because I would like, if it is possible, just to say that I wish all of the laboring class of this country would look into my case and see just what the Communist Party can do in their treachery.

The CHAIRMAN. How many years have you been serving in the penitentiary?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I have been there now since February 20, or February 16, I believe, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. February 1938?

Mr. BEAL. It will be 2 years next February.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have served 2 years and have 15 years more to serve?

Mr. BEAL. That is right—from 17 to 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Seventeen to 20, or two sentences?

Mr. BEAL. No; just 17 to 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN. From 17 to 20 years?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is optional on good behavior; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You maintain you are innocent; that you are not guilty?

Mr. BEAL. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were absolutely framed by the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. I maintain I was innocent and all the boys that were there at the time were innocent, too.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Communist Party deliberately used your trial and your predicament for its own selfish purposes of raising money and propagandizing?

Mr. BEAL. I believe if we had not had the Communists in there handling the defense I would be a free man today, and so would the other boys in there with me.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand the picture you painted the other day, here you were in a southern town being tried and the Communist Party were defending you; they were controlling your defense through the International Labor Defense?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And after you testified, they placed on the stand a Communist who was not an eyewitness to anything that occurred; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. Well, they placed on the stand a Communist, all right, but she was an eyewitness; she was there, too; she was there at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. She was there at the time?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in the course of her examination, you read, I believe, excerpts from the testimony where they brought out matters not so much to exonerate you and the other defendants, as to advertise or, rather, propagandize the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. To create hatred and to create the impression that here in an American city people were being discriminated against and conditions were bad, so that that could be sent to Moscow; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. That is exactly right.

The CHAIRMAN. And, in addition to that, your testimony is that the Communist Party arranged to have a jury composed of half colored people and half white people to march around the courthouse; is that right; and to go in the courthouse and to sit during your trial?

Mr. BEAL. That is right. They walked in on the main floor where only whites are supposed to sit, and they knew that in advance.

The CHAIRMAN. And they did that in order to aggravate the situation?

Mr. BEAL. In order to aggravate the situation; and they told them to go up in the gallery and, of course, they went up there reluctantly.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was all known to the jury trying you—a southern jury sitting there trying you?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. With Communist counsel?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And with a jury of half colored people and half white people marching around the courthouse antagonizing everybody?

Mr. BEAL. They even got out leaflets.

The CHAIRMAN. And, in addition, getting \$100,000, and they kept that?

Mr. BEAL. They even got out leaflets on the labor jury, with pictures on, and spread them all around there. I don't know; perhaps the jury got hold of them; I don't know, but they was not going to take any stock in that jury, anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. They were going to have a jury of their own?

Mr. BEAL. They were going to have a jury of their own; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The only difference was, the jury they picked did not help you any?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. They had that all made up in advance—what this jury was going to say.

The CHAIRMAN. They had prepared it all in advance by this resolution?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they acquitted you before the trial?

Mr. BEAL. They acquitted me long before the trial.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, after the conviction, did they advertise the findings of this southern jury?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All over the United States?

Mr. BEAL. It was advertised in the Daily Worker and different papers.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was a part of their propaganda?

Mr. BEAL. Yes—whatever papers would print it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal, I want to clear up one point. You returned from your second trip, to the United States, December 1933, and when were you arrested, and where?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, I was arrested at my brother's house in Lawrence, Mass.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you made bond then?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; yes, sir; I made bond again.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when did you go to Raleigh and surrender yourself on your bond; do you remember the date?

Mr. BEAL. Well, that was February 16, 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Beal, I want to clear up another point: You stated in your previous testimony, and your testimony today has been in keeping with that statement, that you wrote Roger Baldwin you would rather spend the rest of your life in serving your sentence in a southern prison, than to remain in Russia? You do not want to leave the impression, of course, you would not rather have been free and rather have remained free?

Mr. BEAL. Of course not.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when you got back over here, you stayed free as long as you could?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you still feel the same way, as between the two—between the prison and Russia?

Mr. BEAL. I still feel the same way; I certainly do.

Mr. WHITLEY. You would rather be there?

Mr. BEAL. I certainly do. My conscience is clear, anyhow, for my own self.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, there is a letter here, Mr. Chairman—first, during all this time, was there ever any doubt or could there be any question about the fact the I. L. D. is completely controlled and dominated by the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. No doubt of any kind that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have a letter here, Mr. Chairman, which is written on the letterhead of the International Labor Defense. The national officers are listed as J. Louis Engdahl, executive secretary. He has already been identified before this committee as a prominent Communist who died in Moscow. Another one is George Maurer, assistant secretary. That is the man who came up into Connecticut?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. He was assistant secretary of the International Labor Defense at that time?

Mr. WHITLEY. Assistant secretary of the International Labor Defense at that time. He is the man who conferred with Mr. Beal, and William Z. Foster and other Communists, trying to persuade him to go back to Russia, after Mr. Beal came to this country the first time.

The letter is dated October 21, 1930, addressed to Roger Baldwin, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. I will read excerpts or portions of the letter; it is rather lengthy. I will put the whole thing in the record, but I will just read parts of it. [Reading:]

MY DEAR BALDWIN:

* * * * *

Your demand is, in substance, that we obtain from the Soviet Government an agreement that refugees from American boss-class justice who are out on bail should not be admitted to the First Workers' Republic. Your demand is reactionary and absurd.

Reading further from page 2 of this letter:

In re your accusation that we are collecting money under false pretences we have replied in person to Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Bailey. We must record this point, however:

Point D in your minutes reads: "The board directed that members and friends of the Union be informed that relief and defense funds collected by Communist agencies are sometimes used for bail, and that copies of the resolution and explanatory statement be sent with this information in the next general mailing to the membership."

That means the membership of the American Civil Liberties Union.

We challenge any member of your board to point out a single case where the I. L. D. did not openly explain to those to whom it was appealing exactly what the funds would be used for.

The point I want to make there, Mr. Chairman, is this: They are quoting from the minutes of the American Civil Liberties Union, which minutes make reference to funds collected by communist agencies, and they make no denial at all—this letter sent to Mr. Baldwin, written by the executive secretary, makes no denial at all of that statement they are a communist agency. There is no reference to it, or denial of it.

(The letter above referred to is in full as follow:)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE, NATIONAL OFFICE,
80 East 11th Street, Room 430, New York City, October 21, 1930.
ROGER BALDWIN,
100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR BALDWIN: We have carefully considered your various letters of recent date re Gastonia bail forfeitures and future policy. Our national executive committee makes the following reply:

Your demand is, in substance, that we obtain from the Soviet Government an agreement that refugees from American boss class justice who are out on bail should not be admitted to the First Workers' Republic. Your demand is reactionary and absurd.

The Soviet Union is today the only haven for political refugees from capitalist class justice of all other countries. This right of asylum is one of the great achievements which the Russian revolution gained for the international working class. There are some countries today where a prisoner might escape from the United States and live illegally unless found out, in the case, for example, of a worker who escapes from the United States and lives in Switzerland. But your demand is that the Soviet Union actively ferret out every such worker who tries to cross its borders in whom you have a financial investment. This would be a utopia for the bourgeoisie that only a counter-revolution could achieve.

You can, of course, demand that the organizations in the United States guarantee to you the appearance of all defendants for whom you help to obtain bail and to repay in case of loss. This guarantee has always been forthcoming and out of the many thousands of cases which we have handled the number of cases where the defendants failed to appear are very rare indeed. It did occur in the *Gastonia case*. Since we knew that the interest of your board was only a legal one, the International Labor Defense undertook a campaign to repay the loss you sustained and so notified you on several occasions. Your reply was to adopt a series of motions in your meeting of October 6 aimed to undermine such a campaign to raise funds with which to repay the loaners of Gastonia bail, and to make public a statement, which attempts to make political capital for the social fascist views of some of your board members.

Among the things you say is that the nonappearance of the Gastonia prisoners will make it harder to obtain bail in the courts. But your position is in substance more reactionary than the courts. Subsequent to the forfeiture, bail arrangements were not made noticeably harder by the courts, but you have adopted a decision to cut all Communists off from bail entirely and immediately. Communists constitute 70 to 80 percent of defense cases. More, you even adopted a decision to make it very difficult to obtain bail loans from individuals by deciding to inform "friends" that the I. L. D. collects money for defense and relief and uses it for bail. We have already informed you that this is an invention out of thin air, with the only possible result of making more difficult the securing of bail for workers in the future and otherwise undermining labor-defense work. In view of these facts your worry over the Gastonia defendants making it harder for workers to obtain bail cannot be taken very seriously.

In re your accusation that we are collecting money under false pretenses, we have replied in person to Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Bailey. We must record this point, however:

Point D in your minutes reads "the board directed that members and friends of the union be informed that relief and defense funds collected by Communists agencies are sometimes used for bail, and that copies of the resolution and explanatory statement be sent with this information in the next general mailing to the membership."

We challenge any member of your board to point out a single case where the I. L. D. did not openly explain to those to whom it was appealing exactly what the funds would be used for. That such an accusation comes at this time is especially astonishing because of the fact that during the past nine months the International Labor Defense has adopted a policy of avoiding giving bail not only where cash but even where bonds are required, and has militantly fought to establish the right of workers to property bail, and that the I. L. D. has in fact not used any money from its treasury for either whole or part bail in the case of a single individual. And you knew of these facts.

We must say quite frankly that the actions taken by your board are not based upon the interests of persecuted workers but are in effect an attempt to use the Gastonia incident for the political purposes of such of your members as Norman Thomas.

The International Labor Defense urges you to reconsider your position, and based upon its continued guarantee that defendants will appear or we will repay any loss sustained through nonappearance that you reestablish the bail arrangements we have had and withdraw the steps that you decided upon in your October 6 meeting. This should not be difficult for you because you know as well as we that there is no danger that the militant section of the American working class will move to Moscow immediately upon arrest, and that such nonappearance is a rare occurrence. And even where it occurred it was without agreement of the International Labor Defense. We hope you find it possible to reconsider your position.

Please let us hear from you on this.

Yours very truly,

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE,
J. LOUIS ENGDAHL,
For the National Executive Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, during the 2 years you have been in prison, has the Communist Party, or the International Labor Defense, or any of these so-called labor organizations controlled by the Communist Party made any effort to obtain a pardon for you, or parole?

Mr. BEAL. No; they have never said anything like that. They never helped me in any way to get out now.

The CHAIRMAN. After you came back to the United States and began to serve your sentence, they dropped you, did they not?

Mr. BEAL. That is right; they dropped me completely, except to put out statements in their papers all the time condemning me and calling me a traitor to their cause, and all that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. But, before then, during the time you were on trial and thereafter, they were saying that you were an innocent man; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. They said I was innocent, that I was a great organizer, and a very great, courageous organizer, and all that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. They spread that all over the United States, did they not?

Mr. BEAL. Now it is the other way around.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the point I am trying to bring out is this: When you went contrary to the Soviet Union and began to tell the truth about what you saw in Soviet Russia, not only the Communist Party dropped you, but these organizations likewise dropped you?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; the International Labor Defense never said anything about my case.

The CHAIRMAN. Has any other organization championed your cause from that time to this?

Mr. BEAL. Not any organization, except my own defense committee, which I have. William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, is on that, and David Dubinsky, of the International Clothing Workers Organization—and, oh, I have 100 or 200 prominent people that have no connection whatsoever with the Communist Party or the International Labor Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. Prominent liberals and labor leaders are members of his defense committee, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. They understand your case thoroughly?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir; they do.

The CHAIRMAN. And have undertaken to help you now; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. They are trying to free me from prison down in North Carolina. Of course, they had a very difficult time to organize this thing, because everyone they got on the committee, the Communist Party circulated letters to them and tried to get them off, so about five or six did jump off, in the beginning, because they told them I was now a traitor to the working class and told them to get off; but most of them, all of them, practically, stayed on it just the same; because these people that are on it now, although they may not exactly agree with my opinions on one thing or another, they know perfectly well I am just as innocent now in regard to the Gastonia affair as I was years ago—10 years ago. It could not change. I mean the status of whether I am innocent or guilty could not change, just because of my opinions on what is going on in Soviet Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. But the International Labor Defense and the Communist Party, and I presume other organizations, the other allied groups—did they take up your case, too, in their civil-rights publications?

Mr. BEAL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Daily Worker and New Masses and all those publications—did they have a lot to say about your case at the time?

Mr. BEAL. You mean before?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not believe New Masses was formed then.

Mr. BEAL. You mean before and during my trial?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, during the trial, and after the trial?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, they had lots to say.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. They said you were the victim of—

Mr. BEAL. Of class tyranny in the South.

The CHAIRMAN. Of class tyranny in the South, and that your civil rights had been denied you?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the basis for the International Labor Defense coming to your defense; is that right?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The denial of your civil rights?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they went on record definitely then?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But, after you exposed the Soviet Union and came back to the United States, preferring to live in prison to living in the Soviet Union, then they dropped your case entirely?

Mr. BEAL. Dropped it entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet your civil rights were the same, after you came back from Russia, as they were before?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. So what really made the difference was when you told the truth about the Soviet Union, then those organizations controlled by the Soviet Union dropped your case and left you in prison without any support at all?

Mr. BEAL. That is exactly it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have here copies of the Labor Defender. That is the official organ of the International Labor Defense. This issue of November 1928 has an article entitled "Seven Hundred Strikers on Trial"; has a photograph of Mr. Beal, and shows rallies and Communist speakers talking to strikers, soliciting funds for the strike at that time.

And here is another copy which is practically taken up with articles about Mr. Beal and the strike down there. This is December 1929. It also has photographs of Mr. Beal and a group of strikers.

Here is another one of October 1929, of the International Labor Defense magazine. "On the Gastonia Battlefront" is the heading, and here is a page of cartoons on the subject [exhibiting].

Here is another issue of Labor Defender, of July 1929. Mr. Beal's photograph is on the front page and "Smash the Murder Frame-up. Defend Gastonia Strikers!" also "The 14 Southern Textile Strikers Shall Not Die!" this being the time just before the trial.

And here is another issue of International Labor Defense magazine under date of November 1929. This was after the conviction. It contains an article "A Class Case and a Class Verdict. The Workers Render their Verdict."

Now here [exhibiting] is a picture of the jury, the Communist Party jury, that was selected to try the case for the Communist Party down there.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see that.

Mr. VOORHIS. You have not any issues of this magazine of a later date?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I have. Mr. Chairman, here is a photostat of the Daily Worker of Tuesday, April 26, 1938. That was shortly after Mr. Beal started serving his sentence, and under the heading "Column Left. By Harrison George," it reads:

We note that some labor officials and liberals have suddenly become pathetic over Fred E. Beal, and local unions are now being instructed to support a so-called "nonpartisan" committee which is trying to get Beal out of jail.

It goes on at some length and ends up:

So long as Hearst could use him, he was safe from arrest. But he just played out after a while. So then he was arrested on the old charge of jumping bail. Now the Trotskyists are making him out as a great "labor hero," and a number of labor leaders and liberals have discovered his "martyrdom." But he is no labor prisoner—just a coward and a rat. "Why think upside down?"

The CHAIRMAN. If you had come back from Russia praising the Soviet Union, do you think they would have called you a coward and a rat?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, Mr. Beal, as a matter of fact, in your trial there were other people besides Communists who tried to defend you, were there not? I mean who offered their help and like that?

Mr. BEAL. The American Civil Liberties Union, they also offered their help, and they sent down there Alfred Garfield Hayes, and he finally had to go off, though, on the second trial, because they did not want him around.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see. Now, then, I think it might be of some importance to the committee to have you name a few more of the people on your present defense committee, if you could. Would not that be pertinent?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have your defense committee?

Mr. WHITLEY. I have it here some place.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think that list is of some significance.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there are so many of them here; here are hundreds of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would it be proper, in view of the testimony, to put that in the record?

Mr. BEAL. Well, there is Susan La Follette and a number of very prominent people.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see that list made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not have it just as an exhibit in connection with the record?

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you about concluded?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all I have.

Mr. BEAL. I would like just to say one word, Mr. Chairman, and that is this: That although I do not feel that in my case, although I feel in my case that I am out of any danger, any possible danger with the Communist Party, and from what the OGPU agents can do—

I am out of their hands completely; they cannot very well do anything to me; but I would suggest—no; I would not even suggest, but I just mention the fact that today it seems to me the Communist International, or Stalin's gang, is pretty much all over the world with their Ogpu agents and are liable to do some damage to some of those people that have dared to come here on the stand and testify as to the truth of what they have been doing.

I know, in my case, when I was out on bail, when I got out on bail this last time through some good friends, I was going down to see my lawyer in Boston, from my home in Lawrence, and there were three men met me outside of the door, and two of them were dressed like fellows that work on ships, and the other one looked to me—the other one was in fact a person I had seen in the Communist movement, and they wanted me—they suggested that I skip my bail and go on a ship to England. They said there was a ship in the Boston Harbor that would take me over to England, and I would not have to serve any time down there; they would see that I got taken care of over there in England, and, if I would go over there, it would save all this business of going south again. And I turned that down completely and would not go simply because, one of the big reasons for it being, I felt they were Communists and they would promptly put me on a Soviet ship and throw me overboard when they got started.

The CHAIRMAN. The trouble about it was you were a headache to them?

Mr. BEAL. I think they wanted just to say up there I was skipping bail again, and trying to get rid of me that way. I had just read about Juliet Stuart Poyntz having been—at one time she was head of the International Labor Defense and they evidently had done away with her, so I thought perhaps they were trying to do the same thing to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was at the time while you were out on bail in Lawrence, before you went down to Raleigh and surrendered yourself?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your idea was these were possibly Ogpu agents trying to get you some place where they could remove you as a problem?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I thought perhaps they might be trying to get me away from the States, to make people think I was skipping my bail again.

Mr. WHITLEY. To discredit you?

Mr. BEAL. To discredit me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Incidentally, Mr. Beal, did you ever receive a letter from Weinstone with reference to passports?

Mr. BEAL. While over in Russia, I received a letter from Weinstone in Russia stating that when I asked him—I had previously written to him asking about a renewal of my passport, and Weinstone wrote me back that I could renew my passport at any period of time; that he could see to it that I got a passport any time I wanted; I did not need to worry about it. I even put that in my book.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have a reproduction of that letter here?

Mr. BEAL. No; it would not be any use. He wrote it on a typewriter and signed his name on the typewriter.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was Mr. Weinstone, William Weinstone, who was representative of the Communist Party in the United States at the Comintern?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; in Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you wrote him at Moscow, at the Comintern, about your passport renewal?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he wrote you back it would not be necessary, because he could get you a passport at any time?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; any time that he wanted to.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was a small matter?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Harry Kwite?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. See if you recognize this photograph.

Mr. BEAL [after examining]. Yes; I know him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you remember what name you knew him under?

Mr. BEAL. I knew him, but I don't remember the name. I knew him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you know him; in this country, or Russia?

Mr. BEAL. I saw him over in Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did?

Mr. BEAL. I saw him over in Russia, but I don't remember his name.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't remember what activity he was engaged in?

Mr. BEAL. I think he was in the seamen's organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Beal, you were in Russia in 1931, were you not—the last time, I mean?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, then, where does that date fit in with their 5-year plan? I mean, was that during the first 5-year plan, or second 5-year plan, or how far along were they with those plans at that time?

Mr. BEAL. Well, they had a number of 5-year plans, and I don't know which one.

Mr. VOORHIS. I know; I am trying to find out which one was in operation at that time.

Mr. BEAL. Well, I think it was the second.

Mr. VOORHIS. The second one?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, the conditions as you found them—

Mr. BEAL. Did not change so much.

Mr. VOORHIS. All I am trying to get at is: The conditions as you found them there were the conditions as they existed after the second 5-year plan was very well under way?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; in the Ukraine section there was general starvation and they would not even let foreign correspondents visit there.

Mr. VOORHIS. They would not?

Mr. BEAL. No; they would not. They would not permit them to go in the Ukraine section, because so many people were dying from starvation, that they could not report on it; although they have later, much later, admitted the fact that people starved there.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is there quite a bit of difference between conditions in Russia itself, or is there considerable difference between conditions in Moscow itself, and other parts of the country?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, much better in Moscow; very, very much better; because, I guess, so many foreigners are always there. But they would not permit people to travel around very much in the Ukraine section at all, or down in Uzbekstan; they would not permit anyone to go down there.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? If not, the committee wants to express its thanks to the Governor of North Carolina for enabling us to have the services of this witness, and to thank you, Mr. Beal, for rendering a service to the country and to American labor in exposing these matters and telling us what the situation is.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to add my word to that.

Mr. BEAL. Thank you very much.

Mr. VOORHIS. I might say this, too: I feel one of the most important things that should be done in order to clarify the atmosphere in this country would be if Mr. Beal's appearance could be known by a whole lot more people. I think it is especially important from the standpoint of American labor.

Mr. BEAL. I thank you very much.

(After informal discussion, the committee thereupon took a recess until 1 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened at 1 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. The first witness is Mr. Fritz Heberling.

TESTIMONY OF FRITZ HEBERLING, CLERK, GERMAN CONSULATE, CHICAGO

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. HEBERLING. Fritz Heberling.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present address?

Mr. HEBERLING. 3240 Warner Avenue, Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mr. HEBERLING. In Strasbourg, in Alsace-Lorraine.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. HEBERLING. The 29th of May, 1903.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you in the World War?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you leave your native country of Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. In 1928.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you go?

Mr. HEBERLING. To Belgium.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you remain there?

Mr. HEBERLING. Two years.

Mr. WHITLEY. What work were you engaged in in Belgium?

Mr. HEBERLING. I was a clerk.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you go from Belgium?

Mr. HEBERLING. I came to the United States in 1930.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you enter the United States?

Mr. HEBERLING. At New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where have you lived in the United States since your arrival here?

Mr. HEBERLING. For about 4 months, and then I came to Chicago. That is where I have lived ever since.

Mr. WHITLEY. With the exception of 4 months, you have lived in Chicago the entire time?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What occupation have you followed in the United States?

Mr. HEBERLING. Different occupations. Most of the time I was a clerk, in different kinds of offices. Then I did some other work.

Mr. WHITLEY. Most of the time you were a clerk?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever taken out any papers?

Mr. HEBERLING. I did have some application. You must pardon me, but my English is not perfect, and I asked you to have an interpreter on account of some of the delicate questions I will have to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take plenty of time.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present occupation?

Mr. HEBERLING. I am in the German consulate at Chicago. I am a clerk.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are an employee?

Mr. HEBERLING. I am employed in the German consulate under the state department.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are under the state department?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you been employed in the German consulate?

Mr. HEBERLING. Since the 1st of June of this year.

Mr. WHITLEY. What duties do you perform there?

Mr. HEBERLING. Various duties. I do clerical work, routine work, secretarial work.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you a member of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you a member of the organization that preceded that, the Teutonia Society?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were a member of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where did you join that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. It was in 1934, until 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. You joined it in Chicago?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In 1936, did you resign from that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir. There came from Germany some telegrams. That came in 1935, telling the German citizens that were members of the Friends of New Germany not to be members of the Friends of New Germany. That telegram was sent by the order of the leader, by Mr. Rudolph Hess, in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was that telegram sent?

Mr. HEBERLING. To the Embassy, and to the consular offices.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following the receipt of that telegram, what action was taken by the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. There was no action taken. It was only action taken on the part of German citizens, to get out of the organization. That is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. The German citizens, including yourself, withdrew from the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you remember the date of the withdrawal?

Mr. HEBERLING. It was as late as the first of January 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you set up another organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; we set up another organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Immediately?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the name of that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. It was the German Bund.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you hold any official position in the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. I was just on a committee once, for only a short time. I was not long in the organization at all. I had no official position.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was the head of the Friends of New Germany at that time?

Mr. HEBERLING. I think in that year we had three, four, or five different heads in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Fritz Kuhn the head of it?

Mr. HEBERLING. Do you mean the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. HEBERLING. We had over there Fritz Gissibl.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Dr. Griebel holding any office in the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. I do not know. I only knew who was in there in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a result of that telegram from Germany, you withdrew, along with other German citizens, and set up the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What about the remaining members, who were American citizens?

Mr. HEBERLING. The Friends of New Germany—they remained for quite awhile—I think for 1 year. We changed the name in 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. They changed the name to the German-American Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The German-American was the same organization, but they just changed the name?

Mr. HEBERLING. I cannot tell you that. I do not know whether they liquidated the organization. They changed the name after the first of January. We had no idea of what was going on over there.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do know that a new organization came into being, or was organized in the first part of 1937, or the German-American Bund, of which Fritz Kuhn is the leader, and has been the leader since it was formed?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether that order from Germany that all German citizens get out of the Friends of New Germany went to other parts of the country? You say that it was carried out in Chicago, and I am asking if you know whether it was carried out in other parts of the country?

Mr. HEBERLING. So far as I know, the German consul-general in 1936 called somebody to his office, and gave the order to get out of the locals, so that everybody who was a German citizen had to be out by a certain time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was called in and given that order, or to whom did the consul give the order that all German citizens should get out of that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. It must have been a representative of the consulate in the various sections of the country.

Mr. HEBERLING. That might be—I have no idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who were the first officers of the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. In Chicago?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. HEBERLING. The first, I cannot remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you one of the officers, or one of the first officers of the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you name the first officers of the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir. I was elected, I think, in March 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Elected to what?

Mr. HEBERLING. It was a regular democratic election.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the title—leader?

Mr. HEBERLING. Leader or president. I was the head of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the German Bund have units in other cities?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir; it is just in Chicago, with no connection with any other city.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is just in Chicago?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; just in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did it recently establish an office or unit in Milwaukee?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir; that is a separate organization. If there are other groups in other cities, they have nothing to do with us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who are the present officers of the German Bund, in addition to yourself?

Mr. HEBERLING. The German Bund was dissolved in 1937. I have brought some papers so you can see it on the old bills.

The CHAIRMAN. It was dissolved when?

Mr. HEBERLING. At the end of 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was organized in 1936?

Mr. HEBERLING. The first of January 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it was dissolved when?

Mr. HEBERLING. It was dissolved in 1937 after we had some unfavorable publicity in Chicago newspapers. The consul-general called me into his office and told me that we must stop. We were not interested in getting that publicity. At that time they wore a uniform. He told us we had to stop and liquidate the whole organization.

The CHAIRMAN. He told you what about the uniform?

Mr. HEBERLING. We were wearing a uniform, with shirts and a pair of pants, and the German consul called me down there and told me to stop that, because in the eyes of the American public, people who did not know about that, would think there were other things going on behind the scenes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was 1937?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir. I think it was in September 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have had no organization since that time?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have some testimony from Dr. Willumeit. Do you know him?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have his sworn testimony, taken in Chicago, that the German Bund is still in existence, and that they have 1,000 members.

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, I can say that there are not more than 225 members. When I left Chicago, I counted them up, and there were 207. There may be a few more, but there are not over 225 members.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you said the organization was dissolved.

Mr. HEBERLING. There is another organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the organization right now?

Mr. HEBERLING. The Alliance of German Nationals.

The CHAIRMAN. That has taken the place of the other organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; after the German Bund was dissolved.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the German Bund was dissolved in 1937, and this new organization took its place?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You deny Dr. Willumeit's statement that there are 1,000 members of this organization now?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that is not true?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is not true.

Mr. WHITLEY. After the German Bund was dissolved in 1937, and a new organization was set up, you say the name of it was the Alliance of German Nationals?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir. I have endeavored to put it in English on paper, when we invite some people.

Mr. WHITLEY. We will have to use English.

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you the head of the new organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir. I was elected, I think—I cannot remember that date.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you still the head of the organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; I am still the head of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the purposes of that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. They are social purposes, and charitable purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are all the members German citizens?

Mr. HEBERLING. All have to be German citizens. Otherwise, we do not take them in the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if I understand it. It was the German Bund until 1937?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the consul ordered it dissolved because of some unfavorable publicity?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On account of the uniform they wore, and the marching and parades?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you formed a new organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the purposes of the new organization are different from the purposes of the old organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. They were the same purposes, except we do not have any uniform any more. We do not go to other organizations, attend their affairs, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The purposes are the same, but you mean to say that the activities are different?

Mr. HEBERLING. The activities are different; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the total membership of the German Citizens' League or the German Citizens' Alliance?

Mr. HEBERLING. Not over 225.

Mr. WHITLEY. It has no branches?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is just in Chicago?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; just a Chicago local. It is an independent organization in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. What administrative records does the organization keep?

Mr. HEBERLING. Any money we take in, we put on the books. We show every penny that comes in and that goes out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are those records kept at the organization's headquarters?

Mr. HEBERLING. We have no headquarters. The treasurer has his books at his home.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who are the other officers of the organization, in addition to yourself?

Mr. HEBERLING. The treasurer is Mr. Bamberg.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that his last name?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his first name?

Mr. HEBERLING. His first name is Hugo. His name is Hugo Bamberg.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who are the other officers?

Mr. HEBERLING. Mr. Hendley Sickenger.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his office in the organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. He sends out letters and invitations.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is a kind of secretary?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; a kind of secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. How often does the German Citizens' League or Alliance meet?

Mr. HEBERLING. Once a month.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where are the meetings held?

Mr. HEBERLING. At the Germania Clubhouse.

The CHAIRMAN. It is true that at some meetings of this organization you have had as many as 2,500 people, is it not?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir; there are only 1,500 that we can take in the hall. There was at one time 1,450 there, when we invited every German National.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization invited them to be present on those occasions?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; through advertisements in the newspapers, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization, I notice from the stationery, quotes from Adolf Hitler. Is this a correct translation of it? I presume that is a slogan.

Mr. HEBERLING. We have no slogan at all. We have never had any. I have the same thing here.

The CHAIRMAN. This is on the official stationery of the organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct translation: "Each one must remember wherever he is and dare not forget that the nation lives only through the work of all members." Is that correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the same page I have here?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; I have that here. A gentleman representing the newspapers asked me for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you translate it? What is this circular?

Mr. HEBERLING. When somebody becomes a member of the organization he has to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read it and translate it, or tell us what it means?

Mr. HEBERLING. In German?

The CHAIRMAN. No; in English.

Mr. HEBERLING. I am not able to translate it correctly.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get a translation from Dr. Matthews.

Mr. HEBERLING. It says:

Stay always within the laws of the United States where you are guests, and stay out of the politics of the United States. While you are not an American citizen, you have nothing to do with the politics of the United States. Do not mix even in talks in politics. Speak the truth always.

I cannot translate it correctly.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get a translation of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are any other officers of the German Citizens League or Alliance, that you have just named, also employed in the consulate?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. They are not?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir; there is not a single member of our organization employed in the German consulate.

Mr. WHITLEY. Other than yourself?

Mr. HEBERLING. Other than myself; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are the sources of income of the German Citizens League?

Mr. HEBERLING. Just the membership dues. If we have some affair, and there is some money from it, it is income.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have contributions?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir; we never get any contributions from outsiders, or except from our own members, in case somebody is in need.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the organization maintain a bank account?

Mr. HEBERLING. We used to have a bank account until about when the war started. Unfortunately, our treasurer was in Germany, and was one check left. We took it over. We had the bank account under the old name, because when we dissolved the old organization there was some debts we had to pay. There was a moral obligation to pay, and we did not change the name. It was in the Lake View Banking & Trust Co., of Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. With what organization does your group cooperate?

Mr. HEBERLING. With no organization at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you cooperate in meetings, for instance?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you invite members of other organizations to attend your meetings?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir. We only invite them once in a while, on some national holiday. We may invite some organization or some friends to attend our affairs, but not meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do other organizations invite representatives of your organization to attend their meetings?

Mr. HEBERLING. Of course, the meetings are different. They send our invitations, but that does not amount to anything more than to singing societies.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization have any publication?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Explain to the committee exactly what the relation is between your organization, the German Bund, now known as the German Citizens League or Alliance, and the German-American Bund in Chicago.

Mr. HEBERLING. We have no relation with it whatsoever.

Mr. WHITLEY. What have been the relations in the past?

Mr. HEBERLING. In the past it was like that. When we went out in 1936, the first time, we had an office. It was a big building, and we rented a room in the building and paid \$15 per month. That was at the time we withdrew from the bund, and got out of the old building.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that it was in 1937 when the German citizens got out of the bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; it was 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. That is when you got out of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And, you say, that German citizens were never members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Before 1936?

The CHAIRMAN. The German-American Bund was not formed until 1936. I am talking about the German-American Bund.

Mr. HEBERLING. I cannot tell you that. I am not able to give information about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that in 1936 the German citizens got out of the Friends of New Germany, and went into an organization known as the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were the head of that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read to you from the testimony of Dr. Willumeit, the head of the German-American Bund in Chicago, as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have any German citizens in the bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. I do not know about that.

The CHAIRMAN. I am reading from Dr. Willumeit's testimony to see what part of it you disagree with. This is a question by the chairman:

You do not have any German citizens in the bund?

Dr. WILLUMEIT. No, sir; I think they all left after March 1938 when Mr. Kuhn ordered them out.

Do you know whether that is correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. I do not know anything about that at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about the order that Kuhn gave?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not prepared to say whether, or not, there were German citizens in the German-American Bund up until 1938?

Mr. HEBERLING. I am not able to say—I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that many members of the Friends of New Germany, or, at least, some of them, might have stayed in the German-American Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know about that?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You undertook to get them all out of that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in a position to contest that point?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The CHAIRMAN. They belong to a separate organization here?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The German Bund?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes. That is when the division came.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the German Bund ever meet with your bund?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No; we do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the size of the German Bund is?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes; not exactly, but they are, I think, a few hundred, or I would even say a few thousand people. I don't know what the requirements are for the membership, but I have once or twice attended an official celebration at the Germania Club, which was given by the German Consulate and arranged by this German Bund here—

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing reading):

and according to the crowd that I have seen there I think it probably must be 800 or a thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Members of the German Bund?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. I don't know whether they are all members of whether they would be just German citizens attending these meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen meetings in which there are more than a thousand present, haven't you?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Not in the German Bund, because they do not meet outside. They just have—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Closed meetings?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Closed meetings, at the Germania Club; yes.

Is that correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing reading):

The CHAIRMAN. Do they invite members of your bund to attend those meetings?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no cooperation between the two organizations?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. None whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not meet jointly?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have speakers from the German Bund to address your organization?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No; never.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the consul ever address your organization, the German consul?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No; he has not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the German Bund stands for?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Well, the name merely implies that they are an association of Reich-Deutscher, German citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean by that, are their objectives any different from your objectives?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. I do not think they have any at all. The way it appears to me, they are a nonpolitical organization.

The CHAIRMAN. They used to be members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes; at that time.

That is at variance with your testimony. You say they were members of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; they were members of the Friends of New Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. But evidently some of them stayed in the German-American Bund up until 1938.

Mr. HEBERLING. That might be.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any knowledge as to whether that is true?

Mr. HEBERLING. I never asked our members where they were before. When they file the application, there is nothing which says where they were before.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The CHAIRMAN. They used to be members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes; at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. And they broke away?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. But at that time I think they were already a separate unit within the German-American Bund.

Is that true? Were you ever a separate unit within the German-American Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. We never were a separate unit in the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he is mistaken in his statement?

Mr. HEBERLING. He is mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

The CHAIRMAN. But at the time they were in the bund they had the same objectives that your group does?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes; most likely. This was before the time I came with them.

The CHAIRMAN. But in breaking away you don't know whether they have a charter or a corporation or what it is?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No; they have neither a charter nor a corporation.

That is correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have a constitution?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the head of the organization?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Mr. Heberling.

The CHAIRMAN. Fritz Heberling?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Fritz Heberling; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many meetings of the German Bund have you attended?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Of the German Bund?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; this other organization.

Mr. WILLUMEIT. I think only two.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard speakers there?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What does Heberling do, do you know?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No; I don't. I just understand that he is connected with the consulate.

That is correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

The CHAIRMAN. He works at the consulate?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes; because he was for some time in charge, and I think he still is in charge of people who intend to go back to Germany.

Were you ever in charge of the consulate there?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No; never.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any comment on that?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. About my position in the German consulate I am not making any statement.

The CHAIRMAN. We will not press you on that. [Reading:]

The CHAIRMAN. From the speeches that you heard at the two times you were present at the German Bund meetings, what were they largely about? About the new Germany?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes. At those meetings the consul spoke, and I attended one, I think, the first May Day celebration. They were mostly about Germany, and even so the consul always has stressed that the American citizens of this country should conduct themselves as citizens of Germany, in the respect that they are guests in this country, and that they should not interfere with or participate in any political program of whatsoever societies there may be.

Is that correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct. That corresponds with the paper I gave you.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The CHAIRMAN. You were there when they had that fight at the German Club?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No; I wasn't there.

And so forth.

You do not know about a controversy that took place involving Mr. Eric von Schroeder?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. From the Cultural League? He made a speech at one of the clubs there.

Mr. HEBERLING. I have no ideas about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall that incident?

Mr. HEBERLING. I never attended meetings of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. This is of the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. The German Bund?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HEBERLING. I think that must be a mistake. There was never an incident at our meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is Willumeit who says that he was present at the Germania Club at one of the meetings sponsored by your organization when Eric von Schroeder—do you know who he is?

Mr. HEBERLING. I know who he is, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Eric von Schroeder made some criticism of Germany and they threw him out.

Mr. HEBERLING. But not in our meeting; in the meeting of the German-American Bund. That was the affair that was at the Germania Club, not in our meeting. That was a meeting of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. When that happened?

Mr. HEBERLING. When that happened; not in our meetings.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The CHAIRMAN. He made some speech against nazi-ism, didn't he?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes. * * *

That was the occasion you are talking about?

Mr. HEBERLING. I know, because I read it in the newspapers the next day, but it was not our organization; it was the German-American Bund organization.

The CHAIRMAN. In which he was thrown out because he criticized nazi-ism; is that right?

Mr. HEBERLING. That might be.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where the German Bund meets?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes; at the Germania Club.

The CHAIRMAN. At the Germania Club?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. Yes; it is their headquarters.

Is that right?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, we never met any place else.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The CHAIRMAN. Do you ever attend at the Germania Club?

Mr. WILLUMEIT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have, as members of your bund, or your organization, any German citizen who is contemplating becoming an American citizen?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If a German citizen residing in the United States looks forward to becoming an American citizen, then the place for him is in the Prospective League—I mean, if he wants to join an organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. We only take people in our organization who are of the intention to go back to Germany in a short time. Anybody who is here and wants to stay here, we tell him to stay out of the organization, we are not interested in his membership.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Dr. Willumeit says in this testimony that your membership is approximately 800 to 1,000.

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, that is incorrect.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he is absolutely mistaken about that?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is incorrect.

The CHAIRMAN. That is incorrect?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You definitely state——

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, I state it is not over 225.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Willumeit further testified here that the members of your German Bund are mostly skilled workers who work in industries in and about Chicago; is that correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. I do not know that exactly. I know we have no unemployed members in our organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you have no unemployed, but I am asking you about Dr. Willumeit's testimony to the effect that the members of your German Bund work in industries in and about Chicago; is that correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, they are working in and about Chicago, but different kind of work.

The CHAIRMAN. They are mostly skilled workmen, are they not?

Mr. HEBERLING. They are skilled workmen; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They are technical experts?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, technical experts—there are only a couple of them. Mostly carpenters and other kinds of trades. I do not think we have many technical experts. What do you mean by technical experts, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean one who works in industries that require considerable skill.

Mr. HEBERLING. You mean a blacksmith? That is no technical expert. A technical expert is a draftsman or an engineer.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, take engineering or chemical work.

Mr. HEBERLING. I think we have only one engineer in the whole organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any chemists?

Mr. HEBERLING. We have no chemists.

The CHAIRMAN. The skilled laborers in industry, they are in the majority?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; they are.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be the majority?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; that would be the majority.

The CHAIRMAN. But they all work in and about Chicago?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; in and about Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. That only accounts for the German citizens who intend to go back to Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The German citizens who intend to become American citizens, they are not in your organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; they are not in our organization.

The CHAIRMAN. They belong, as I understand it, to the Prospective League for Citizenship, or some organization by that name?

Mr. HEBERLING. I have no idea about that, where they belong to.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about that. You have not been back to Germany since what year?

Mr. HEBERLING. Since I came here; I never was back in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Do many members of your organization travel back and forth between here and Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. I could say none, nobody except one who traveled back.

The CHAIRMAN. None except one member?

Mr. HEBERLING. Except one member. He was our treasurer. He got over there and could not come back. He came back from Holland a couple of weeks ago. We have no money to travel.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know George Froebese?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, I met him a couple of times.

The CHAIRMAN. Just two or three times?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, it might be four or five times.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to find out is, Are you intimately acquainted with him, or casually?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; just casual.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a passing acquaintanceship with him?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Dr. Colin Ross?

Mr. HEBERLING. Not personally.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did meet him?

Mr. HEBERLING. I never spoke to him; no.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not meet him when he was in the United States?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend any of his lectures?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; I attended a lecture at the Germania Club.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it sponsored by your organization or by the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; neither. It was sponsored by the German-American Vocational League.

The CHAIRMAN. The German-American Vocational League sponsored Dr. Ross' lecture there?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only meeting you ever attended that was addressed by Dr. Ross?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; a second one; the Council of Foreign Relations, at the Palmer House.

The CHAIRMAN. The Council on Foreign Relations?

Mr. HEBERLING. At the Palmer House.

The CHAIRMAN. At the Palmer House?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That makes two meetings. Did you ever have any association with him other than that?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You never had any other association with him one way or the other?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that he was representing some picture company in Germany? Did he so represent to you?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; I have not the slightest idea.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have any intimation in that respect?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; nothing at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Oscar C. Pfaus?

Mr. HEBERLING. Who?

The CHAIRMAN. Pfaus, Oscar C. Pfaus.

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, there was a man by that name years ago, I think in 1934 or 1935, in Chicago, but I never saw him after that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Could you identify his photograph?

Mr. HEBERLING. Of course, I can recall how he looked.

(Mr. Whitley hands photograph to the witness.)

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the Oscar C. Pfaus?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he connected with the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; he was not.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was before the time of the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. I think he was connected with the Friends of New Germany, at the time he was a member of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he hold any official position?

Mr. HEBERLING. I think he held some kind of a newspaper job; he bought out at this time a newspaper in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was editor of some newspaper?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long was he in this country, do you know?

Mr. HEBERLING. I have not the slightest idea. The only thing I can recall, he told me once he was in the United States Army.

Mr. WHITLEY. He told you he was in the United States Army?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; and that is how he became an American citizen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know where he is at the present time?

Mr. HEBERLING. Not the slightest idea. I did not see him after he left there, 1934 or maybe it was 1933. I cannot recall that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had any correspondence with him?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; never.

Mr. WHITLEY. Could you identify his signature?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know an organization in Germany called the Ficht Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Would you write that down, please?

(Mr. Whitley hands paper to witness).

Mr. HEBERLING. It must be there, I don't know. I have no relations with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever heard of it before?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; I heard of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you know there is such an organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. There is an organization like that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Mr. Pfaus is connected with that?

Mr. HEBERLING. I have not the slightest idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of an organization is that, do you know?

Mr. HEBERLING. I do not know, either.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever received any literature or letters from them?

Mr. HEBERLING. We never receive any literature or letters from Germany. We have no connection with Germany whatsoever, only through the German consul.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not seen Mr. Pfaus since 1934 or 1935?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Heberling, are any members of your organization, the German Citizens League, also members of the German Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you hold your meetings at the Germania Club?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What arrangements do you make? Do you pay rent?

Mr. HEBERLING. We pay rent.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you hold meetings there?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. To whom do you pay rent?

Mr. HEBERLING. The manager of the club.

Mr. WHITLEY. And who is the manager of the club?

Mr. HEBERLING. Mr. William Bieber is his name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the German-American Bund also hold its meetings there?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. At the Germania Club?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. It does not?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand it, Mr. Heberling, prior to 1937 when your organization was known as the German Bund, the members did wear uniforms and had drills, but then, after the name was changed, in 1937, you eliminated the uniforms and the drills?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; every drill and everything we eliminated.

Mr. WHITLEY. Everything of that kind was eliminated and you have had nothing of that kind since 1937?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization collect or send funds back to Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. If that is done, it is just an individual proposition?

Mr. HEBERLING. Please?

Mr. WHITLEY. If there are any funds sent back, it is a matter of the individual?

Mr. HEBERLING. First, we have no funds to send back. We are called on to have funds in Chicago. We have so many stranded now on account of the war, and they ask us if we cannot give something to help them. There were some students here in the university, exchange students, and we are undertaking to take care of them now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization receive any funds from Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or from any outside source?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; we have no connection with Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you receive any funds through the consulate?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you have no outside source of funds?

Mr. HEBERLING. No outside source of funds.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just the membership dues.

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever undertake, Mr. Heberling, to take out American citizenship papers or ever start to take them out?

Mr. HEBERLING. I asked once. I asked for the first papers, because I was applying for a job, and before I ever got my first papers they turned me down, and so I quit figuring on that. I made up my mind to go back to Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization, Mr. Heberling, engage in the dissemination of material, propaganda material of any kind?

Mr. HEBERLING. Explain yourself a little more clearly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Pamphlets or leaflets or circulars of any kind?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; nothing at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did it pass out pamphlets or circulars in August 1937, at Soldiers Field Stadium in Chicago?

Mr. HEBERLING. I cannot recall that, because that was the German Bund. I even do not know what was passed out at Soldiers Field this time, but—

Mr. WHITLEY. That was a German Day celebration.

Mr. HEBERLING. But I do not recall any more if there was something passed out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization, Mr. Heberling, check up on or secure information concerning other German organizations in this country?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, does it try to see what they are doing?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. And make any reports on their activities of any kind?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; we make no reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has your organization ever checked up on other German organizations?

Mr. HEBERLING. We never checked up on other organizations; not this and not the other.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel asked you about pamphlets. You would know if the organization distributed any pamphlets?

Mr. HEBERLING. It did not distribute any pamphlets. We never printed any pamphlets, never had any pamphlets printed. We never spent a single penny for pamphlets.

The CHAIRMAN. Since the neutrality issue here, has your organization cooperated with any other organization in distributing literature?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you contribute anything or cooperate in any way with the German-American Alliance? Do you know what that organization is?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything about it?

Mr. HEBERLING. I know the German-American Alliance but we did not do anything with them. We have nothing to do with that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just what I am asking you. Did you have anything to do with the distribution of two speeches, one by Adolph Hitler, and one by Premier Daladier? Do you know whether or not your organization had anything to do with that?

Mr. HEBERLING. Our organization had nothing to do with it. It would be against our principles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know anything about the German-American National Alliance in Chicago?

Mr. HEBERLING. I know only there is an organization like this in existence.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know there is such an organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. In existence, I know that; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know any of the officers of that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. I don't know; I might, if you give me the names.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Mr. Teneicken?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; I know Mr. Teneicken.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he one of the officers of that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. I think he is.

Mr. WHITLEY. You think he is?

Mr. HEBERLING. I am not sure about it. He spoke for the Alliance, from what I read in the newspapers, in Chicago, but I do not know if he is an officer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Dr. Silge?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he an officer of that organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. I do not know exactly. At least he is working for the Alliance.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is connected with it?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know if he is the head of it?

Mr. HEBERLING. I have not the slightest idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has that organization been in existence? Do you know that, Mr. Heberling?

Mr. HEBERLING. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are any of the members of your organization members of the German-American National Alliance?

Mr. HEBERLING. I don't know. They would not be allowed, because nobody is allowed to be a member of any political organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is a political organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. We have the testimony of the head of the German-American Alliance and he denied that the German Bund or the

German-American Bund were members of the German-American Alliance. They have about 300 different German-American societies that are affiliated with the German-American Alliance, according to the testimony of this man, which testimony we have here.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether any individual members of the bund, the German-American Bund, belong to this Alliance?

Mr. HEBERLING. I have no idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no connection with it yourself?

Mr. HEBERLING. I have no connection with it myself whatsoever.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you personally acquainted with Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your organization has no actual connection with the bund in Chicago?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are acquainted with some of the individual members and officers?

Mr. HEBERLING. I am acquainted with some of the individual members; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you attended meetings in Chicago which were addressed by Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. HEBERLING. Let me see—well, I can say the last meeting I attended where Mr. Kuhn addressed was the affair after he got that nice publicity in the Chicago Times.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the affair.

Mr. HEBERLING. That was the last time. I spoke to him at the hall.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was after that that you changed your name?

Mr. HEBERLING. On account of that, we do not want to get in a second trouble like that and call the whole thing off, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. That was when you changed the name and stopped wearing this uniform?

Mr. HEBERLING. Everything, and stopped the drills.

Mr. WHITLEY. Before then, did you march and parade?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, we only were in a parade twice and that we did not think was political, because each time it was a German day celebration, once in Kenosha and once in Chicago. And we are not going to do that any more. We had enough of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Heberling, as the leader of a German group in the United States and as one who has been identified with such groups for a number of years, would you care to express any opinion to the committee with reference to the German-American Bund? What is the attitude of your group and your friends in German circles concerning Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, I tell you the truth, we just look and see what is going on, and how much they are in trouble, and we are not interested at all in what they are doing.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no interest at all?

Mr. HEBERLING. We have no interest at all in what they are doing.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here now the translation of the purposes of the organization. [Reading:]

Always obey the laws of the United States whose guest you are.

That is correct, is it not?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

Leave to American citizens the politics of the United States. Do not mix in the internal politics of the United States. Do not mix in these even in your own speaking.

Is that correct?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

Speak and act always so that you do honor to Germany. Be lawful, honorable, fearless and true.

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

See in every German your compatriot, a person of your own blood, your own kind, and your help.

Is that right?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

We are all offspring of our nation.

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, the expression "offspring," that is not correct. But I do not know a better translation right now.

The CHAIRMAN. We are all offshoots, would that be it?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; that German word on there means work to do.

Mr. VOORHIS. How about builders?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, something between offspring and builders.
[Reading:]

From the heart, help and advance your compatriot when he is blameless and stands in need.

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

Be not only a member but also a fellow worker of our organization.

Mr. HEBERLING. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Heberling, has your organization ever cooperated with any of the Ukrainian groups in Chicago?

Mr. HEBERLING. We never cooperated with any Ukrainian groups. We were invited once, because we wanted to know if there were any new airplanes. That was in 1930, I suppose. We were out there on their air field.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that the occasion when Mr. Kuhn dedicated one of their planes?

Mr. HEBERLING. No. I don't think there was even a member of the Friends of New Germany there. I don't know even the correct time when it was given.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was Mr. Hetman's group, was it not?

Mr. HEBERLING. That was Mr. Hetman's group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did any of the Ukrainian groups have aviation training and train any of the members of your organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. No. That was some of our ideas before we got away from our uniform. But we did not do it, because we thought that it would create a wrong impression in our organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your organization, as such, has never taken any stand either to approve or disapprove of activities of any other German groups?

Mr. HEBERLING. No. They can do whatever they want. We are not interested in them.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask one question. Are all your meetings closed meetings, Mr. Heberling?

Mr. HEBERLING. They are closed. Of course, if anybody asks us to be invited, he can come, but we make it so they are only German citizens, because we do not want to have any influence over an American citizen whatsoever.

Mr. VOORHIS. But I mean if somebody wanted to come——

Mr. HEBERLING. If he was an observer, of course, he would be heartily welcome.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, they are simply not public?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; they are not public meetings.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, on the other hand, they are not secret meetings?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; they are not secret meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Heberling, have the members of these organizations recently come into the United States, for the most part?

Mr. HEBERLING. Mr. Chairman, they are made up of people who for some long time have had the intention of going back; some are stranded in a university or school; there are some businessmen who are here, and some visitors. They are always changing—our membership.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want these back [indicating papers]?

Mr. HEBERLING. You can have them. I can take them back if you want me to. I mean, you can save the first two if you want to have them for your files, but the others I want to have back for our files.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have a few checks that I would like to have Mr. Heberling identify, if he can.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Heberling, this is a photographic copy of a check dated May 1, 1939 [handing a paper to the witness]. The check bears the printed name Deutscher Volksbund, 3855 North Western Avenue, Chicago, Ill.?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes. They are old checks.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it is drawn on the Lake View Trust & Savings Bank, Chicago, Ill.?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Signed for the Deutscher Volksbund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. By H. Bamberg?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; and myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Bamberg is the treasurer?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it is countersigned by yourself?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes. That is my name.

May I explain those checks? Those first checks were in 1936, and we never changed it then.

Mr. WHITLEY. But as late as May of this year you had an account?

Mr. HEBERLING. We still have it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this bank?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; we still have it in this bank.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you changed the name?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; we did not change the name. That is the only thing we didn't do. I don't know how it came; we just let it go.

Mr. WHITLEY. That bank account is still in the name of the Deutscher Volksbund?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; it is still in the name of the Deutscher Volksbund.

Mr. WHITLEY. This check that I have just described is payable to the order of the Germania Club, in the amount of \$358.68?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was that payment for?

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, there was the hall, for instance, which was \$250, and the linen, and whatever comes along—the expenses for meetings. On a week day, for instance, the hall is only \$50.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another check of the same type, dated the same date, May 1, 1939, to the Germania Club, in the amount of \$50.

Mr. HEBERLING. As I tell you, that is why we had that account opened. We had that for about \$200 or \$300 under the name of the Deutsche Volksbund, and when we had some money we paid off.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you made a little extra money, you paid off?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is a third check on the same check form, signed by H. Bamberg and countersigned by yourself, dated May 8, 1939, made payable to the Germania Club, for \$116.45?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall what that was for?

Mr. HEBERLING. On May 8th—I don't know. It might have been the first of May celebration. It might be \$200, and the difference was \$60, and we paid \$16 some days later, after we got the tickets. I couldn't tell exactly, to the penny.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did your organization ever participate in any meetings of the German-American Bund at the Germania Club?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. At which expenses were shared?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. At which you paid part and they paid part?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if you invited them to attend your meeting, it was your meeting and you ran it and paid for it?

Mr. HEBERLING. We ran it and paid for it.

Mr. WHITLEY. And if they invited you to attend their meetings, they did the same?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; they did the same.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Heberling, after the unfavorable publicity you referred to, which caused you to change the activities of your organization, did you change the name from the German Bund to the German Citizens Alliance in order to get away from that name, the Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. No. I tell you, we did not change the name. We liquidated it. We liquidated the organization. We founded a new one. I tell you, we had so much trouble privately, and I can tell you, for instance, in my home, after the publicity, they called up and told my wife to just have me shot. My wife fell down—she was 8 days home with a baby, and we had to bring her back to the hospital, and she had a very heavy operation. And so with the different kinds of publicity, our members had very much difficulties all around, and that was one of the reasons we liquidated the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Heberling, in the testimony that was taken in Chicago, the head of this German-American National Alliance, Mr. Ten Eicken, testified that there were 300 German-American organizations affiliated with the German-American Alliance in Chicago. You do not know anything about that, do you?

Mr. HEBERLING. I don't know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. He testified that the German-Americans and the German citizens were very much discriminated against in that section of the country, and that many Germans had lost their jobs. I asked him to supply the committee with the name of any German-American who had lost his job on account of any feeling that might exist. Naturally this committee is just as anxious to prevent any anti-German-American sentiment as it is to prevent any anti-Jewish or Italian or any other kind of sentiment.

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any names of German citizens in that area who have lost their jobs on account of this alleged feeling?

Mr. HEBERLING. No. I have one case in my organization, but, of course, you never can prove those things.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you believe that that happens?

Mr. HEBERLING. Of course, the man told me that his boss was an American citizen of Czecho-Slovakian ancestry, and on account of this he lost his job because he was a German; but you can't prove those things. He would say that he did his work not right, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you might be able to throw some light on it. He testified in Chicago that the German-American Bund was not affiliated with his organization; that is, Mr. Ten Eicken's organization was an old line German-American society.

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is an American citizen, of course, and I think probably born in the United States, and he seemed to have quite a bit of feeling, and he indicated that the people of German descent in and about Chicago had quite a bit of feeling that they were being persecuted on account of the situation that exists throughout the world. I thought perhaps you could add to that testimony. For some reason he has never sent me the names of the people that he claimed he had, and I thought perhaps, being in the consulate there, you might be able to give us some precise information, if you have any information of anyone who has been mistreated.

Mr. HEBERLING. Well, I cannot give you any proof. That is impossible.

Mr. VOORHIS. But do you believe things like that happen to German people?

Mr. HEBERLING. One thing I can tell you, and that is that for some time we have had more cases in our budget for assistance than we had before.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, German citizens?

Mr. HEBERLING. German citizens; but it makes no difference. If someone comes to us and needs help we don't ask him if he is a German citizen or an American citizen. And some of them have children, and they haven't enough; and old acquaintances, we help them too.

Mr. VOORHIS. But do you think that is more true of your group than it is of other groups? Do you think there is any more need of that kind among your people than there is among other groups of people?

Mr. HEBERLING. I tell you: In our organization we have no unemployed, and I cannot say any more about that; only one or two once in a while, and then they find themselves a job very quick.

Mr. VOORHIS. That would not indicate that there was very much trouble, would it?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. I made a mistake. The name of this man who testified at Chicago is Walter H. Silge. Do you know him?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; I know him.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I am asking you particularly about this is because this is a matter that we are very anxious to get precise and definite information about. Now, here is his testimony. This is not testimony by a bund official. The bund is not even affiliated. This is an old-line German society. [Reading:]

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it necessary to unite to keep it up? Don't you think the wonderful compositions of Germany will live regardless of whether or not some organization is in existence?

That does not make sense unless you go back and read. [Reading:]

Mr. SILGE. The purpose of the organization is to unite the German-American elements, to keep the German culture here in America, and also to be politically active.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by German culture?

Mr. SILGE. Well, the influence that German culture has had in the past on American life; we want to keep that up. We don't want to lose our language. We want to keep our folk songs, and things like that, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it necessary to unite to keep it up? Don't you think the wonderful compositions of Germany will live regardless of whether or not some organization is in existence?

Mr. SILGE. Well, I don't know. You take, for instance, our German men choruses here in Chicago. They sing German songs, and they sing English songs. But if they let that drift, those societies could not exist if we did not have organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What other purposes do you have? You say you want to unite the German elements in America.

Mr. SILGE. Yes; but only the American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that; but what is your purpose politically; to do what politically?

Mr. SILGE. Politically, to see—for instance, we know that of the positions held in the local government here the German element has been pushed out more and more and other nationalities have been up in the foreground; so we feel that we should get an organization to keep our German-American elements together.

The CHAIRMAN. And be properly represented in public office?

Mr. SILGE. Yes; because we feel that we have twenty-five percent representation here of the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. But you don't have that many in public office?

Mr. SILGE. No; not anywhere near that.

The CHAIRMAN. And now, you told me about this German-American National Alliance, and I believe you gave the names of the directors. You told me that among the things for which their purpose is, as I gather it, to cement the German element in this country to see that they get proper representation in public office.

Mr. SILGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many constituent member organizations in the Alliance are there?

Mr. SILGE. We have now about 300, or a little over 300, about 312 organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Those 312 constitute most of the German-American organizations in the United States?

Mr. SILGE. No; in Chicago.

I do not seem to have the balance; the rest of it is in my office—where he talked about the general feeling among German people. But that was his testimony—the testimony of a man who represents 300 old-line German societies, and I thought perhaps you could give us a little specific information.

Mr. HEBERLING. I have no inside information as to those organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Heberling, are you acquainted with Eugene J. Buerk?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of 2203-B, Booth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is Mr. Buerk's connection with your organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. His connection with the organization—I have only some business of the German consul to attend over there, and I asked him a couple of favors.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in connection with—

Mr. HEBERLING. It was business handled by the German consul.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you stated previously that your present organization, the German Citizens League, or the German Citizens Alliance, has no branches in other cities. Do you know whether there is a branch in Milwaukee?

Mr. HEBERLING. There might be a German organization with the same intentions as what we have, but that is not connected with us.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is an independent organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is an independent organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no control over it?

Mr. HEBERLING. We have no control whatsoever.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Buerk was interviewed and testified that he is affiliated with an organization in Milwaukee which has the same name as yours. Do you know anything about that? Do you know whether there is such an organization in Milwaukee?

Mr. HEBERLING. Yes; there is such an organization in Milwaukee, but it is not affiliated with our organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the Reich Deutsche Vereinigung?

Mr. HEBERLING. That is the same name, yes; but they are not affiliated with us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you or your organization have anything to do with the organization of that group in Milwaukee?

Mr. HEBERLING. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who did organize that group; do you recall?

Mr. HEBERLING. I think Mr. Buerk did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that as a result of any encouragement on your part?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; not at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. He knew about your organization, so he organized a similar one?

Mr. HEBERLING. He organized a similar one, because we sincerely think together, and over there they had no organization at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization have a constitution and bylaws?

Mr. HEBERLING. What do you mean by that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization have a constitution and bylaws? In other words, is it a formal organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; we have no bylaws; nothing at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. And do you know whether his organization has any?

Mr. HEBERLING. I have no idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you cooperate, Mr. Heberling, with Froeboese?

Mr. HEBERLING. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. In any way at all? Have you ever worked with him?

Mr. HEBERLING. Never.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is the mid-western representative of the German-American Bund?

Mr. HEBERLING. As I understand it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you testified that you were acquainted with him?

Mr. HEBERLING. I am acquainted with him; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he cooperate with you in any way in getting field workers to return to Germany?

Mr. HEBERLING. No; in no way.

Mr. WHITLEY. No cooperation at all; no connection of any kind?

Mr. HEBERLING. No connection of any kind with Mr. Froeboese.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask one question, Mr. Heberling, and you do not have to answer it if you do not care to, but I would like to know. From an American standpoint, I do not see why this organization of yours is anything to object to, but I would like to ask you whether such an organization of American citizens who happen to live in Germany—whether you could have such an organization?

Mr. HEBERLING. How do you mean? Do you mean, for instance, if Americans in Germany would do the same things as we do here?

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right. Could they do it?

Mr. HEBERLING. Mr. Voorhis, we are doing it exactly on the same line as the American clubs in Germany do. For instance, they have clubs in Berlin to celebrate Washington's Birthday, at the Hotel Adlon, and they have their American flag, and sing their songs, and nobody bothers them. And that is the same thing we are doing. We are keeping to ourselves and celebrating our holidays, just as we expect the Americans to do over there in Germany, and I think there should not be anything against that. We always play the American national anthem before we start anything, and we respect the laws, and if there was anything we did not obey, I would just like to know it, and that would be the first thing to take care of.

Mr. VOORHIS. Your organization consists entirely of people who are not American citizens?

Mr. HEBERLING. Who are not American citizens; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; thank you, sir. You are excused.

Who is your next witness?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. James Metcalfe.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES J. METCALFE, SPECIAL AGENT, INVESTIGATING DIVISION, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name, Mr. Metcalfe?

Mr. METCALFE. James J. Metcalfe.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is your present address?

Mr. METCALFE. Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present occupation, Mr. Metcalfe?

Mr. METCALFE. Special agent, Investigation Division, Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Metcalfe, where were you born?

Mr. METCALFE. Berlin, Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you come to this country?

Mr. METCALFE. In 1914.

Mr. WHITLEY. And are you an American citizen?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Metcalfe, were you ever a member of an organization in Chicago known as the German Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you join that organization?

Mr. METCALFE. In August—or late July or early August 1937. July, I believe it was.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how long were you a member of that organization?

Mr. METCALFE. Approximately 2 months.

Mr. WHITLEY. Had you had some association with it prior to the date you joined?

Mr. METCALFE. No, sir; I never had.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have been engaged in investigative work of various kinds over a period of years, Mr. Metcalfe?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you join the German Bund for the purpose of securing information regarding the operations of that organization?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is it—the German Bund or the German-American Bund?

Mr. WHITLEY. The German Bund; the organization that Mr. Heberling is the head of.

At the time you joined the German Bund in 1937—when was it; in August 1937?

Mr. METCALFE. July 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the organization at that time still known as the German Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know when the German Bund originated, Mr. Metcalfe? In other words, what was the date that it was established?

Mr. METCALFE. I could not tell you that without looking at my notes. I would have to see my reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know when the German Bund changed its name from the German Bund to the German Citizens League or the German Citizens Alliance?

Mr. METCALFE. No, sir; I do not. That happened after I left.

Mr. WHITLEY. That happened after you left the organization?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was head of the German Bund when you were a member of it?

Mr. METCALFE. Fritz Heberling.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the gentleman who testified just a moment ago?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; that is the same gentleman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you tell the committee, Mr. Metcalfe, what procedure you went through in order to join the German Bund; if you had any initiation ceremony, or just what happened?

Mr. METCALFE. Well, the idea of joining the organization was discussed with Mr. Heberling, and he explained the organization to me, and its distinction from the German-American Bund, based principally on the question of citizenship, and asked me whether I was a German citizen or an American citizen. I explained the circumstances of my family history to him, and the fact that there was a question in my mind as to whether I was a German citizen or an American citizen, although, of course, actually there was no question, because I had my papers. Mr. Heberling told me that he would take these facts to the German consul in Chicago and ascertain from him whether, on the basis of those facts, I would be considered a German citizen or an American citizen.

I had also discussed the matter with Mr. Peter Gissibl, who was then head of the German-American Bund in Chicago, and he expressed the opinion that I was an American citizen. Mr. Heberling, however, came back to me 2 or 3 days later and told me that he had talked to the German consul and that his opinion was that I was a German citizen; and then Mr. Heberling said that in view of that fact I would be eligible to apply for membership in the German Bund. He then explained to me the difference between the two organizations; that is to say, he told me that the German Bund was an entirely distinct and separate unit; that it had no affiliation with the German-American Bund; that, however, in his opinion it was a stronger and more powerful organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. Which one was?

Mr. METCALFE. The German Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in Chicago?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not speaking about elsewhere?

Mr. METCALFE. No, sir. He told me that it existed only in Chicago, but that it was a stronger and more powerful organization than the German-American Bund was—that is, anywhere in the United States.

He said, "There is something you must know about this organization before you join." He says, "We are under one man only—Hit-

ler." He says, "We take our orders from him and no one else," and he says, "We handle all our matters through the German consul in Chicago."

Mr. METCALFE. He said you must not only be a German citizen but you must have no intention of ever becoming an American citizen and said if you have a change of mind you should notify me immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard Mr. Heberling's testimony awhile ago?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it substantially correct?

Mr. METCALFE. No; it is not correct to the extent that he said there was no connection between the German Bund and the German Government because he told me himself, personally, that the German Bund was directed, took its orders from Hitler through the German consul in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. He told you that himself?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, were there any members, to your knowledge, of the German Bund who were American citizens, Mr. Metcalfe? In other words, did they adhere strictly to the qualifications they had to be German citizens and could not intend to be American citizens?

Mr. METCALFE. Insofar as I know, yes; they were German citizens. I mean by that there was nobody a member who ever claimed to be other than a German citizen, and as far as I know they were.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any instance in which members of the German Bund were also members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know of any instance?

Mr. METCALFE. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any instances, or did you have occasion to find out any instances in which members of the German-American Bund were German citizens? Did you hear of any such instance where they were members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. Well, I know—

The CHAIRMAN. Of your own knowledge.

Mr. METCALFE. I know of one instance in which a member of the German-American Bund was not an American citizen but he was not a German citizen: he was a Danish citizen.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was not a German citizen?

Mr. METCALFE. No. And there was another member, I believe, who was a citizen of another nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Right on that point: Mr. Heberling is a German citizen and there is no question about his allegiance to Hitler.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And his allegiance to Germany, and that he is entitled to, and you make no point on that?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the thing I would like to know about and which the committee would like to know about is that: Did the members of the bund engage in any activities of gathering information for Germany? The testimony here is he has approximately 225 members.

Mr. METCALFE. That is approximately correct. I believe he told me himself at that time, and my own observation at that time was there were approximately 330 members.

The CHAIRMAN. That is throughout the industrial section of Chicago?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Most of these were skilled workers, were they not?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been among the membership; do you know whether they were imported on account of their superior skill and craftsmanship?

Mr. METCALFE. I do not know about importing them.

The CHAIRMAN. You did meet with them.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be correct to say that the majority of them were skilled workers?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet any chemists there; did you know about chemists?

Mr. METCALFE. I knew a man whose son worked in a chemical laboratory.

The CHAIRMAN. Whose son worked in a chemical laboratory?

Mr. METCALFE. In Chicago; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The point we are interested in is this: Here is an organization with a membership of between 225 and 300 German citizens working in the industrial plants in and about Chicago. There is no question about where their allegiance is.

Mr. METCALFE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And they do not contest that. Now, while you were a member of the organization did you learn whether or not they were engaged in any activities that they should not have been?

Mr. METCALFE. Well, I would like to make this statement and you can draw your own inference from it. I mean by that, it did lead me to believe that perhaps there was a motive back of the German organization. And Mr. Heberling told me that he had men stationed in every German organization in Chicago and that those men reported to him as to the activities of these organizations and in that way he was able to keep posted on everything they were doing in the German organizations in the city of Chicago. He said that as far as that went he even had spies within his own organization because they were——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Did he use the word "spies"? Let us be specific about it. Be very cautious in quoting people.

Mr. METCALFE. No; I do not believe he did.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not use the word "spies"?

Mr. METCALFE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But you drew that inference from the character of work they were supposed to be engaged in?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, tell us what they did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you informed that the source of information that he had of the other organization was just of German organizations, or of the German-American organization?

MR. METCALFE. I mean by that, any organization, of both kinds, in Chicago. That is to say, German-American organizations and German organizations of that kind.

MR. WHITLEY. Yes.

MR. METCALFE. And the way, the manner in which he made the statement indicated quite clearly that he meant they were men of his own selection, in that organization, who reported to him.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words that it was done with his knowledge?

MR. METCALFE. Yes.

MR. VOORHIS. How did he happen to tell you that?

MR. METCALFE. Well he happened to tell me that because on that particular afternoon I was sitting with him in his home and the question of spies was discussed. Now, we used the term "spies" in this connection. I used the term and he used the term in our conversation in our special reference to the men in the other organization. In the other instance he did not use the term.

But, I brought up the question of what would happen to a person who was discovered in his organization as a spy because the same conversation had come up at a meeting of the bund just a night or two before that, during one of the meetings, and I discussed it with several other members, and I repeated to Mr. Heberling what the other people had told me and he verified it as being correct. And as I say, it was on the subject of spies and what they would do with the spies, and that is how the subject came up. And from there on he went on to explain that he had people in his own organization. In other words where we had been talking about people who might spy on him we changed the subject to people who might spy in his behalf.

MR. WHITLEY. And did he say or confirm what would happen to any individual in his organization who might be caught spying?

MR. METCALFE. Well, that came up in this way: That night of the dance I was talking with Fritz Matthis, the leader of the uniformed storm troopers in the German Bund, and Karl Bahe, the band leader of the German Bund, and Fritz Winters who was a member of the German-American Bund and the four of us were seated at this table and we became engaged in a discussion of spies and I asked him—rather let me explain it, that Bahe accused me of being a spy. He had been drinking beer rather heavily and he insisted that they did not know enough about me, and perhaps that I was only in that organization to spy on them.

So then I turned to Fritz Matthis and I said: "Suppose I were a spy, what would they do about it."

And he said, "Oh, we take care of that; we would take you out in a dark alley and beat you up," he said. "You would be lucky if you were living." I said, "Well that would get you in trouble." And he said, "No, it would not because we have some strong men who can take care of that." And that, "We have done it before."

So, the following Monday—this was Saturday night—the following Monday I was in Mr. Heberling's house, and I mentioned this conversation to him and at that time he said that was right, that Matthis had told the truth, that they knew how to handle the situation and that was what they did.

The CHAIRMAN. He was talking about spies when he said that?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Of obtaining information from his organization?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was what he was talking about?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You never learned of any spying work that that organization did with reference to gathering of military and industrial secrets; anything of that sort?

Mr. METCALFE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Of your own knowledge?

Mr. METCALFE. Except——

The CHAIRMAN. Except they had men in the German-American organization.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who reported to him?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; that is correct. And that he brought up the question immediately after we had had the discussion; it was really a part of the discussion?

The CHAIRMAN. Now you make it clear that you are not reflecting on the German-American organization?

Mr. METCALFE. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. No inference that they engage in spying.

Mr. METCALFE. No. There was nothing said about gathering industrial secrets.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point I am making. You said that Mr. Heberling told you that he had his men placed in different German-American organizations throughout Chicago?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who reported to him the information they received?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is no inference from that statement that these organizations themselves were doing anything. In other words, they were good loyal, patriotic organizations.

Mr. METCALFE. I understand they are.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not want any inference drawn from that that they were engaged otherwise.

Mr. METCALFE. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You know what I am talking about?

Mr. METCALFE. I think the understanding during the discussion was, as far as it went, there was no inference of any kind concerning these organizations. In other words the conversation was along the line that if there was anything in the picture that it was a possibility that these organizations might be working against the Germand Bund, and that is what I understand.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said this fellow was the leader of the uniformed storm troopers. What organization was that; the Germand Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. The German Bund, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Metcalfe, do you know of any instances when Mr. Heberling started to take out American citizenship papers?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, I do. He told me that at one time he went to take out his first papers; that he went to the Federal Building in Chicago and that he started up the stairs and then he said that he

had a change of heart when he saw all of the people going to take out papers and that he just could not do it, conscientiously; he could not release his allegiance to Germany and assume American citizenship.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is laudable for him.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes. He also told me at that time that he could not understand how membership of the German-American Bund could attempt to be loyal to two countries at one time, which was obviously what they were trying to do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know, Mr. Metcalfe, whether the German Bund received funds from any outside sources?

Mr. METCALFE. No, I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. So far as you know their only funds came from membership dues?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you ever hear Mr. Heberling or any member of the German Bund express any opposition or any approval or disapproval of the activities of the German-American Bund and of Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; I heard Mr. Heberling himself. He told me that he thought they were doing a very bad thing, that Mr. Kuhn and Mr. Froeboese of Milwaukee were talking too much in public, getting themselves into trouble; that they were mixing around in politics and things like that that they really ought to keep out of, and that sooner or later there would be some trouble over it and he said that if they were smart they would not be doing those things.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Heberling as leader of the German Bund disapproved of it?

Mr. METCALFE. He wholeheartedly disapproved of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Wholeheartedly disapproved of the German-American Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And its leaders?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he indicate whether he knew Fritz Kuhn, personally, or had had any relations with him?

Mr. METCALFE. He said that he had met him; he said he had talked to him, but there was no friendship, and in fact he didn't quite understand what the man meant.

Mr. WHITLEY. He expressly made the statement to you that he could not understand how a man could try to have allegiance to two governments, to two countries, as they did in the German-American Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was his opinion when they took out American citizenship papers?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But really remained loyal to Germany?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he disapproved of that?

Mr. METCALFE. He disapproved of it wholeheartedly.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

Mr. WHITLEY. I want you to identify this photograph, Mr. Metcalfe.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, I can.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you tell the committee the occasion on which that was taken?

Mr. METCALFE. That was the occasion of the bund celebration held in Harms Park on Labor Day, 1937, Sunday and Monday, Labor Day.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in Chicago?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; that was in Chicago, the northwest section, Harms Park.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what organizations sponsored and participated in that celebration?

Mr. METCALFE. It was a joint affair, sponsored and conducted by both the German-American Bund and the German Bund.

Mr. WHITLEY. They cooperated in that event?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; they cooperated entirely and in fact the membership of the German Bund did practically all the work around it in the way of getting the tickets; they carried on the sale of refreshments. In other words, the work was carried on almost entirely by the German Bund.

Mr. WHITLEY. And who were the speakers at the celebration?

Mr. METCALFE. Fritz Kuhn, Peter Gissibl, and the German consul.

Mr. WHITLEY. The German consul was present at this celebration?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; he was present and he spoke.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Heberling speak?

Mr. METCALFE. Mr. Heberling—no; I do not believe he did.

Mr. WHITLEY. He did not?

Mr. METCALFE. I cannot say for certain.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you identify the parties who spoke, on that platform?

Mr. METCALFE. I can identify Mr. Gissibl here [indicating] and the German consul; and this [indicating] is Fritz Kuhn.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that particular picture has already been identified.

Mr. WHITLEY. What I had in mind, Mr. Chairman, was that Mr. Kuhn said that the time he spoke out in Chicago in 1937 that the German consul was not on the speakers' platform; he was very positive about that.

Did the German Bund and the German-American Bund cooperate very often in affairs, Mr. Metcalfe?

Mr. METCALFE. Well, they were present, jointly, in all meetings except that each organization had its own private business meeting every so often, but on Wednesday nights there was a public meeting open to both organizations and open to the public.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. In other words they just more or less operated as one group?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; they occupied the same headquarters and they were working together always as one group except when it came to marching and drilling and things of that sort the German Bund had its own group in this work.

Mr. WHITLEY. One other question, Mr. Metcalfe, do you recall the occasion of the celebration in Soldiers Field in Chicago?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was that?

Mr. METCALFE. That was August 29, I believe, 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the German Bund participate also in that celebration?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; they paraded on the ground and they also assisted in carrying out the program, and in the Harms Park celebration they distributed copies of the Weckruf inside of which each copy had a flyer advertising the coming celebration in Harms Park.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, the celebration was advertised?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the German Bund did distribute advertising?

Mr. METCALFE. They distributed these papers.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they were distributing the official organ of the German-American Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions? If not the committee will take a recess until tomorrow at 10:30 o'clock.

(Thereupon at 2:50 p. m. a recess was taken until 10:30 a m. of the following day, Saturday, October 21, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., in the Caucus Room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messers Dies (Chairman), Voorhis, and Casey.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

TESTIMONY OF RICHARD T. FORBES

(The witness was duly sworn.)

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name?

Mr. FORBES. Richard T. Forbes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present address?

Mr. FORBES. Aberdeen, Wash.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mr. FORBES. I was born in Bellingham, Wash.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when?

Mr. FORBES. June 24, 1914.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your occupation?

Mr. FORBES. I am, most of the time, a student at the University of Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Forbes, while you were a student at the University of Washington this past year did an instance occur in the university in which you subsequently became interested?

Mr. FORBES. In the fall of last year, fall of 1938, I entered the fall term and registered in a class conducted by a German-Jewish professor, Dr. Ernst Levy, in a class of history since 1789. And I met in this class a young man who was to be my associate in this business. The committee has the young fellow's name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Forbes does not want to mention the name of the individual who worked with him in this business in Seattle. I have the name.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. The party requested that it not be done.

Continue, Mr. Forbes.

Mr. FORBES. We went into this class together and this young man, who had somewhat of a writer's political background, differed at times with the professor and he subsequently failed several of his important examinations, and along in the quarter's work just before

Christmas vacation he quarreled rather violently with Professor Levy and flunked the course, which was most important, as he was trying to graduate.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Professor Levy?

Mr. FORBES. He was a professor, reputed professor, from Germany, from the University of Munich.

The CHAIRMAN. Brought over here as a professor?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; he has only been over here 2 years and is considered to be an authority on international law.

After he had failed the course this young man went into Dr. Levy's office and insulted him very thoroughly and the failure went down in the record.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the disagreement become generally known?

Mr. FORBES. It became generally known because when a graduate student, when he needs all the credits, flunks a course, why it is something for the grapevine.

Mr. WHITLEY. What happened subsequently, if you know; what occurred?

Mr. FORBES. Some 2 weeks after Christmas vacation, when the winter quarter had convened, I was approached in the campus by one Joe Klaas.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that?

Mr. FORBES. K-l-a-a-s. Joe Klaas is the son of Otto Klaas, the Hamburg-American agent in Seattle. And Joe Klaas sought this young fellow out and gave him a pamphlet and told him if he would come down and talk with his father at the Hamburg-American office that he would have something of interest for him.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, in the Seattle office of the Hamburg Steamship line?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did this friend of yours go down and talk to Joe Klaas' father?

Mr. FORBES. This young man went to Otto Klaas and while he was there Mr. Klaas gave him Fichte Bund propaganda.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did Otto Klaas sympathize with your friend?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; he sympathized with him when he told him what had happened. And this young fellow went to his home and took some literature home and read it with great interest.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether this professor was a Communist or not?

Mr. FORBES. I would doubt that, Mr. Chairman. This gentleman is, if anything, a Tory, if I may use the term.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to keep the record straight. He never talked communism?

Mr. FORBES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or advocated communism?

Mr. FORBES. No. He is a lawyer and teacher in the university law school.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. All right.

Mr. FORBES. And at the time, after he had been for a few visits to the Hamburg-American Steamship office, he was again asked to come over and receive more propaganda; and this went on for a period of several weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Otto Klaas, the local agent of the Hamburg-American Steamship Line, whose son was Joseph Klaas, a student of the university, was taking the initiative in contacting this disgruntled student and giving him some literature, of this Fichte Bund propaganda?

Mr. FORBES. That is right. Then one day he received a note in the mail telling him if he would write to a certain address in Hamburg, Germany, he would receive more of this information and receive it upon his own initiative.

So, still of this frame of mind and still much appreciative of the sympathy he had gotten, he wrote to this address—I have forgotten the particular address—but soon afterward he received a letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the address of the Fichte Bund in Hamburg?

Mr. FORBES. In Hamburg, Germany; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He told him to write to the Fichte Bund in Hamburg?

Mr. FORBES. Well, he told him if he would write he would get other literature.

Mr. WHITLEY. To communicate with them?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. And so he received a letter in some 15 days and a package of propaganda, all received from the Fichte Bund office, which was signed by Oscar C. Pfau.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you identify this letter [indicating]?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is dated January 30, 1939.

Mr. FORBES. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. The letter is signed "Director of Organization, Th. Kessemeier, by order of Oscar C. Pfau."

Mr. FORBES. This letter also expressed sympathy for the young man's treatment in the university and along with the letter came the bundle of Fichte Bund propaganda and promised there would be more forthcoming, and these bundles of propaganda did continue to come, and after the third, after he had received the third shipment, he noticed the seal of the United States Customs on the face of the package and he was alarmed.

So, after he had received this bundle of propaganda and the letter he asked me if I could help him, and asked what he should do about it, and I suggested that he go to the F. B. I. with the matter, and he did that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you also become interested in the situation and work with him?

Mr. FORBES. Well, at this time; yes; it seemed to me to be a big story. I had been interested more or less in journalism and at that time there had been none—there had not been much exposé, very little was known about the propaganda activities. That was back in January.

Mr. WHITLEY. January of this year?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. And so I thought it would be a good story; I was much interested; I had not ever heard of this before, and we received the sanction of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to go ahead with the investigation.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was the general nature of your investigation when you proceeded with your friend?

Mr. FORBES. We wrote again to Oscar C. Pfaus.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean when you say you received the sanction of the F. B. I.?

Mr. FORBES. Well, Mr. Chairman, we decided at that time to tell them the story so far as we knew it, and we wished to proceed with the matter and to keep the correspondence with Germany alive, and also to study the local situation and the F. B. I. said it would be fine if we would also keep them informed.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, if you would cooperate with them.

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And did you cooperate with them?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You and this young man were afraid to proceed because you might get into trouble, afraid you might?

The CHAIRMAN. What could you do that would put you in trouble?

Mr. WHITLEY. They were afraid they might be accused of being in sympathy with it when they were not, but only interested from the standpoint of investigating it.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. FORBES. So we wrote a series of letters to Oscar Pfaus and began to receive this propaganda, Fichte Bund propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. Straight from Germany?

Mr. FORBES. Straight from Germany. And in the meantime we looked into the local situation and we ran into a barber who seemed to be one of the Jew baiters and through this barber we got in touch with a rather disreputable individual, a private detective, who had been a private detective in California. When I first met him he had five front teeth out and he said he did that in his private work so they would think him simply a stupid fellow.

The CHAIRMAN. Very ingenious?

Mr. FORBES. Very ingenious.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. FORBES. We met other men, other people along this same sort of crackpot fellow. We met a tailor and they all had the same line; they all had the antisemitic story and were indoctrinated with this Pfaus propaganda.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a minute, Mr. Forbes. Have you gotten to the point where you received the second letter from Mr. Pfaus? If so I would like to have that in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him identify it. I think he has.

Mr. WHITLEY. The letter is dated March 6, 1939, the letter is on the letterhead of the Fichte Bund, Hamburg, Germany, and signed by Oscar C. Pfaus. Is that one of the letters?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; that was one that we wrote as bait, and as one of the methods of giving this gentleman some bait we took a copy of Benjamin Franklin's statement and forged it, rewrote it, and sent it to him and, in 15 days, we had a reply and a pamphlet with the Benjamin Franklin forgery on the back, written as if he had written it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see if I understand you. You sent over this forged Benjamin Franklin statement?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he took it and printed it as if it were true.

Mr. FORBES. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in connection with this letter dated March 6, 1939, he stated in next to the last paragraph:

Many thanks for the very interesting copies of the special article by the great American, Franklin.

And wondered if it would be possible for them to give him a copy of the original document, and stated it would be of immense value to his work and if they could not get the original if it were possible to get a copy, if they knew where he could obtain a copy of it.

That is signed by Oscar C. Pfaus.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his position?

Mr. WHITLEY. Pfaus was director of the American-Canadian and Irish section of the Fichte Bund, in Hamburg, Germany, which is of the Nazi propaganda agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. And that letter came from Hamburg?

Mr. WHITLEY. It came from Hamburg and the envelope itself is postmarked "Hamburg."

Now I understand, Mr. Forbes, you and your friend took the Franklin document and made some changes in it.

Mr. FORBES. Yes. We did that for the purpose of identifying his reply.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you made it a little stronger than Franklin himself was supposed to have made the statement?

Mr. FORBES. I am not sure of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You made changes in it?

Mr. FORBES. So we could identify his reply.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then subsequently with this letter did he send you a pamphlet?

Mr. FORBES. He sent them at the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. With the letter on March 6, toward the end of the letter, in which he thanked you for the material and he sends this pamphlet. This particular pamphlet has the caption, "Real Case Against the Jews," and on the back of the pamphlet he reprinted Franklin's document which had been sent by Mr. Forbes and his friend with the exact alterations which they had made; he reproduced it exactly as they had sent it. All right; continue, Mr. Forbes.

Mr. FORBES. Well, the correspondence with the Fichte Bund seemed to be coming along all right. Pfaus was putting a lot of confidence in us and wanted us to steal a copy of the original.

And we continued our work on the local aspect, as I have said, and we met some of the crackpots and then finally we met a man named Dallas Johnson, who is employed, connected with the youth survey of the N. Y. A. in Seattle. We met this Johnson through a Paul Fouts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, in my identification of Oscar C. Pfaus of the Fichte Bund I should have mentioned also that he was in this country for a number of years, in Chicago, and Mr. Heberling identified him as having been active in the Friends of New Germany, in Chicago, and also at one time editor of the German paper in Chicago, the Weckruf, which was the predecessor of the official organ

of the German-American Bund. That paper was the *Deutsch Zeitung*.

Mr. FORBES. We met this Johnson; this Johnson was a degenerate fellow. He had some of Hargraves' letters, the Green Shirt leader, in his desk, and he was indoctrinating these young people with it. He was employed in some kind of a quasi-government position.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of activity was he engaged in?

Mr. FORBES. He was a sort of director in the youth survey—interviewed young people. He had a couple of them seated in the office with him and was talking to them. He did not send them out of the office when we came in; he talked over their heads most of the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Hargraves was the Green Shirt leader. He had some of the Fichte Bund letters?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; which he had possibly received. I think he showed some personal letters of Hargraves that he had.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which the Green Shirt had received?

Mr. FORBES. This was a letter from England.

Mr. VOORHIS. You actually saw him with them.

Mr. FORBES. I read it; it was on the desk of this gentleman.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in his office?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; of the N. Y. A. office.

Then he referred to a Harry Bull, and there was an attempted telephone conversation; this man Bull would not answer the phone, apparently, and Johnson said he had a man who was interested 100 percent in Americanism and he was asked who it was, and he told him, and it seemed to me they were good friends. And he referred to a man by the name of Jack Shields, who was leader of the Silver Shirts.

I went out to his house a few mornings after that and he has quite an arsenal in his home. He is a disabled veteran, or so he claims he is disabled, and yet he weighs about 215 pounds—a big fellow.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, Mr. Forbes, did you see the guns in his house?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You have seen them yourself?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course you told the F. B. I. and this is known to them?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of his activities?

Mr. FORBES. He was with the Silver Shirts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. FORBES. However, while he was engaged in Silver Shirt activities he told us that he would not hesitate to use any of these various weapons on anybody who sought to molest him or his family. And, we talked to the local officers about him and he has some record; he has been a small-time offender; he has made speeches and has been a sort of a bully.

Mr. WHITLEY. And through these contacts did you meet a number of other individuals?

Mr. FORBES. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Men active in the Silver Shirts and allied organizations?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. We met the cream of the different Jew-baiters.

Mr. WHITLEY. So in time, eventually, through your connections, you got the confidence of many of the officers who were members of the German-American Bund in Seattle?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Tell us about your first contacts with the bund? That was after you had established yourself with the Silver Shirts; had gained their confidence.

Mr. FORBES. We had established ourselves pretty soundly through my friend who had quarreled with this Jewish professor; and I myself had traveled in Germany in 1937 and we had gotten quite strong with them. So one day I was present with a few of the men in the bund organization, and through a man named Stoll, the district organizer for the German-American Bund, and this Jack Shields—this meeting came about in March.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was arranged by Jack Shields?

Mr. FORBES. Arranged by Jack Shields.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the meeting.

Mr. FORBES. I was not there at the first meeting in Jack Shield's home. I went to the next meeting with Paul Stoll at his home.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was at the next meeting?

Mr. FORBES. There was just three of us: This friend, Paul Stoll, and myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of this meeting?

Mr. FORBES. Well, Paul Stoll has a very interesting German home, with German calenders on the wall; he speaks German in his home; he has a little daughter——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what has that got to do with it?

Mr. FORBES. Well it has this to do with it, Mr. Chairman. He spoke of German matters almost entirely the first time. I was able to talk with him because of the fact that on this trip in Germany I had even been through his home town.

Mr. WHITLEY. And through this discussion you got his confidence?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. Then he went on to talk about the Jews; he was extremely bitter, and he produced the Nazi primer. Do you have that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; we have that.

Mr. FORBES. Which, by the way, had been received for the use of his little girl of 12. It was the first time I had seen it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you continue these meetings with Stoll?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; we continued them. We met with him at least once a week. At the same time I was going on with my school work in the afternoon; this was a sort of side issue.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. FORBES. But we continued on with it. At the second meeting a man came to Stoll's home, and he was introduced as Sweeney. He was a tall, well-built fellow, very dark; he spoke excellent English, with an accent, and produced one of the most extraordinary anti-Semitism libraries I have ever seen in my life. He had many books with him. He allowed me to look at his brief case of pamphlets, and he told me he had been collecting this information for several years in his own reference library, and showed us his library and let us copy from it quite frequently.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you later on learn his real name?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; his real name was Lecker, Harry Lecker. He was in the local organization; he sent out literature and we were of the opinion that he stepped down because the heat was——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Now, where was Stoll, Paul Stoll and Harry Lecker employed; did you find out?

Mr. FORBES. After we had continued with them for 2 or 3 weeks, one day we learned that Harry Lecker was in the Boeing airplane plant.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Seattle?

Mr. FORBES. He had been there for 9 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. But he was first introduced to you under the name of Sweeney?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you also learn that Stoll was employed in the Boeing airplane plant?

Mr. FORBES. One day I called Mr. Stoll's home and asked where he was and was told he was working. I asked where he worked and his wife said he was down at the plant and told me that he did not want us to be seen there; that we should have the meetings at his home. And I asked what plant it was and she said the Boeing air plant.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was Stoll's wife?

Mr. FORBES. Stoll's wife. I subsequently looked for his name on the list of Boeing airplane plant employees and could not find it at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if he worked there he was under an assumed name?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Evidently by this time that has already been checked up; you notified the F. B. I.?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say that Lecker worked in the Boeing plant?

Mr. FORBES. Lecker worked there, and Stoll also.

Mr. VOORHIS. In the case of Lecker did you see his name on the pay roll?

Mr. FORBES. I have seen his name on a copy of the pay roll.

Mr. VOORHIS. But in the case of Stoll his wife told you he worked there?

Mr. FORBES. His wife told me he worked there. However, a paper published by the laborers——

The CHAIRMAN. You are talking too fast. We want to get your testimony. Will you please talk a little more deliberately?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. An article published in a labor paper in Seattle has come out since, saying that Harry Lecker and Max Stoll both worked in the Boeing plant.

After all, I have——

The CHAIRMAN. What paper is that?

Mr. FORBES. I have forgotten the name, Mr. Chairman. After all, my personal evidence is what I got, and what they told me.

Mr. WHITLEY. After this series of preliminary meetings and conversations with Paul Stoll in his home, and Lecker, who was known to you originally as Sweeney, did you and your friend make application to become members of the bund unit in Seattle?

Mr. FORBES. We did that upon the suggestion of the local customs officials.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. You were collaborating with or keeping in touch with the local customs officials?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. They were interested in our activities, because of the fact that much Fichte Bund and German propaganda comes in through Blaine.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is up on the border?

Mr. FORBES. Up on the Canadian border. In January, for instance, they told us—they showed us a record of 750 pounds of Fichte Bund propaganda that came in through Blaine in one shipment.

Mr. WHITLEY. In one shipment?

Mr. FORBES. It was marked——

Mr. WHITLEY. How are those shipments handled; do they just clear through customs there?

Mr. FORBES. Well, this shipment of 750 pounds was evidently examined at White Rock, British Columbia, and the gentleman who examined it at White Rock, British Columbia, did not know whether it was Nazi propaganda, or Communist propaganda, or just what it was. So, inasmuch as it was marked for newspaper and was billed through to Los Angeles, he sent this 750 pounds of propaganda on down to Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. To whom was it consigned at Los Angeles?

Mr. FORBES. The 750 pounds were consigned to a W. R. Busch.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is B-u-s-h?

Mr. FORBES. B-u-s-c-h.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what the address was?

Mr. FORBES. I don't have his address. That particular detail, though, is from the files of the customs officials in Seattle.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say the customs officials suggested that you and your friend make application to become members of the bund in Seattle?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. They said they would give us all the protection we needed and would help us with any expense incurred, such as expenses for uniforms, or dues, and such.

Mr. VOORHIS. That was with the United States customs officials at Blaine?

Mr. FORBES. No; that was at Seattle.

Mr. VOORHIS. Oh, I see.

Mr. FORBES. We have collaborated with them.

Mr. VOORHIS. This 750 pounds of propaganda literature—did you see that?

Mr. FORBES. No; the customs men told us.

Mr. VOORHIS. The customs men told you?

Mr. FORBES. That is out of their files.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see.

Mr. FORBES. It had come through Canada, and the man who sent it originally was a man with a French name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they tell you whether such shipments were rather frequent, or not?

Mr. FORBES. They told us that was the usual run of things—750 pounds was not an unusual amount of this propaganda to come in at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute; you say "French name." What was the name?

Mr. FORBES. I have been trying to remember it; I cannot recall it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it Arcand?

Mr. FORBES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the customs officials tell you where the most of these large shipments coming through from Canada were consigned to?

Mr. FORBES. To the Los Angeles area.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the headquarters of the west-coast division of the bund?

Mr. FORBES. That is right. Many of them went to Los Angeles and to Glendale.

Mr. WHITLEY. Glendale is just out of Los Angeles?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not know who got it at Glendale?

Mr. FORBES. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it Mrs. Leslie Fry; do you know whether any of them were consigned to her?

Mr. FORBES. No. All I know is this W. R. Busch.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what action did you and your friend take with reference to the suggestion that you go ahead and try to join the bund?

Mr. FORBES. We approached Mr. Stoll. I called him by telephone the first time and told him I should like to join his organization and arranged for a meeting—arranged for an appointment for that evening. In this particular instance he had a gray shirt and blue trousers and black tie, and was more or less assuming his role as leader of the bund. We have since learned he was the leader. At first, he only represented himself to us as an organizer, and he gave us a—well, it was in a way a catechism. He explained the aims and purposes of the bund and, after a lengthy conference, told us—he gave me just a sort of a build-up. He explained the two applications that we might make, that of becoming an O. D. man, or Storm Trooper, and the other of becoming a sympathizer. And my friend is very small and I outweighed him by 40 pounds, about, so I had no chance but to become an O. D. man, or Storm Trooper.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Stoll refer to "O. D. man" as a "Storm Trooper"?

Mr. FORBES. That is what he said, that an O. D. man is a Storm Trooper.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were the same?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. What is O. D.?

Mr. WHITLEY. Orderly division. In other words, as far as Mr. Stoll was concerned, the O. D. division of the bund was the Storm Troopers?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. And that is, of course, the militant part of the bund movement, and the one that every young fellow should aspire to.

He explained the uniform; we talked about the uniform. He said the uniform gave a man courage, and he also told us that in the

days to come there must be fighting—and I quote him—"that a man in uniform would know his friends."

Three days after that—this was in early April, and 3 days after that, why my friend and I were both summoned to a meeting on Friday evening and we came to Stoll's home. There were some 15 gentlemen there.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many of them had you met previously?

Mr. FORBES. I had only met Lecker and Stoll, and there were some 15 gentlemen in Stoll's home. And after some small talk, most of which was carried on in German among the other fellows, we went into the dining room where some extra leaves had been put into the table, and the meeting became a meeting of the German-American Bund.

The meeting was held at a little disadvantage because we did not speak German and they don't handle the English language so well, that is, particularly the bund members. Stoll, of course, presided and was rather pompous. He explained that he had two new members, one to become an O. D. man and one to become a sympathizer.

Mr. WHITLEY. You became an O. D. or Storm Trooper applicant?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your friend?

Mr. FORBES. He was to give a little cash and become sympathetic.

Mr. WHITLEY. He joined the sympathizers' group?

Mr. FORBES. Yes. So I gave them—shortly after the meeting started—I gave them, I think it was, \$1.75 and signed one of the blue applications.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have a copy of the application?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; I have. I think it is the same one you have in your record.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get the application?

Mr. FORBES. Pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get it? The one you signed you turned over to them, did you not?

Mr. FORBES. I got it from Stoll.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a blank.

Mr. FORBES. This is a blank.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is the same application Mr. Kuhn identified in his testimony before the committee, and also the blank copy of the sympathizers' application is the same as identified by Mr. Kuhn.

Mr. FORBES. So I signed this thing and gave them my telephone number and address and gave them \$1.75, and they gave me no receipt, but told me my credentials would come from New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they were sending your application to New York?

Mr. FORBES. That is right; but they took my money and, to all intents and purposes, I became a part of the local unit. I immediately went to work because later in the evening they brought out a shipment of propaganda which they said had come from Glendale.

Mr. WHITLEY. Glendale, Calif.?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. From what source in Glendale?

Mr. FORBES. Well, it was evidently from the printing establishment or printing house for bund literature on the west coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. The headquarters being in Los Angeles?

Mr. FORBES. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How big was this outfit—you say about 15 members?

Mr. FORBES. Fifteen members.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the biggest it ever grew, that you know of?

Mr. FORBES. That is the biggest it ever grew. And we sat around the table and baited the Jews for an hour or so and then they distributed the propaganda and everyone took a large share of the propaganda and we went home.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they give you and your friend, who had signed applications, any assignments or duties to perform?

Mr. FORBES. Our duties were to propagandize. We were to be the head Fascists at the University of Seattle.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were to do your propaganda work at the university?

Mr. FORBES. That is right—by using stickers, pamphlets, leaflets, and so on, we were to propagandize some 10,000 students at the university. And one of the first assignments was that we should go out and heckle Dr. Harold J. Laski, who was teaching at the university. Inasmuch as he was speaking before 3 or 4 thousand an evening, that was quite an assignment.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were given that specific assignment by the bund?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; by the bund leader.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, the list of bund posts and leaders, as shown by Mr. Kuhn, shows Paul Stoll, R. D. 3, box 26-A, Seattle, Wash., as head of the Seattle and Spokane, Wash., units of the German-American Bund.

Now, did you and your friend have any correspondence directly with the New York headquarters of the bund, Mr. Forbes?

Mr. FORBES. In connection with our investigation, we wrote letters to Pelley, to William Dudley Pelley of the Silver Shirts movement, and we wrote a letter to Fritz Kuhn.

Mr. WHITLEY. You wrote a letter to Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. FORBES. I wrote a letter to Fritz Kuhn.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of the letter to Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. FORBES. The nature of the letter—we posed a series of questions about membership purposes, their political aspirations, and so forth, and we received a letter from Wilhelm Kunze, who was public relations director for the bund.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is this the letter you received from Mr. Kunze?

Mr. FORBES (after examining). That is the one.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is a letter dated March 29, 1939, Mr. Chairman, signed "G. Wilhelm Kunze, National Public Relations Director," German-American Bund. I would like to read a few excerpts from this letter for the record:

We are trying at every opportunity to help develop stronger bonds between the bund, the Silver Legion, and the numerous other patriotic organizations subscribing to our basic racial and social convictions, with the ultimate object of helping to bring about a desperately needed American national movement of all the 100,000,000 Aryans.

Mr. Chairman, in view of Mr. Kuhn's testimony, I think that statement coming from one of his officials is somewhat at variance with his own testimony. He says they are trying desperately—

We are trying to bring about a desperately needed American national movement of all the 10,000,000 Aryans.

Mr. CASEY. Whose letter is that—Kuhn's letter?

Mr. WHITLEY. This is from G. Wilhelm Kunze, who is the national public relations director of the German-American Bund, and works directly with Mr. Kuhn in that position. Continuing with the letter:

* * * We are not dreaming of being this party; we represent the German element in particular and limit our ambition to being a valuable part of the whole. Progress is being made, but every suggestion which will accelerate this development is earnestly solicited. We do not agree with the Silver Shirts on every point, their economic program, for instance, being impossible in our estimation, as well as Mr. Pelley's occultism. We are, however, glad to cooperate with them and all others who have recognized the powers behind bolshevism and who have the courage to oppose all Marxist phenomena openly. Regarding the Fichte Bund, and other non-American enemies of Jewish-International subversion, we are also logically happy to cooperate with them * * *.

Mr. Kuhn, I believe, testified they had no cooperation or contact with the Fichte Bund. [Reading:]

* * * all the while keeping our absolute political independence and in no way qualifying our allegiance as American citizens.

2. No definite figures can be given concerning the numerical strength of the movements indicated above. We are certain that the aggregate membership of the groups eligible to create the party which we are convinced is coming amounts to several hundred thousand persons already, and, judging by all indications, the sympathizers waiting to vote for such a party's candidates will number more than several millions already. The attention which we have been deliberately arousing by every possible means, to the end that the public may be forced to begin actively discussing the Jewish-Bolshevik question, is beginning to show very encouraging results: force the Jew into the open and he will inevitably bring about his own elimination.

He goes on in this letter and says:

We believe the Dies committee to be trying to render the Nation a service, and we have been and shall continue to be of all possible assistance to it. We do not, however, believe this committee to be free: * * *.

That is the principal portions of the letter, which will be put in the record in full, Mr. Chairman, and which is considerably at variance to Mr. Kuhn's testimony.

Subsequent to this first meeting, Mr. Forbes, did you attend other meetings of the bund at Mr. Stoll's home?

Mr. FORBES. I attended three meetings, and from time to time had other telephone conversations with the gentleman, in which he always had some task for me to do. I was immediately given—you see, this other young man and I were to put the Seattle unit on an English-speaking basis; we were to fill the vox pop section of the papers, and to make speeches, because the Seattle unit was not able to hire halls and do that sort of work. So we were to be very valuable to them. And I attended three meetings in April, received propaganda at each meeting and, for the main part, it was material of this kind [exhibiting].

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute here. This letter ought to go in in full; if it is going to be read, I think the whole letter ought to go in the record.

Mr. WHITLEY. I think so, too, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. For the benefit of the press—what he actually says about propaganda and other things. You can either take it all out, or put it all in. He says:

We believe the Dies committee to be trying to render the Nation a service, and we have been and shall continue to be of all possible assistance to it. We do not, however, believe this committee to be free: the sudden change of heart on the part of the Jew Deal, which hampered the committee before, appointed the "red" Ex-Governor Murphy to the position of Attorney General and now offers the committee the help formerly denied, is proof conclusive, so far as we are concerned, that "red subversion" will have nothing much to fear, whereas we are to be hounded as never before.

And so on, and so forth.

Do you gentlemen feel the letter ought to go in, or should not? So far as I am concerned, it does not make any difference whether it goes in or goes out.

Mr. WHITLEY. I agree with you it all ought to go in or—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the whole letter should go in. All right, let the letter go in.

(The letter above referred to is in full as follows:)

AMERIKADEUTSCHER VOLKSBUHD

GERMAN AMERICAN BUND

Militant Organization of Patriotic
Americans of German Stock

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
178 East 85th Street, Suite 6,
New York, N. Y., March 29, 1939.

Mr. KEN LOOMIS MAYALL,
2903 Franklin Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

DEAR MR. MAYALL: Many thanks for your favor of March 2. I regret not having been able to reply more promptly: literally baskets full of mail have been arriving at our offices since the occasion of the bund rally at Madison Square Garden on February 20, and various "investigations" and court actions, caused by the rage of our opponents, have kept us from our work for days on end.

1. We are trying at every opportunity to help develop stronger bonds between the bund, the Silver Legion and the numerous other patriotic organizations subscribing to our basic racial and social convictions, with the ultimate object of helping to bring about a desperately needed American national movement of all the 100,000,000 Aryans. We are not dreaming of being this party; we represent the German element in particular and limit our ambition to being a valuable *part* of the whole. Progress is being made, but every suggestion which will accelerate this development is earnestly solicited. We do not agree with the Silver Shirts on every point; their economic program, for instance, being impossible in our estimation, as well as Mr. Pelley's occultism. We are, however, glad to cooperate with them and all others who have recognized the powers behind bolshevism and who have the courage to oppose all Marxist phenomena openly. Regarding the Fichte Bund and other non-American enemies of Jewish international subversion, we are also logically happy to cooperate with *them*, all the while keeping our absolute political independence and in no way qualifying our allegiance as American citizens.

2. No definite figures can be given concerning the numerical strength of the movements indicated above. We are certain that the aggregate membership of the groups eligible to create the party, which we are convinced is coming,

amounts to several hundred thousand persons already, and, judging by all indications, the sympathizers waiting to vote for such a party's candidates will number more than several millions already. The attention which we have been deliberately arousing by every possible means, to the end that the public may be forced to begin actively discussing the Jewish-Bolshevik question, is beginning to show very encouraging results. Force the Jew into the open and he will inevitably bring about his own elimination.

3. We believe the Dies committee to be trying to render the Nation a service, and we have been and shall continue to be of all possible assistance to it. We do not, however, believe this committee to be free. The sudden change of heart on the part of the Jew Deal, which hampered the committee before, appointed the "red" ex-Governor Murphy to the position of Attorney General and now offers the committee the help formerly denied, is proof conclusive, so far as we are concerned, that "red subversion" will have nothing much to fear, whereas *we* are to be hounded as never before.

I enclose a pamphlet containing the addresses held at Madison Square Garden by bund officials, as well as a folder outlining our purposes and aims in brief. In addition I am having several complimentary copies of our weekly, *The Free American*, sent to your address.

We are not in a position to distribute this pamphlet and newspaper generally, without charging for the same. If you are now satisfied concerning our Americanism and the earnest need for an enlightenment of the public on these subjects, we call upon you to kindly indicate possible subscribers to us or to order some of this literature for distribution among your acquaintances. Free America.

G. WILHELM KUNZE,

[Sig.] G. W. Kunze

National Public Relations Director.

GWK/S

Mr. WHITLEY. What were some of the other assignments which you were given by the bund, Mr. Forbes, in addition to distributing literature at the university and supposedly propagandizing for the bund at the university?

Mr. FORBES. Well, as I said, our job was to—we were to hire halls and do work through newspapers and through personal correspondence. They would give us packages of windshield stickers, and give us very practical lessons in the manner of applying them.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you cease your activities in the bund, Mr. Forbes?

Mr. FORBES. Early in May, my associates left the city and went to Montana to take a job, and I had decided that I had all the information that I could get without making a much more detailed investigation, for which I did not have the funds nor the inclination, and so I approached—I approached Mr. Jim Marshall, of the Collier's staff, with an eye to marketing the material, and I subsequently went to Mr. John Brettiger, of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer—

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you just dropped out?

Mr. FORBES. I just dropped out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any break with them, or just cease your activities, and stop attending meetings?

Mr. FORBES. I sort of faded out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just disappeared?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Stopped going to meetings?

Mr. FORBES. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have never had any open break with them?

Mr. FORBES. Never had any open break with them. For a while, I thought I would not make any open breach with them, because I might want to renew the contact; but I got the material together

and submitted it in the form of magazine articles to the Seattle Post-Intelligencer and, of course, the publication of that material terminated my association.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Forbes, you have received—you have had correspondence with Mr. Pfaus, of the Fichtebund?

Mr. FORBES. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you identify his signature?

Mr. FORBES. I believe I can. I also have this book here, that was sent me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was this sent to your friend by Mr. Pfaus?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; Mr. Pfaus sent this book—Hitler Germany, as Seen by a Foreigner.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it autographed by Mr. Pfaus?

Mr. FORBES. It is autographed and "Sincerely dedicated to my friend at the University of Washington."

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that Mr. Pfaus' signature? [Indicating.]

Mr. FORBES. Yes; it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that is the letterhead of the bund?

Mr. FORBES. Of the Fichtebund; that is the letterhead.

Mr. WHITLEY. And can you identify this as his signature? [Indicating.]

Mr. FORBES. That is his signature.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have several letters here, Mr. Chairman, written on the letterhead of the Fichtebund, signed by Oscar C. Pfaus, which were addressed to Mr. Forbes, or his friend, but he has identified the signature. I would like to read excerpts from several of these letters into the record.

This is a letter dated May 30, 1939, addressed to Mr. James Philip Gaffney, 559 West Fifty-second Street, New York City, signed by Oscar C. Pfaus, and reads as follows:

DEAR MR. GAFFNEY: Very many thanks for your extremely interesting and kind letter of May 19th. Christianity is not only at stake in America, but all over the world! And the situation concerning the welfare of Christianity has never been as serious as it is now, since "democratic" England, and the equally "democratic" France intend to form an alliance with the archenemy of Christianity, Red Russia!!! And the administration over there is siding with these destroyers!!! Quo Vadis America?

Mr. VOORHIS. Who is that letter to?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is written to Mr. James Philip Gaffney, New York City.

Mr. CASEY. Was he an official in any organization?

Mr. WHITLEY. Not to my knowledge. I am not acquainted with him, but this is identified as Pfaus' letter by Pfaus' signature, which was identified by Mr. Forbes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, if I can just interrupt very briefly, I would like just to say, in order that this may be clearly understood about this letter here: It seems to me it is illustrative of the kind of methods that are used by peoples such as Mr. Kunze, who wrote this letter—what he says about the Attorney General of the United States, and the references that he makes to him here. And, furthermore, the fact is that at the time this letter was written, the official paper of the organization, the Bund, was making the most vicious attacks on

the committee that could be made, and I just think what we want to do is to understand the circumstances and contents of this letter as clearly as we possibly can.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact they called Mr. Murphy a "red" is a compliment to Mr. Murphy. No one of any intelligence would ever assume that is an reflection on anybody; because anything this crowd say against anybody is a compliment to him.

Mr. CASEY. Did you offer this letter [indicating]?

Mr. WHITLEY. It has been identified; yes. I just wanted to read that one portion.

Mr. CASEY. I think it all ought to go in.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; I will have the entire letter put in the record.

(The letter last above quoted from by Mr. Whitley is in full as follows:)

Pf/s
(Confidential)

DEUTSCHER FICHTE BUND e. V.,
HEADQUARTERS,
30 Jungfernstieg, Hamburg, Germany,
May 30th, 1939.

Mr. JAMES PHILIP GAFFNEY,
559 West 52nd Street, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.

DEAR MR. GAFFNEY: Very many thanks for your extremely interesting and kind letter of May 19th. Christianity is not only at stake in America but all over the world! And the situation concerning the welfare of Christianity has never been as serious as it is now, since "democratic" England, and the equally "democratic" France intend to form an alliance with the arch-enemy of Christianity, Red Russia!!! And the administration over there is siding with these destroyers!!! Quo Vadis America?

Many people who have been indifferent to the world's affairs till now will realize that Germany has been right and that it still is the only bulwark against Red destruction of Christianity and culture! It is up to these friends of truth and justice to see to it that our fight is being carried on and forward with all the energy possible!

The Irish in America are an element of importance in politics as well as in commerce. They have to take the lead in the move to preserve America for American ideals, and not for the interests of a Jew-British-Red combination! I suggest that you get at once in contact with Mr. Liam D. Walsh, 88 Brandon Road, Drimmagh, Dublin, Eire. Mr. Walsh is a true friend of our work and a man of character and worth. I met him personally in Dublin, and I know that he is the man to help in this case. Yes; do let us form a plan! And let us do so as soon as possible! But please keep the address of Mr. Walsh to yourself. It is highly important that our correspondence be kept as confidential as possible.

I still hope that I will get the chance to talk things over with you personally. It is important that a meeting takes place before very long. Have you any suggestions concerning this matter?

With kind wishes, I remain, yours very sincerely,

TH. KESSEMER,
Dir. of Organization.
b. o. (Sig.) OSCAR C. PFAUS.

There are several others of that same type. Here is another letter from Fichte Bund and signed by Oscar C. Pfaus, dated June 20, 1939, addressed to Mr. James Philip Gaffney. It reads in part as follows:

Due to my tireless work it is finally realized that the Irish element in the U. S. is one of the utmost importance. The Irish in America are a real American element, and one which has the trust of all others. Personally I like the Irish immensely, and I may say that I always got along fine with them. In the U. S. as well as in Ireland.

Bear in mind Mr. Pfaus is head of the American Irish and Canadian sections, of the Fichte Bund in Hamburg.

Mr. CASEY. That letter is a bund letter attempting to appeal to people in American of Irish ancestry, because they probably know the people of Ireland have been a great country of Christianity.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the materiality of that?

Mr. CASEY. The materiality, I think, is this, Mr. Chairman, that they attempt to reach the Irish-Americans on the basis that England and France, democratic countries, are hooking up with an anti-religious country like Russia. And, since that time, their premise has been totally destroyed, because Germany, the country they sympathize with, has done the same thing that England and France were condemned for.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

(The letter last above referred to is in full as follows:)

(Envelope)

Addressed: Mr. James Philip Gaffney, 559 W. 52nd Street, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.

Postmarked: Hamburg, 20.6.39-19.

Postage stamp: 25 Deutsches Reich.

Return address on back: Hamburg 36, Hamburger Hof, Zimmer 508.

DEUTSCHER FICHTE BUND e. V.,

HEADQUARTERS,

30 Jungfernstieg, Hamburg, Germany,

June 20th, 1939.

Pf/s

MR. JAMES PHILIP GAFFNEY,

559 W. 52nd Street, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.

DEAR MR. GAFFNEY: I am in receipt of your kind, and very instructive letter of June 9th and wish to thank you quite sincerely for your interesting message.

Yes; I am sure it would be immensely helpful if you'd be informed about the date of my arrival in the United States. But I am sorry to say that I don't know when I'll leave here. Things are under consideration, and although my journey has been agreed upon there are certain obstacles which will have to be overcome. As soon as I know the date of my departure I shall inform you about it at once so that things may be arranged.

Due to my tireless work it is finally realized that the Irish element in the United States is one of the utmost importance. The Irish in America are a real American element, and one which has the trust of all others. Personally I like the Irish immensely, and I may say that I always got along fine with them. In the United States as well as in Ireland.

Please do keep me informed about developments. And if you have any information about Irish organizations in favor of supporting Eire against their oppressors please do let me have the data. It is very useful for the things I am writing. By the way, how is the sentiment of the average Irish-American toward Eire, Germany, and Great Britain? I'd like to get some first-hand information on this question.

Please do write again soon.

With kindest wishes I remain yours most faithfully,

TH. KFSSEMEIER,

Dir. of Organization,

b. o. (Sig:) OSCAR C. PFAUS.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the emblem on this thing; does anybody know?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the same emblem as used by Mr. Donald Shea, National Commander of the American Gentile League, or the National Gentile League.

The CHAIRMAN. No one knows what it is—oh, yes; it is the mouth of the dragon and inserting a sword in the mouth?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

Incidentally, Mr. Forbes, during your attendance at these bund meetings, did those present ridicule any of the other members because of their religious belief?

Mr. FORBES. One bund member was a Catholic and the particular ridicule that they directed toward him was done so because he was also master of a choir which was called, I think, the Aryan Singing Society, and in this choir was one excellent baritone named "Glaus," who was not an Aryan, and at one of the meetings there was quite a discussion that bund leader Stoll finally terminated by saying that the baritone named "Glaus" must get out of the choir, because he was not an Aryan.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another letter on the letterhead of the Fichte Bund, dated January 28, 1939, signed "Oscar C. Pfaus," addressed to Mrs. Anna Bogenholm Sloane, 547 West One Hundred Twenty-third Street, New York City, in which letter Mr. Pfaus writes as follows:

Your list of U. S. Senators and of others who might be interested in our material is very informative. But for obvious reasons I am sure it is better if our American friends distribute the pamphlets among the gentlemen in question instead that we supply them from here. If it does not inconvenience you I should esteem it a great pleasure if you would inform the gentlemen about our work by sending them a leaflet or two now and then.

It goes on further to say—

Father Coughlin's Social Justice as well as Pelley's publications are received from time to time and read with much interest. These papers contain some excellent articles.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that letter from the Fichte Bund written from Hamburg?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pfaus wrote from there?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. At one time Mr. Pfaus was in the United States. We have testimony here to that effect.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was here for a number of years prior to 1935.

Mr. VOORHIS. He returned to Germany, and so far as we know he is in Germany at the present time?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chairman, I have a file here full of material from this Fichte Bund. I do not know whether it is necessary to read excerpts from all of them. The nature of them is well established. These letters show the same subversive activities that they were attempting to carry out in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are any important excerpts that should be read to show the character of their work, you might read them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another letter on the letterhead of the Fichte Bund, dated June 3, 1939, signed "Oscar C. Pfaus," and this letter is also addressed to Mrs. Anna B. Sloane, 547 West One Hundred and Twenty-third Street, New York City. The letter reads as follows:

You know that I would be only too glad to take your work over in Germany. But if I tell you that I am all alone handling my American-Canadian-Irish section you'll realize that it is simply impossible for me to do so. I am working day and night to get my correspondence out, and to arrange for the shipments of our material, etc. Besides that I have to attend

to a lot of other matters, but which are also connected with the work. So you see that I couldn't take care of your manuscripts, etc., as much as I would love this kind of work.

Do you think dear Dr. Sloane that there is a chance for me to get in contact with General Moseley? The General is my former commander of the Sixth Corps Area (while I served in the regular United States Army), and I saw Moseley twice. Once in Fort Sheridan, Illinois, and in Camp Custer, Michigan. If it is at all possible please do write to General Moseley informing him about me and my work, and my desire to get in contact with him. I am sure he'll pay attention to your letter, or to some other Americans close to you.

Mr. Gaffney is very able and active, and his connection with Irish-Americans would be especially valuable. Is Mr. Gaffney related or acquainted with Mr. St. John Gaffney, the former American Consul General at Munich? I know Mr. St. John Gaffney, but I lost track of him for years now. The last I heard of him was that he is living in California. Mr. St. John Gaffney was an ardent supporter of my work while I was in America, and especially during the time of my being the editor of the former "Chicagoer Weckruf" in Chicago, and columnist of the "Sonntagsbote" in Pittsburgh.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who is that letter from?

Mr. WHITLEY. From Oscar C. Pfaus, and it is on the letterhead of the Fichte Bund. The letter is addressed to Dr. Anna B. Sloane, of New York City. The postscript to the letter reads as follows:

P. S. I am sending you 20 copies of the Ravage articles today. It would be very important to have them sent to members of Congress, etc. Please let me know if you need more. O. C. P.

The CHAIRMAN. That letter really shows what our evidence has shown from the beginning, that these people have made a special appeal to racial hatred, and they cooperate with whatever group they think is spreading religious intolerance. If they find a group spreading religious intolerance, they cooperate with that group. On the other hand, the Communists cooperate with any group that is spreading class hatred. That is the whole story. All of the organizations that they mentioned as cooperating with the bund, which is a Nazi government propaganda agency, are the organizations that they are striving to establish cooperation with. That shows that the foundation of the whole thing is hatred. That is the appeal they make.

Mr. WHITLEY. In these letters, they admit they are trying to bring them together in one organization, with voting strength. In connection with the letter I have read, from Pfaus to Mrs. Sloane, he asks if there is a chance to get in contact with General Moseley. This letter from Mr. Pfaus to Mrs. Sloane is written on the letterhead of the Fichte Bund, and is written from Hamburg.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Fichte Bund? Is that an official propaganda agency of the Nazi government?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir.

The next letter is dated June 28, 1939, signed "Oscar C. Pfaus," and addressed to Dr. Anna Bogenholm Sloane, 547 West One Hundred and Twenty-third Street, New York City. I read from that letter as follows:

A thousand thanks for your fine letter of June 16th, and for the copies of the letters which you wrote to the General and to Capt. Campbell. It seems things are happening whenever you decide to take a hand in it. I really don't know what we would do without your help and understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. That was our old friend who was before the committee in May?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir. There is one other letter I would like to read.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that any letters that tend to show the American people the tactics that these people are trying to use should be read into the record.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are frequent references made to the Irish-Americans and the Irish section. Here is a letter dated March 21, 1939, addressed to Mrs. Anna Bogenholm Sloane, and signed "Oscar C. Pfaus," in which he says:

Yes; I really should welcome the chance for another visit to the United States, and if I am able to come I shall be delighted to call on you, to make the personal acquaintance of an American lady whom we all admire. It would be splendid if you would be in a position to put me in touch with some interesting people in New York. I intend to come to the States for the main purpose of studying Irish-American folklore. Consequently I would be glad if you'd be able to get me acquainted with some influential Irish-Americans. As soon as I know the date of my departure I shall inform you about it.

Mr. CASEY. Who is that from?

Mr. WHITLEY. From Oscar C. Pfaus. In all of these letters, Mr. Pfaus is encouraging her to address letters to anyone that she thinks might be interested in sending in their names.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, this shows that they are trying to make contact with groups of individuals who may, at least, have common prejudices, even though they are not of the same ideology. That is what the letters show. They show a close tie-up between the Nazi Government and certain groups in the United States for the purpose of spreading race hatred in this country. They make their appeal to what they think are the same kind of groups.

Mr. CASEY. They make that appeal to the Irish because of their well-known love for Christianity, and because England and France attempted to have a tie up with a country like Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another letter dated July 26, 1939, addressed to Dr. Anna Bogenholm Sloane and signed "Oscar C. Pfaus," in which he says:

I shall be glad to talk things over with you and with Mr. Gaffney, and I am sure it will be worth while for the cause to go to the General. After we have talked things over, the case will be clearer to all of us, and we shall know what to do. War has to be prevented at all costs.

At this time he was contemplating a trip to this country, in the early part of this year, but apparently that was called off because of the war. And in another letter dated July 26, 1939, addressed to Mr. James Philip Gaffney, Mr. Pfaus says:

If I will be able to get the affidavit—Dr. Sloane is informed about it—I shall be in a position to leave for America in a very short time now. And then we shall have the opportunity to talk things over. I don't trust the mail in America; therefore it is better we wait till we see each other before we go into details.

In other words, he was planning to come over here, obviously for one purpose, and that is to further the propaganda in this country of his organization.

Here is another letter from Oscar C. Pfaus to Dr. Anna Bogenholm Sloane, dated Hamburg, August 4, 1939, in which he says:

Your letter of July 21st just arrived, and I wish to thank you with all my heart for your kindness of trying to make it possible for me to revisit the

United States. Be assured that I know how to appreciate your wonderful cooperation.

Nobody shall know of my arrival in the States; you and Mr. Gaffney are the only ones who know definitely that I intend to come on a certain date. Besides New York, I'll have to visit Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, and some other places. I shall do my best to see clear in the matter.

Here is a letter dated May 15, 1939, from Mrs. Sloane to Mr. Pfau, from which I read as follows:

You see, my idea was that if you could get someone in Germany to put my six Hitler books in shape in the German language for publication in Germany, all the money I would receive would go to start the National American Patriot, to speak the truth without fear of Jews or anything. I think Gaffney would be a good editor, and I would not want to run the paper, that being too much trouble, but my name could be used as publisher, since the law requires that the name be given, and no one could question my Americanism. It could be used for advertising the books we want to distribute widely. Gaffney has now for rewriting not only the Saga of Hitler but also The International Jew-Communist Network, and Political History in Messianic Movements. He thinks there is a hungry market for these and similar books in the South. Mr. Gaffney wants to line up the various small anti-Jew organizations, but nothing can be done until I can sell some of my books to get money. Another of my collaborators who has rewritten The Dual Origin of Mankind Proved is planning to start a news service, but I don't think he has been able to line up money for starting it yet.

If you do come to New York, I will put you in touch with my pro-Hitler collaborators, and maybe you can start some work. I would not know what to do, only I think we ought to have a National American Patriot newspaper to speak the truth fearlessly, and I think the whole world, Germany included, would be benefited by it.

Here is another letter from Mrs. Sloane to Mr. Pfau, dated May 23, 1939, in which she states as follows:

If I succeed in starting The National American Patriot, a newspaper to tell the truth without fear of Jews or anything, I want to have a council of twelve leaders of patriotic movements connected with it, in hope that this would link together all patriotic movements in U. S. for the purpose of recovering our country from control of Jews. I am in communication with the following, who I hope would serve as such councillors in case I succeed to get this newspaper started:

1. Dr. Hiram Wesley Evans, president, Ku Klux Klan.
2. Mr. Edward Hunter, president, Industrial Defence League.
3. Mr. Donald Shea, pres., White Shirts and Gentile League.
4. Mr. William Dudley Pelley, president, Silver Shirts.
5. Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, publ., Christian Justice.
6. Mr. Geo. E. Deatherage, pres., Knights of the White Camelia.
7. Mr. James True, pres., James True Associates.
8. Gen. George Van Horn Moseley, ex-commander, Army, Fourth Corps Area.
9. Mr. Geo. W. Christians, pres., Crusaders for Economic Liberty.
10. Rev. Gerald Winrod, publisher, Defender.
11. Mr. Fritz Kuhn, pres., German Bund.
12. Mr. Harry A. Jung, pres., Vigilanti Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. They were the 12 people that Mrs. Sloane was to contact in order to establish this Ogpu in the United States?

Mr. WHITLEY. She had particular reference to a newspaper called The National American Patriot, and they were to be in the council.

The CHAIRMAN. And she was to get money from Germany?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir; through the sale of books over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mrs. Sloane working for the State Department?

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not believe she is. I have not checked on that.

The CHAIRMAN. I think this correspondence ought to be submitted to the State Department for appropriate action.

Mr. WHITLEY. She continues in this same letter as follows:

That I am a woman is an asset, for no one could attack me without arousing the indignation of the whole American white population. The offer of use of my name to Dr. Goebbels, see inclosed copy of my letter, is dictated by desire to do my bit towards keeping the U. S. out of the war.

She has offered the use of her name to Dr. Goebbels. Then, there are copies of her letters to the important individuals named soliciting their support.

Mr. VOORHIS. This was her suggestion—is that right?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do we have any correspondence from any of those individuals she mentioned?

Mr. WHITLEY. There are some here that I will read as soon as I find them.

The CHAIRMAN. We have already had some of that correspondence. We certainly know what Pelley stands for, and we know all about Hunter and Deatherage. Most of them have already been identified, and we have their own words.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is a letter dated May 20, 1939, from Mrs. Anna Bogenholm Sloane, addressed to Mr. Dudley Pierrepont Gilbert, Mayfair House, 610 Park Avenue, New York City, from which I read as follows:

It has occurred to me that you may be interested in a manuscript of research work in ten European languages, called The International Jew-Communist Network, of about 500-600 typed pages, which Mr. James P. Gaffney, 559 W. 52 St., is putting in shape for publication, and I would appreciate it very much if you would grant an interview to Mr. Gaffney. He came to me highly recommended as a writer of outstanding ability by Mr. Eugene Clifford, who was an editor of the New York Times for many years.

I was working in ten European languages doing political and economic research of foreign countries in the U. S. Government Service, Washington, D. C., from 1916 to 1923, when I was sent to Europe to do special research, visiting sixteen countries during three years. The manuscript is of outstanding comprehensiveness, and I think Mr. Gaffney will put it in good shape for publication, but it may be difficult to find a publisher, and we would appreciate any advice you might be able to give us.

The CHAIRMAN. What was Mrs. Sloane's work for the Government?

Mr. WHITLEY. She said that she was doing research work in foreign countries in the United States Government service. She is seeking Mr. Gilbert's support for a translation of a publication that she has in mind.

There is some correspondence here between Mrs. Sloane and M. Gatien, director of the Anti-Communist Committee, of Montreal, Canada, which has to do with the issue of the Benjamin Franklin material.

Here is a reply from James True, of the Industrial Control Reports, to Mrs. Sloane, dated June 6, 1939, as follows:

DEAR MRS. SLOANE: Thank you many times for yours of May 24th. I know you will forgive me for the delay in answering when I tell you that we have been simply snowed under for two weeks and I had to neglect many important matters.

Of course, we are greatly interested in any proposition that is intended to accomplish the purpose you mention. However, I am so busy, working day and night, on our immediate program, that I have not a single minute to devote to anything else.

Wishing you every possible success.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES TRUE.

There are several other exchanges of correspondence between Mrs. Sloane and James True.

There is also an exchange of correspondence, or, rather, some letters, from Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, of Royal Oak, Mich. This letter, dated December 1, 1938, addressed to Mrs. Sloane by Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, reads as follows:

Thank you sincerely for your correspondence of November 12th and for your kindness in submitting the enclosure, which I have perused very carefully.

Although I appreciate your offer to have this published in Social Justice, our editorial department advises me that all the available space is already utilized for several weeks to come.

I am, therefore, returning the enclosure.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Cordially yours,

CHARLES E. COUGHLIN.

I have here another letter addressed to Mrs. Sloane by Father Coughlin, dated November 29, 1938, as follows:

MY DEAR FRIEND: I wish to thank you for your interesting letter of the 11th. Any further information you may care to send to me relative to the protocols or kindred subjects, I shall be glad to have.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. COUGHLIN.

There is another letter from Father Coughlin to Mrs. Sloane, dated December 29, 1938, as follows:

MY DEAR FRIEND: In this brief note I wish to acknowledge receipt of your recent communication, together with a clipping from the Saturday Evening Post.

Thank you most sincerely for the information disclosed in your letter.

Wishing you God's choicest blessings, may I remain,

Sincerely yours,

CHAS. E. COUGHLIN.

There is some correspondence between George E. Deatherage and Mrs. Sloane.

The CHAIRMAN. It is nearly 12 o'clock, and the members of the committee may have some questions for the witness.

MR. WHITLEY. I have a letter here written on the letterhead of the German-American Bund, dated July 11, 1939, addressed to Mrs. Sloane by Wilhelm Kunze, national public relations director. It is addressed to Mrs. Anna Bogenholm Sloane, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Cand. That represents some kind of a degree. That letter reads as follows:

With regard to your favors of May and June, addressed to our national leader, Fritz Kuhn, and our national secretary, James Wheeler-Hill, permit me to express their thanks for your efforts.

We are entirely at one with you, in your aim to bring the innumerable anti-Marxist-Jewish organizations of our U. S. A. into closer coordination. Should your projected publication really have the backing essential to successful development, then we shall certainly want to help.

Kindly inform us concerning any projected meeting to which you would care to have us appear, in order that we may learn more about the plan of action as you conceive it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there some further questions?

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Forbes, in your attendance on meetings of the bund unit at Seattle, did you hear any discussion as to possible espionage activities on the part of any of the members?

Mr. FORBES. We did not talk about espionage. Of course, that matter was left wide open. They were disgruntled with the present administration. While I was associated with the bund, one member of the bund went back to Germany to take up permanent residence, and I think all the rest of them envied him that trip. For instance, one of the men said his citizenship allowed him to starve legally, or some such remark. I do not remember the exact quotation. I was impressed by the fact that the bund in Seattle, while a young organization, has apparently no hold upon the younger generation. The men who were bund members were naturalized citizens, and most of them had come from Germany around 1921 or 1922.

Mr. CASEY. You mean by the younger generation of German-Americans, those who are at least one generation removed from Germany?

Mr. FORBES. Yes, sir. They had no hold on them. In fact, the whole bunch, I think, were a marked minority, and they were handicapped by the fact that they did not handle the English language capably.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were in there, wherein did you see that it constituted a threat to anything?

Mr. FORBES. I did not see it. These 15 men constituted a very little threat except as disseminators of propaganda. There were 2 men working in the Boeing Airplane plant, and at the time of the crash of the *Stratoliner*, a cry of sabotage was raised in Seattle, but I heard no talk of sabotage as a weapon by the local bund unit. It would seem to me that these men, Lechner and Stoll, were not engaged in sabotage, but some other members or some other parties might be doing that sort of work.

The CHAIRMAN. Fifteen men could not be a serious menace to a community from the political standpoint, but if they were working in munitions industries, airplane factories, or navy yards, two men could do a tremendous damage without any question.

Mr. CASEY. What were the two men who worked in the Boeing plant doing?

Mr. FORBES. They were key men in the Boeing plant. Paul Stoll was the leader of the bund in name. He was leader of the bund in name only. Harry Lechner was the more powerful man. He seemed to be, from my observation, a much better man than Fritz Kuhn appeared to be.

Mr. CASEY. Was either of the men you mentioned a member of a labor union?

Mr. FORBES. I imagine that Harry Lechner, who was a machinist, would be a member of a union.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you imagine that?

Mr. FORBES. Because the Northwest is a particularly strong union section, and I doubt if he could hold that kind of a position if he were not a union mechanic.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were all of these bund members American citizens?

Mr. FORBES. Yes, sir; all of them were American citizens.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you get any indication from your attendance on the meetings whether their first loyalty was to the United States or to Germany?

Mr. FORBES. Their first loyalty, from my observations, was to Germany. I attended some meetings, and they lapsed frequently into the German language. They carried on all their conversations in the German language. The celebration of Hitler's birthday was held in the German House, at Seattle.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many people attended that celebration?

Mr. FORBES. I did not attend. I had an invitation, but did not attend.

Mr. CASEY. These men who are working in the Boeing plant owe their first loyalty to a foreign government, and if were kept in the plant by virtue of belonging to some particular union, then it would be the duty of the union to get rid of the men.

Mr. FORBES. In this case, Harry Lechner is a good workman in the Boeing plant. The Boeing plant evidently knows of Harry Lechner's connection with the German-American Bund, and they have seen fit to keep him on because he is a good foreman and a good machinist.

The CHAIRMAN. They probably would have to have some evidence of that.

Mr. FORBES. He is not kept in the job because he is a member of any particular union, but he holds his job by dint of his own efforts.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know anything of your own knowledge about the corresponding situations in other west-coast aircraft factories?

Mr. FORBES. Only what I have read in the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is, if Mr. Kuhn's testimony is correct, and he has 100,000 members in the United States, counting sympathizers, we know that those members, so far as where we have been able to examine them, are working in key industries throughout the country.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Counsel, I understand that Mr. Stoll's name is on that list that Mr. Kuhn submitted as the leader of the bund in Seattle.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right; and in Spokane, also.

The CHAIRMAN. After all, they are American citizens, whereas in Chicago there are 200 who admit that they are not American citizens and they are working in key industries there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Zachary or Mr. Pelley make any speeches or hold any meetings while you were active in those circles?

Mr. FORBES. No; but several years ago, when I was living in Aberdeen, Mr. Pelley drove about the State of Washington with a caravan. In Aberdeen, for example, his meeting was picketed by the longshoremen. It was not an official picket line, but the fact remains that all the longshoremen were there, and Mr. Pelley was prevented from speaking.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made a careful investigation. Have you ever investigated communism in that section?

Mr. FORBES. No; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. There is quite a bit of it in Seattle.

Mr. FORBES. I have very little knowledge of that. There are so many rumors; I have heard people called Communists who, to my knowledge—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I am talking about the Communist Party. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. FORBES. No; I do not, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mentioned, Mr. Forbes, that you had received a number of assignments from the bund to carry on propaganda activity at the university, to distribute literature and heckle speakers.

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you and your friends carry out those assignments?

Mr. FORBES. We did not heckle Dr. Laski, but we did place a few windshield stickers around as evidence of our good faith.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they furnish you with the propaganda material?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they call for reports from you as to what progress was being made?

Mr. FORBES. Yes; they did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you had to do something?

Mr. FORBES. We had to do something to keep our standing as good bund members. They gave us stickers of this type, windshield stickers and such [indicating document].

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did that material come from, do you know?

Mr. FORBES. This material I think came from Glendale, Calif.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the nature of the stickers?

Mr. FORBES. I will just pass them across.

The CHAIRMAN. Anti-Jewish stickers?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you have reason to think that the people in the bund were suspicious of you, that they did not quite trust you?

Mr. FORBES. Well, I imagine that is why my credentials did not come back from New York a little bit faster. They gave me lots of work to do, but we were, after all, as foreign to them as they were to us. They wanted us bad enough that they would take us into their confidence.

Mr. CASEY. Where are you located now?

Mr. FORBES. I am at Seattle, Wash.

Mr. CASEY. Did you come here from Seattle, under summons?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess until 10 o'clock Monday.

(Whereupon, the committee adjourned to meet on Monday, October 23, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 9:58 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman), presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies (chairman), Starnes, Voorhis, Casey, and Mason.

Present also: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee, and Mr. J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand? You solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WARD. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Dr. Matthews.

TESTIMONY OF HARRY FREEMAN WARD

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. WARD. Harry Freeman Ward.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. WARD. England.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. WARD. 1891.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WARD. Since 1898.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you naturalized?

Mr. WARD. Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what year—1898?

Mr. WARD. 1898.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your connection with the American League for Peace and Democracy, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. I am the chairman and it is understood that I am appearing here by request of the organization to present officially to this committee any information they desire.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here, Doctor, may I correct you, under a subpoena, as I understand.

Mr. WARD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he not here under subpoena?

Mr. WHITLEY. No, sir; he is not.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are here to answer questions propounded by the committee?

Mr. WARD. Certainly, for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions we see fit to ask you. This is a congressional committee, and not only your organization, but any other organization that comes within our jurisdiction, our counsel will ask questions.

Mr. WARD. Any questions that are relevant to the inquiry, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. That is a question for us to determine.

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to be courteous to you, Doctor, and there is no reason why we cannot have a pleasant session here, and all we want you to do—we will ask you the questions and you can answer those questions, so that we get the facts.

Mr. WARD. That is what we are here for.

Mr. WHITLEY. This subpoena was sent to Dr. Ward and he sent it back with a statement he would appear when called.

The CHAIRMAN. But, whether he is here under subpoena, or voluntarily, he is here for that purpose.

Mr. WARD. Certainly. There also should be added that I have a letter from Mr. Whitley, in which he states I am here to answer questions in respect to the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is well to know that is absolutely correct, but when our investigator and our attorney went to the offices of the American League here in the city of Washington, to get the membership list and secure the records, there was objection made to that and our attorney refused to proceed any further until you were called by Mr. Whitley and your permission to obtain those records was first obtained. Before sending our investigator, as a matter of fact, we got your permission, that was confirmed in a letter by Mr. Lamberton, who is the head of the league here and, therefore, we were very much surprised to learn that the league here had made the statement that the records had been illegally seized. And I think we ought to keep this record absolutely straight.

Mr. WARD. Yes; correct, Mr. Chairman. And our objection to the procedure of your agents, both in Washington and in Chicago, was to the manner in which they proceeded. We had offered to this committee voluntarily all our records, but your agents came and, according to the affidavit I have here concerning Chicago, they acted illegally when they were in the office, in the matter of taking things which were to have been voluntarily handed them, and in a manner in which the subpoena did not legally call for.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, may I say—I want to clarify this for your benefit.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not there; I was not there.

Mr. WARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. May I say the investigators were instructed by the Chair that while we have the right to seize records, unquestionably, under subpoena, yet we have not exercised that right, and our investigators were instructed, in accordance with your letter, with your statement that you would be glad to give us any records we wanted—you said that; there is no question about that?

Mr. WARD. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. In accordance with that, Doctor, I instructed the investigators to go to the headquarters and to get the records, but not to take the records except with the permit of whoever was in charge.

Now, the investigators reported to me—Mr. Whitley here, the counsel, says that when he went to the offices with the investigators to get the records, objections were raised, and then Mr. Whitley telephoned to you and you gave permission to get the records.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the records were not taken until you gave permission, and we have a letter from Mr. Lamberton concerning that situation. Now, that is the Washington end of it.

Now, after we got the records with that consent, your branch held a demonstration here in which they alleged our agents had entered the offices here and illegally seized your records.

Now, evidently, there was something wrong about that; because we had your permission that we could get the records and then, having gotten the records in line with it, I was amazed to learn your organization was taking the position we had illegally seized the records.

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir; Mr. Chairman. Now, what was wrong about that situation was that after having clearly known, as you have said, we would submit all of our records voluntarily to this committee, the testimony I have, both in Washington and in the form of an affidavit from an outsider in Chicago, who was in the office, was that when they were in the office your agents did not proceed in that manner; but, on the contrary, they seized records themselves, personally, in a manner not legally provided for in the subpoena. Now, that is our contention.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, our records show—take the Washington office, for instance, which is the one that occasioned this last meeting of your organization—the records were not obtained until the following day.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And they were delivered by your organization. Our agents did not go there and get anything.

Mr. WARD. The testimony which we have is that your agent reached in a cupboard and seized records, some of which were not called for in the subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Our investigators say that is absolutely not correct and your organization delivered those records; we did not get them.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. We did not get them by going and taking them physically, but Mr. Lamberton delivered those to our agents.

Mr. WARD. Our contention is, and we have had it supported—

The CHAIRMAN. I want to make clear to you here and now, as we have made clear last year and this year, that we have not seized records. As a matter of fact, we have the power, we have the right to go in and take records under subpoena; there is no question about that.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But we have not exercised that right. I think we have been in, maybe, four or five places, but always our investigators have been under instructions and orders not to proceed without permission of whoever was in charge of the organization.

Mr. WARD. If that is the case—and I do not doubt it—then the testimony I have and your own testimony clearly indicates your agents violated your specific instructions.

The CHAIRMAN. You may place too much credence in your people, and perhaps before this investigation is over, you will learn, beyond doubt, not to place too much credence in things people tell you, and that what they tell you is not always true.

Mr. WARD. That would go for both, would it not, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Even so, I can assure you we are not going to permit any investigators—even though the law authorizes us to do so, we are very careful not to do the thing you are talking about. While it has been done, and was done, I understand, by the La Follette committee in hundreds of instances, and has been done by other committees, and I do not think your organization ever condemned it, nevertheless, this committee does not approve that procedure.

Mr. STARNES. His organizations have, however, approved it, and approved the work of the committee of which La Follette was chairman.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. And backed them continuously.

Mr. WARD. Then you also would not—if we prove in court, for example, your agents have violated your instructions—this committee will not defend them.

The CHAIRMAN. I may say this: In order that there could be no question about it, I sent a Government agent who has been connected with our committee—I mean a witness went, as I understand, to Chicago—did not Major Wilson go down there?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Major Wilson, who is with the Veterans' Administration, went down there as an observer, so that a false charge could not be made against our agents. I may say that precaution was taken. But, let us proceed, now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. WARD. Since 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you state the time of year you assumed the chairmanship?

Mr. WARD. It was in March or April.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was the name of the organization changed from American League Against War and Fascism to American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. WARD. 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1937?

Mr. WARD. At the Pittsburgh conference. I think that is the date you can check on there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In November 1937?

Mr. WARD. I think that is the date; yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. So that when we speak of the organization as "American League" we will refer, Mr. Chairman, to the original name American League Against War and Fascism and the present name American League for Peace and Democracy.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. MATTHEWS. In other words, you assumed the chairmanship, Dr. Ward, about 5 or 6 months after the founding of the organization?

MR. WARD. Well, that I cannot say accurately, because I was not present at the founding of the organization. You know more about that, Mr. Matthews. You were there.

MR. MATTHEWS. You have heard, have you not, that the organization was founded in October 1933?

MR. WARD. I never paid any attention to the date.

MR. MATTHEWS. Well, you did acquaint yourself somewhat with the history of the organization whose chairmanship you assumed?

MR. WARD. Only in general from what I heard up to that time. I acquainted myself with its purpose and program, naturally.

MR. MATTHEWS. You published a document, that is, the organization did, after you assumed the chairmanship, which outlined the history of the organization?

MR. WARD. Correct—roughly; yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. And in this publication it was stated the organization began its existence in October 1933?

MR. WARD. Therefore, we can assume it did.

MR. MATTHEWS. I show you a document, Dr. Ward, and ask you to identify that as coming from your organization.

MR. WARD (after examining). Correct.

MR. MATTHEWS. This is a mimeographed document dated August 22, 1935, and is designated as the "Hand Book of the American League Against War and Fascism." And on the letterhead under which this document is transmitted to the city secretaries of the American League, it appears that Harry F. Ward is named as chairman of the organization.

MR. STARNES. What year was that, Mr. Matthews?

MR. MATTHEWS. This document is dated August 22, 1935.

I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this be received as an exhibit for the record.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, I call your attention especially to section 2, page 1, of this document: Do you recall having seen that particular page of this publication?

MR. WARD (after examining). Yes; I have seen that.

MR. MATTHEWS. On this page is a chart which indicates the origin of the American League against War and Fascism and its present successor. According to this chart, the organization grew out of what is described as the Amsterdam World Congress against War, which was convened August 27, 28, 29, 1932. Out of that Congress, according to the chart, came the World Committee Against War and from the World Committee Against War is traced the American Committee for Struggle Against War. And from the American Committee for struggle Against War is traced, in descent, the First U. S. Congress Against War, New York City, September 29-30;

October 1, 1933. And in parentheses, in that block, is the statement "Founding of the American League Against War and Fascism."

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt to inquire of Mr. Matthews: Do you recall whether that Amsterdam Conference is the same one Mr. Alsberg testified he attended?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, Congressman.

Mr. STARNES. And that he took very little part in its deliberations, because it was communistic in its character? Is that the one he had reference to?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Now, Dr. Ward, I ask you if you can identify this pamphlet?

Mr. WARD (after examining). No; I cannot.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This pamphlet is entitled "World Congress Against War. Published by American Committee for Struggle Against War."

Dr. Ward, on page 28, there appears a statement signed "Methodist Social Service Bulletin." Are you acquainted in any way with the organization which publishes the Methodist Social Service Bulletin?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the name of that organization?

Mr. WARD. Methodist Federation for Social Service.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your connection with that organization?

Mr. WARD. I am honorary secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you the founder of the organization?

Mr. WARD. No; I was one of the founders of the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you write the statement which appears here?

Mr. WARD. I have no recollection. I was not the sole editor of the bulletin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you would be familiar with the contents of the bulletin?

Mr. WARD. Usually, yes; not always. At times, I am out of the country when the bulletin is issued.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The statement which appeared in the Methodist Social Service Bulletin reads as follows:

That was a new sort of antiwar meeting that was held in Amsterdam this summer * * * with its 2,000 delegates—workers, peasants, colonials, intellectuals—from across the world. Some were afraid that the workers (the strategic group if the pending war is to be headed off) would not go because the Congress was called by intellectuals. * * * But the workers did go and they were vocal, not just with promises to "down tools" where future war munitions and transport are concerned, but with reports as to what they are already doing.

You were apprised of the fact that such a Congress was held in Amsterdam in the summer of 1937, were you not, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. At that time I was not. I am scarcely ever in the country or in reach of news in the summer months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Since its being held, you did learn of its existence?

Mr. WARD. Only in a general way, a most general way. I knew nothing about the facts, except what I heard from hearsay.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you have identified this document which traces the descent of the American League Against War and Fascism from the World Congress Against War?

Mr. WARD. I have identified it; certainly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The American delegates to the Amsterdam World Congress are listed on pages 26 and 27 of the pamphlet. Do you

recall any of the names of the delegates to that Congress from the United States, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not—well, I can recall one, or possibly two, if I think about it. It would be purely from memory.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me refresh your memory and see if you recall whether certain persons did attend, or if you know them personally: Henry G. Alsberg, writer, International Committee for Political Prisoners. Do you know Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I take it that the designation here indicates Mr. Alsberg attended as a representative of the International Committee for Political Prisoners, which is in accordance with his testimony before this committee last year.

Sherwood Anderson, novelist; are you acquainted with Sherwood Anderson?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Joseph R. Brodsky, attorney, International Workers' Order. Are you acquainted with Mr. Brodsky?

Mr. WARD. I have met him once or twice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. N. Buchwald, journalist, John Reed Club of New York City; do you know Mr. Buchwald?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the work or the character of the John Reed Club?

Mr. WARD. Only in a most general way. I have heard they have conducted meetings for literary discussion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it your understanding that the John Reed Club was, in a sense, affiliated with, or a united front of the Communist Party?

Mr. WARD. No; that was not my understanding.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Stella Buchwald, artist?

Mr. WARD. I never heard of her.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Joseph Cohen, student?

Mr. WARD. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Representing the National Students' League. Do you know anything about the work of the National Students' League, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. I have heard the name; I know nothing about it personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Prof. H. W. L. Dana, of the Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Mr. Dana?

Mr. WARD. I know Mr. Dana; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Mr. Dana as a Communist?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the organization Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been a member of that organization?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever written for its publication?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Soviet Russia Today?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Leon Dennenberg, John Reed Club, New York City: Do you know Leon Dennenberg?

Mr. WARD. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Lillian Furness, teacher, Education Workers' League.

Mr. WARD. Never heard of Lillian Furness.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Joseph Gardner, Negro miner, Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League.

Mr. WARD. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Elizabeth Gilman, social worker, Fellowship of Reconciliation?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes; I know Miss Gilman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Israel Goldstein, rabbi, Union East and West. Do you know Dr. Goldstein?

Mr. WARD. I have met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Minna Harkavy, sculptor, John Reed Club of New York City?

Mr. WARD. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Karl Herrmann, engineer, Pen and Hammer Club, New York City?

Mr. WARD. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Vivienne Hochman, Bureau of Educational Experiment?

Mr. WARD. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Sonia Karozz, textile worker, Lithuanian Working Women's Alliance. Have you ever heard of her?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Lola Maverick Lloyd, social worker, Women's Peace Society?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I met her twice, I think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. J. C. McFarland, marine worker, Marine Workers' Industrial Union?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know, of your own knowledge, that the Marine Workers' Industrial Union was affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. WARD. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Clara Meltzer, needle-trades worker, New York Unemployed Council?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any connection of the Communist Party with the Unemployed Council?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Prof. Scott Nearing, writer and lecturer?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes; I know Scott Nearing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know he was at one time a member of the Communist Party, do you?

Mr. WARD. I have heard so; I do not know so, of my own knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. J. G. Roth, machinist, Friends of the Soviet Union, Ithaca, N. Y.?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Mr. Roth?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I. Schendi?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the Hindustan Gardar Party?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Prof. Margaret Schlauch, New York University?

Mr. WARD. No. I met Miss Schlauch once.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. John Scott, Metal Workers' Industrial Union?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. William Simons, metal worker, Anti-Imperialist League of the United States?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Samiel Stember, textile worker, Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Bernard J. Stern, anthropologist, John Reed Clubs of United States of America?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it refresh your recollection if I told you Professor Stern is at Columbia University?

Mr. WARD. Not at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Maurice Sugar, attorney, John Reed Club of Detroit?

Mr. WARD. Oh, I have met Mr. Sugar once, I think, casually.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Belle G. Taub, office worker, Office Workers' Union?

Mr. WARD. Oh, I met somebody by that name once. It may be the same; I could not tell you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Charlotte Todes, writer, John Reed Club of New York City?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Lloyd Westlake, carpenter, Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Those, Mr. Chairman, were the American delegates to the Amsterdam World Congress Against War, out of which the American League for Peace and Democracy grew.

Mr. CASEY. How many delegates were there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Thirty-one.

Mr. CASEY. How many did the witness say he knew?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would have to consult the record, Mr. Congressman.

MR. CASEY. Do you remember, Mr. Witness, how many of the 31 you know?

MR. WARD. No; I do not, sir. You see, Mr. Whitley, on this matter it is an interesting question, because when I came into this league several years after its founding, I was only interested in its activity, and I thought that is what this committee was inquiring into.

MR. MATTHEWS. The purpose is to trace the background of the organization, which appears to be a relevant procedure.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. MATTHEWS. On page 4 of the pamphlet under consideration, the following statement appears:

* * * Of the delegates, 1,861 were workers, half of them members of trade-unions. There were 1040 without party allegiance, 830 Communists, 291 social democrats, 24 left socialists, and 10 of the Communist opposition.

The total number of delegates at the Congress, it appears from the cover of the pamphlet here, was 2,196 and, out of those, according to the record, 830 were members of the Communist Party.

MR. STARNES. In other words, so registered themselves; is that correct?

MR. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

You were apprized, were you not, Dr. Ward, of that number of Communist delegates in the Amsterdam World Congress?

MR. WARD. No. As I told you, I was not cognizant of that Congress, or what it did at the time it met.

MR. MATTHEWS. I understand you were not there, but I thought you had probably familiarized yourself with the background of the organization.

MR. WARD. I just told you, and the members of the committee here, why I did not go beyond the most general knowledge.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to take up the question of the 291 social democrats who are listed here, to ascertain their viewpoint on the subject under discussion at the American World Congress.

According to the Daily Worker of October 11, 1932, page 4, the social delegates, 291 in number, met and prepared a special resolution of their own.

The CHAIRMAN. Two hundred of them met?

MR. MATTHEWS. Two hundred and ninety-one of the social democrats, those listed as "social democrats," met and prepared the following resolution:

We, 291 members of the Second International, delegates from various organizations to the Amsterdam Congress held at Amsterdam August 27-29, regret the absence of the leaders of the Socialist International from this historic international event. We decide to work zealously within our respective organization to win them over for a united front against war and for the defense of the Russian revolution. We consider that war will be made impossible only through the overthrow of capitalism. We reject every idea of national defense under a capitalist regime. In case the united efforts of the proletariat against imperialist war do not succeed in preventing it, we pledge to do everything in our power to transform it into a class war, for the seizure of power by the workers and peasants. We furthermore express our determination to work ceaselessly for the liberation of oppressed peoples.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference between the position of those 291 and the position of those registered as Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was going to ask Dr. Ward that: You have a wide understanding of the Communist Party program and you have studied the question, have you not, Dr. Ward?

Dr. WARD. Of course.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This statement of the 291 social democrats, is it not in complete accord with the views of the Communist International and Communist Parties of the various countries of the world at that particular time?

Mr. WARD. At that time, I should say "yes"; in general accord; but both they and social democrats have changed their position radically since that time, as you well know, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am only trying to establish the facts at that time.

Mr. WARD. At that time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. It would be, then, I take it, a fair assumption, so far as ascertaining the attitudes of the delegates toward belief in war is concerned, that the 830 Communists and 291 social democrats, who published this resolution, could be added together and said to constitute a majority bloc in the Congress on the subject of turning an imperialistic war into a civil war?

Mr. WARD. Provided they could agree on the methods. I have never known them to agree yet.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am referring not so much to the methods as to the objectives which they seem to share in common.

Mr. WARD. Well, it is a very different thing, Mr. Matthews, to be against war, or against anything, and then to agree on how you are going to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the manifesto will show, won't it—that part of it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are listed here, 1,041 said to be without party allegiance. In your experience, Dr. Ward, would you be inclined to take that at face value?

Mr. WARD. Well, my experience in any united front activity is limited to the American League Against War and Fascism, which is now the American League for Peace and Democracy. And on the ground of my experience there, I should have to take it at its face value.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On pages 23 and 24 there appears what is described as the pledge taken by the delegates at the Amsterdam World Congress, out of which the American League grew, and this pledge appears subsequently to have a relationship to the American League Against War and Fascism, as will be indicated presently. The pledge reads as follows:

Each of us here takes what is in the nature of a pledge, and we take it all together.

We pledge that we will never allow the formidable unity which has been established here among the exploited and victimized masses to be broken up.

We pledge to fight with all our force and with all the means at our command against imperialist capitalism, that purveyor to the slaughterhouse.

We pledge to dedicate ourselves with all our forces and all our resources to our immediate and pressing tasks, taking our stand against armaments, against war preparations, and for that reason against the imperialist powers that rule us; against chauvinism, jingo national incitements and fascism, the police army of imperialism which leads to imperialist war and provokes civil war against the working class; against war budgets, a vote for which is a dishonor and a crime; against the loans and taxes that rob the masses

to build armaments; against the campaign of propaganda and slander aimed at the Soviet Union, the country of Socialist construction which we will not allow to be touched; against the dismemberment of China, of which each imperialist power covets a portion; against the exploitation, oppression, and massacre of the colonial peoples; for the support of the national minorities and the peoples fighting for their national and social independence; for the effective support of the Japanese workers who have raised the standard of struggle against their own imperialist government.

All the burdens of war, as well as all the burdens of armed peace and of war preparations, are laid on the shoulders of the working class, whose vanguard is formed by the armament and transport workers. The working class must therefore immediately organize and be on its guard. We pledge to fight with all our power against the gathering disaster."

Did you ever have that pledge brought to your attention?

Mr. WARD. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall having read it?

Mr. WARD. No, sir. There were some expressions of that character in the program of the American League Against War and Fascism when I went in, and I was told that you put it there. We took it out as soon as we could.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say that you took that out of the program?

Mr. WARD. I said there were some words like those he has read in the program, and we got rid of them. That is about my closest connection with that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say I put them in there, do you mean that I put them in there in collaboration with Earl Browder and Donald Henderson?

Mr. WARD. I was told that you wrote those so-called left-wing words and phrases in it, and we cut those words out. My only connection with it was in getting rid of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 6, there appears the following statement by Prof. H. W. L. Dana:

Professor H. W. L. Dana briefly described the mass unemployment and hunger in America and the consequent unrest which the ruling class attempts to sidetrack through war. He urged a concrete program including such steps as protest strikes in munitions factories against the manufacture of munitions, refusal to transport munitions or troops, and continual struggle against the capitalist system which is the chief cause of war.

Would you say that represents the viewpoint of Dr. Dana, as you have known him, at the present time?

Mr. WARD. I never discussed that matter with Dr. Dana. I met him only two or three times, and I have never discussed those matters with him at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 8 of the pamphlet appears a brief excerpt from an address made to the Amsterdam World Congress by Marcel Cachin, who is described as a leading French Communist. You were acquainted with Marcel Cachin?

Mr. WARD. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was, up until recently, editor of L'Humanite, the French Communist paper?

Mr. WARD. He was also a Senator in the French Parliament.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him as editor of the L'Humanite?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This paper states he was vigorously applauded when he presented a program of action:

Penetrate the armed forces; win over the workers and peasants in the factories and fields.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand, now to get it in order, this was after the Amsterdam Congress adopted the pledge?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, try to trace down that pledge. Just go ahead with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I expect to, after I complete some more excerpts from the statement concerning the Amsterdam Congress.

It is your understanding is it not, Dr. Ward, that the Amsterdam Congress was called over the signatures of Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse.

Mr. WARD. Yes; I have read that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 11 there begins a declaration by Romain Rolland.

On page 14 there appears this statement from Romain Rolland:

In all this chaos of conflict one great power, the U. S. S. R.—which is more than a nation, twenty nations, a world—has established the proletarian state and is building it up day by day. Its very existence defies the old world of exploitation. The hope of all exploited races, the example for them to follow, it must be preserved against the myriad threats of a world-wide imperialism united to destroy it.

Now, Dr. Ward, have you ever heard that the Amsterdam World Congress was called for the specific purpose of organizing a world movement in the defense of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the Daily Worker of September 17, 1932, page 4, Nathan Buchwald, who is listed in the pamphlet we have just used as an American delegate to the Amsterdam World Congress reported on the congress, in the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States and asks, Mr. Chairman, that this report be incorporated in the record.

(The report referred to follows:)

[From the Daily Worker, September 17, 1932, p. 4]

WHAT HAPPENED AT THE WORLD ANTI-WAR MEET IN AMSTERDAM—"WORKERS MAJORITY OF DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS"

(By Nathaniel Buchwald, special correspondent of the Daily Worker at the World Congress Against War held at Amsterdam on August 27-29, 1932)

"Why, this is not a congress, it's a mass meeting!" exclaimed a correspondent of a liberal journal at our press table.

The exclamation came in the midst of an ovation which the 2,200 delegates gave the Japanese veteran of the revolutionary labor movement, Comrade Sen Katayama. It was one of the most moving moments of this dramatic, passionate, world-wide "mass meeting." The delegates burst forth with the "Internationale," the German delegation (750 strong) thundered out the "Rote Front" salute and the rest of the delegates joined in. Katayama made an attempt to speak, but the delegates kept up the ovation and again sang the "Internationale" with much fervor. Tom Mann presided and made a speech of tribute to the veteran revolutionist.

Throwing "parliamentary procedure" to the dogs, Willi Meunzenberg (prominent German Communist, head of the Workers International Relief) jumped to the "mike" and galvanized the audience with his glowing praise of the old

Japanese labor leader. Vaillant Couturier, French proletarian writer and one of the editors of *L'Humanite*, French Communist daily, did likewise. And when Katayama finally spoke, the delegates sat spellbound despite the fact that the Japanese revolutionist spoke in the language of the minority, English.

"WAR AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR"

There were many such moments at the World Congress Against War, and if one were to express the content of the Congress in terms of mass enthusiasm, of militant will, the result would be a thousand-fold outcry in all the languages of the world: "War against imperialist war!"

But in the face of the substantial results of the Congress, its spirit and color are of secondary importance. One must, of course, turn to the minutes of the Congress and the texts of the leading speeches for an adequate appraisal of its meaning, but some of the high-lights may here be noted.

First of all, it was apparent that the Congress embraced all elements of sincere and honest war opponents the world over. It is an irony, indeed, that the Soviet delegation was absent, but its absence was more than conspicuous; the delegates were in a state of high indignation against the Dutch Government which had refused to allow Gorky, Shvernik, and the rest of the Soviet delegation to enter Holland. The impudent action of the Dutch Government came as a shock to the pacifists. It was a vivid illustration of the imperialist attitude to war and to the Soviet Union. Whatever one may say of the pacifists, there is a growing conviction among them that the Soviet Union is the only country that conducts a sincere peace policy and has offered a sincere and effective program of disarmament.

* * * * *

Much against their will the bourgeois correspondents and the skeptics among the bourgeois delegates were forced to admit that the Congress was not a "Communist affair." The ten Trotskyites were an exception, but of them later. In the foreground of the Congress were more intellectuals and non-Communist "big shots" than Communists. In the presidium, in the leading committees and in the Congress as a whole the Communists constituted a minority of about 30 percent. Among the 30,000 organizations represented there were hundreds of outspoken pacifist bodies and thousands of organizations that usually are outside the sphere of influence of the Communist parties in their countries. Outstanding individuals from all parts of the world have emphasized by their participation in the campaign for the Congress its international and interparty character.

THE VIEW POINTS EXPRESSED

But more important and convincing than all this was the fact that over four hundred social democratic delegates were elected to the Congress over the heads of the leaders of the Second International and the Amsterdam (Yellow) International. The united front of the working class from below has found a substantial expression at the Congress. In France, in Germany and in other countries some of the strongest socialist and reformist sections elected delegates, and the comrades of those countries tell me that the social-fascist leaders are in a state of panic because of this mass "disobedience."

In the welter of ideological currents that have found expression at the Congress one can see a number of common points of contact. All of the delegates are at one in their conviction that the danger of a new world war is real and near; all are united in their opposition to war and all of them have come to the Congress with the realization that the League of Nations with its "disarmament" conferences will not prevent a new world war. Practically all of the delegates will agree that it is the capitalist system that breeds wars, though here an important exception must be noted. Valabhay Patel, former president of the All-India National Congress, had his own thesis to offer on the cause of war. At the Amsterdam Congress Patel played a prominent, if not a leading, role. His position of leadership in the national emancipation movement of India naturally won for him a prominent place at the Congress, both at the open sessions and in the Resolutions Committee.

Patel's thesis may be summed up about as follows: The main cause of war is imperialism and the definition of imperialism is domination of one nation by another. The focus of world imperialism is India. The overthrow of the

British rule in India would of itself lead to the liberation of all colonial peoples and would even do away with the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. Patel's energetic language, his flaming condemnation of war, his sharp denunciation of the League of Nations and its hypocritical "peace" maneuvers sounded strong and "revolutionary" and made a profound impression on the delegates. But Patel's thesis limps on both legs with respect to two basic points, (1) His thesis implies a fundamental difference between capitalism and imperialism and a denial of the proposition that capitalism is the basic cause of war. (2) It substitutes for the slogan of defending the U. S. S. R. the slogan of mobilizing the masses of the world for the defense of India against British imperialism. "Overthrow the British rule in India and the danger of war against the Soviet Union as well as the war of Japan against China will disappear. The freedom of the colonial masses the world over would follow the downfall of British imperialism in India." This is what Patel insisted upon. In private conversations he stated plainly that he was no socialist or Communist and that his main concern was—the national emancipation of India. Within the frame work of a free India he was for a system modeled along the lines of capitalist society.

* * * * *

At the Congress Patel was a picturesque figure. He was clad in white with trousers fitting tightly around his calves and wore a white skullcap. His snow-white beard lent an added shade of brown to his earnest face. After a long debate in the Resolutions Committee Patel accepted the Manifesto and at the concluding session of the Congress made a lengthy statement explaining his indorsement of the document.

Except Patel, no one had to offer anything like a thesis that would be in contradiction to the manifesto. The Trotskyites were the only "agin"-ers, but their opposition consisted of obstructionist and disruptive tactics more than of program. In the face of the impressive symptoms of a united front from below, the Trotskyites kept shouting about the necessity of adopting united-front tactics and viciously minimized the results already achieved.

THEIR "UNITED FRONT"

The real meaning of their demagogic speech-making was a veiled call for a united front with the Second International rather than with the masses of the social-democratic workers. Their 10 votes were the only ones cast against the manifesto, and their 10 voices were the only ones attempting to disrupt the Congress. They were given every opportunity to state their views, and this circumstance deprived them of the opportunity to pose as martyrs. During the second session one of the Trotskyites attempted to address the Congress from the floor. The chairman refused to recognize him and the Trotskyites thought they had a good chance to make a row. They did make a row shouting at the top of their voices that opinion was being suppressed at the Congress, but the chairman took the wind out of their sails by stating that any delegate could get the floor if only he notified the presidium in advance. The Trotskyites soon after did mount the platform to make a speech but the mass of delegates would not let him speak, and it was only at the earnest insistence of the chairman and others of the presidium that the delegates let the renegade have his say.

A similar episode occurred on the next day when Molinier, a French Trotskyite who said he represented the Greek war veterans, was given the floor. The delegates booed him long and earnestly and the chairman had a hard time keeping them silent. At the end of his thoroughly demagogic speech Molinier thought it his duty to declare that "Trotsky is the leader of the ideology I have expressed in my speech." This statement was greeted with loud laughter mixed with boos. Another Greek delegate jumped to his feet to state that Molinier was not elected by the war veterans, and that he represented no one.

The pacifists were a distinct category at the Congress but they were not organized and had no program. The old recipes of individual resistance to war, of refusal to bear arms, of educating the young generation in a spirit of peace, etc., sounded hollow and pathetic in their helplessness, and found little support. Characteristic of the pacifist current was the speech of greetings made by the well-known Swedish writer Karin Michaelis. She was greeted warmly when she mounted the platform but her speech left the delegates cold. Her recipe

against war was, first, refusal to enter military service (conscientious objection), and secondly, educating the school children in a spirit of peace. Her hopes for peace were based upon the school teachers rather than upon the masses.

The idea that the fault was with the stick and not with the hand that wields it was also part of the mental equipment of the pacifists. Disarmament as an absolute cure of war, disarmament without regard to the capitalist system and its contradictions and conflicts is one of the pet ideals of the pacifists. An American rabbi who tagged on to the American delegation was hot and bothered about a resolution he had to offer calling for universal disarmament and praising the Soviet Union for its sincere program of disarmament. When the American delegation drew up a memorandum to the Resolutions Committee about war preparations in the United States, about training military forces for the suppression of demonstrations against starvation, etc., the rabbi made a wry face. The introduction of the element of the class struggle into the question of fighting war seemed to him far-fetched and extraneous. He later peddled his resolution among individual delegates.

The intellectuals came forth as individuals rather than as a group. It goes without saying that Henri Barbusse stood head and shoulders above them all. He dominated the Congress both by the magic of his name, the magnetism of his personality and—above all—by his sober, earnest, and realistic approach to the question of fighting war. He was a leading spirit of the Congress. Tall, gaunt, stooped, with sunken eyes and a deathly fatigue on his olive face—he looked like a statute of sorrow as he stood on the speakers podium or sat on the platform. He worked very hard both in preparing the Congress and in helping direct it. He spoke several times: at a press conference on the eve of the opening, at the opening of the Congress, at a mass-meeting under the most inadequate acoustics, at the presentation of the Manifesto, and at the conclusion of the Congress. He is no orator and his dolorous monotone is tiring. But there is something in Barbusse's voice that captivates you and holds you tense.

THE INTELLECTUALS—BARBUSSE

During the first day the intellectuals were in the foreground. Barbusse made a long speech, the reading of Rolland's speech (he could not attend because of illness) took up much time, and the greetings by other writers and intellectuals coupled with Patel's long address tended to create the impression among some of the delegates that the Congress was being monopolized by the intellectuals and the "big shots." The Trotskyites tried to use this circumstance as an opportunity to incite the delegates to protests against the "exclusion of workers," but with no success. The next day was given over almost entirely to speeches by representatives of workers' and other mass organizations.

The report of the Credentials Committee subsequently proved the falsity of the assertion by cynics and skeptics that it was a Congress of intellectuals and not of workers. Of the 2,200 delegates only 249 were intellectuals, 1,865 were workers, and 72 farmers.

Among the 2,200 delegates were about 800 members of Communist parties, and the Communists were the only ones who came to the Congress with a realistic conception of the task of fighting war and with a clear program. The position of the Communists at the Congress will be considered in the next and concluding article.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Reading an excerpt from that report:

The exclamation—that is, "Why this is not a congress, it is a mass meeting"—came in the midst of an ovation which the 2,200 delegates gave the Japanese veteran of the revolutionary labor movement, Comrade Sen Katayama. It was one of the most moving moments of this dramatic, passionate, world-wide mass meeting. The delegates burst forth with the Internationale, the German delegation (750 strong) thundered out the rote-front salute and the rest of the delegates joined in.

Dr. Ward, do you know whether the rote-front salute was a Communist salute?

Mr. WARD. The only time I have seen it in our mass meetings in the United States it was the popular-front salute.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was subsequent to this particular period, however.

Mr. WARD. Surely.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

Katayama made an attempt to speak, but the delegates kept up the ovation and again sang the Internationale with much fervor. Tom Mann presided and made a speech of tribute to the veteran revolutionist.

Are you acquainted with Tom Mann?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who he represents?

Mr. WARD. Oh, I have read occasionally in papers about him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your magazine has published articles by Tom Mann?

Mr. WARD. I don't know; I presume so; I could not recall at this time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Continuing with the report on the congress by Buchwald. (Reading:)

Throwing parliamentary procedure to the dogs Willi Muenzenberg (prominent German Communist, head of the Workers International Relief) jumped to the mike and galvanized the audience with his glowing praise of the old Japanese labor leader. Vaillant Couturier, French proletarian writer and one of the editors of L'Humanite, French Communist daily, did likewise. And, when Katayama finally spoke, the delegates sat spellbound despite the fact that the Japanese revolutionist spoke in the language of the minority, English. There were many such moments at the World Congress Against War, and if one were to express the content of the congress in terms of mass enthusiasm, of militant will, the result would be a thousandfold outcry in all the languages of the world: "War against imperialist war!"

Dr. Ward, from that brief portion of this article would you conclude that the author of the article, at least, considered that the distinct tone of the Amsterdam World Congress was Communist?

Mr. WARD. The author of the article naturally made, and wanted to make as good a case as he could.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, it seems from the pledge itself which pledge was adopted, there is no question, it shows that it was Communist control.

Mr. WARD. Yes, Mr. Chairman; but the words of that pledge must be considered in the light of the time when it was taken. And, it was not very long before those respective bodies were fighting like cats and dogs against each other.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point I am trying to make, that so far as the pledge itself is concerned there is no question that it was a purely communistic delegation in the convention; it was really only that kind of a convention in which such a pledge as that could be adopted.

Mr. WARD. Well, I would not say "purely communistic delegation" because there were parties there who were working against war and fascism who were not Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think any convention would have adopted that pledge that was not controlled by Communists?

Mr. WARD. That does not follow it would be controlled by Communists in the adoption of the pledge. You get together any gathering of workers in the United States, with a disagreement among them as to the policy which it would adopt and the kind of a pledge which the union or the meeting would adopt—

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about adopting a pledge such as that, adopting a pledge to go into munition factories and navy yards for the purpose of sabotage; do you think a workers convention would adopt such a pledge?

Mr. WARD. You are speaking of the United States. As I said, you must remember the time, and you must remember that at that time the Soviet Union had been invaded by troops from many other countries in Europe where there were plenty of workers who refused to load munitions, who were not Communists, yet who did agree with the Communists, perhaps, in refusing to load munitions, on the ground the Soviet Union was being attacked, but that does not mean those people were Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, this was 10 years afterward, was it not?

Mr. WARD. Even so, Dr. Matthews; if you had been in Europe you would have known that that thing was the deepest thing, antiwar, and antiattempts of people in control of the government to destroy property, there was a disposition in the minds of the workers who worked with regard to policies and economic factors.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; but I want to go into the difference that exists——

Mr. WARD (interposing). And your inference is exactly the same as then.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am only referring to the statements that were made at that time.

Mr. STARNES. What I cannot understand, Dr. Ward, is this: What is the difference in effect in the loss of life and the destruction of civilization in a civil war or an imperialist war, or by whatever means it is done? You say this organization condemns imperialist war?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What difference does it make? A man is just as dead if he is killed in a civil war as he is in an imperialist war and the destruction of property and civilization is just as real, is it not? That is one of the things that disturbs me. Do you understand it?

Mr. WARD. I understand why the people drew the distinction, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. WARD. They have a different psychology to us, especially those people who have lived under conditions, and people who have lived all their life under those conditions.

For instance, you have got a lot of people in this country, millions of them, who would not fight for the United States in any war outside the United States and yet who are perfectly willing to give their lives, tomorrow, if the United States were invaded.

Now, the similarity would be the feeling of those people in endorsing such a move.

Mr. STARNES. One more question, Dr. Ward: Furthermore I cannot understand, and I would like you to enlighten me if you can as to the attitude of this organization in adopting this similar line, and why they have consistently fought against adequate preparation and adequate defense, national defense, by whatever means, and against fascism when at the same time the Soviet Union has built up the

largest, incomparably the largest standing Army in the world, with 2,000,000 men, according to the best evidence from any reliable sources and with a tremendous reserve of from sixteen to eighteen million men, incomparably the largest of any nation in the world. I cannot understand that attitude.

Mr. WARD. Well, the answer to what that means today and of the Soviet Union today is first that the Soviet Union is the only great power in which millions of people now live which has had on its soil troops of every one of the other nations trying to attack it and destroy it.

Also it is the only nation thus far which has two foreign borders to defend; it has to defend the east against the Japanese, and it has to defend the west, possibly, against attacks by Germany and by England and France.

Those were the reasons. I am just telling you what reason they used.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, according to the chart which has been introduced in evidence, the Amsterdam Congress Against War has had a committee against war. Do you know where the headquarters of this committee against war is located?

Mr. WARD. When I became acquainted with it, it was located in Paris.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether it is still in Paris or not?

Mr. WARD. I do not know what the French Government has done to it in the last few weeks. We had a communication from it some 2 months ago, I think, or maybe 3 months ago, or maybe less.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you not heard what the French Government has done?

Mr. WARD. I have not seen any information; I have not heard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the chart again, one of the—

Mr. WARD (interposing). Pardon me, Mr. Matthews, that committee, ever since I have been acquainted with it was not the Committee Against War, but the Committee Against War and Fascism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. The chart is slightly in error. It omits the word "Fascism."

Mr. WARD. If it omits it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If it omits it.

Mr. WARD. There is no error. The error is in tracing the next development, which I am informed was the World Committee Against War and Fascism into the one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right. In other words, to this title of World Committee Against War you say should be added "and Fascism." Now, the Committee For Struggle Against War: Was there ever anything with reference to the American Committee Against War brought to your attention, or did you become acquainted with it, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. No; only in a most general way from what I read in the newspapers, as I remember.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I asked that two copies of the publication of the American Committee for Struggle Against War be numbered as exhibits. One of them, the American Committee for Struggle Against War Bulletin, volume I, No. 2, dated June 1933, published by the

American Committee for the Struggle Against War, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The other, volume I, No. 3, dated August 1933, with the same name and same address.

(The publications above referred to were marked Ward Exhibits.)

In the June 1933 issue of the Struggle Against War there appears an article entitled, "What Is the Amsterdam Movement?" That this particular article be incorporated in the record in order to make clear the connection of the American Committee for the Struggle Against War with the Amsterdam Movement and with the pledge adopted in the Amsterdam Congress Against War.

(The article referred to follows:)

WHAT IS THE AMSTERDAM MOVEMENT?

About a year ago some two thousand delegates, representing 30,000,000 people in twenty-seven countries, met in Amsterdam in order to lay plans for a gigantic world-wide struggle against war.

Following the Amsterdam meeting, committees were set up throughout Europe and North and South America. During the current month an Asiatic Congress is being organized.

What is the program of these committees for the Struggle Against War? Do you owe the Amsterdam Movement your support?

If you can answer "Yes" to each of the following questions, then the Amsterdam Movement is the antiwar movement which you will want to support.

Do you believe that the many local wars, now going on throughout the world, are likely at any moment to spread to another and far more disastrous world war?

Do you believe that only the active opposition of large numbers of people can prevent their leaders, "leaders" who are really servants of those groups which profit from war, from driving the world into war?

Will you pledge active support in the fight against war and agree to carry out the following program based on the manifesto of the World Congress Against War:

"1. Against armaments and war preparations.

"2. Against chauvinism, jingo national incitements and fascism.

"3. Against the loans and taxes that oppress and rob the masses of people to build armaments; against war loans, war credits, and war budgets.

"4. Against the division of China by the imperialist powers.

"5. Against the exploitation, oppression, and policing of the colonial peoples, throughout the world; for the support of the national minorities and peoples fighting for their national and social independence.

"6. Against intervention by the imperialist nations and against the campaigns of propaganda and slander aimed at the Soviet Union.

"7. For the effective support of the workers of all countries in their struggles against their own imperialist governments to end war.

"This is the Amsterdam program. Will you support it?

"Become an 'enlisted supporter' of the struggle against war. You will receive a copy of the pledge, designed for display in your home, or office, which completes your registration as an active supporter."

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the conclusion of this article is the question:

This is the Amsterdam program. Will you support it? Become an "enlisted supporter" of the struggle against war.

And then there is a blank which may be sent out for pledges, to individuals in support of that pledge, which we have read, and which may be sent to the American Committee for Struggle Against War, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

I also ask that the national committee of the American Committee for Struggle Against War, as listed on page 2 of the June 1933 issue, be incorporated in the record.

(The names of the committee are as follows:)

Sherwood Anderson
 Newton Arvin
 Roger Baldwin
 Harry Elmer Barnes
 Ella Reeve Bloor
 Franz Boas
 Edwin M. Borchard
 Frank Borich
 Joseph R. Brodsky
 Winifred Chappell
 Ida Dailes
 H. W. L. Dana
 Dorothy Detzer
 John Dos Passos
 W. E. B. Du Bois
 Julia Ellsworth Ford
 Joseph Freeman
 Lillian Furness
 Joseph Gardner
 Kate Crane Gartz
 Carl Geiser
 Michael Gold
 Joseph Gollomb
 Eugene Gordon
 Louis Grudin
 Robert Hall
 Ali A. Hassan
 Harold Hickerson
 Sidney Hook
 Louis Hyman
 Roy Hudson
 Oakley Johnson

Morris Kammam
 Sonia Kaross
 Joshua Kunitz
 Corliss Lamont
 Emanuel Levin
 E. C. Lindeman
 J. B. Matthews
 Lola Maverick Lloyd
 Robert Morss Lovett
 Pierre Loving
 J. C. McFarland
 Rev. R. Lester Mondale
 Felix Morrow
 Alla Nazimova
 Scott Nearing
 Joseph G. Roth
 Edward Royce
 James Humphrey Sheldon
 W. R. Sassaman
 Margaret Schlauch
 William Simons
 Upton Sinclair
 Lincoln Steffens
 Samuel J. Stember
 Bernhard J. Stern
 Leopold Stokowski
 Maurice Sugar
 Belle G. Taub
 Charlotte Todes
 Lloyd Westlake
 Thornton Wilder
 Ella Winter

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you agree at this time that the members of the World Congress Against War was changed by the American Committee for the Struggle Against War; that is, that the American Committee for the Struggle Against War was considered the direct line from the Amsterdam World Congress——

Mr. WARD (interposing). I am not entitled to express an opinion on that, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you did in the publication in this particular document, did you not?

Mr. WARD. That does not express an opinion; it states a fact.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It states a fact?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now in the August 1933 issue of the Struggle Against War there appears the call to the United States Congress Against War; that is the Congress Against War which was held September 29 and 30 and October 1, 1933.

Did you attend the United States Congress Against War, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that that be incorporated in the record in as much as it classifies the purposes of the American Committee for

Struggle Against War, which were listed as part of this entire development and shows the names of the organizations supporting the call, which appear on page 1 of the August 1933 issue, which has been incorporated in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

[From the Struggle Against War, August 1933]

CALL TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

TO ALL WORKERS, FARMERS, VETERANS, UNEMPLOYED, AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS—
TO ALL OPPONENTS OF WAR—MEN, WOMEN, AND YOUTH—WE CALL YOU TO THE
UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

We welcome the step taken by Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, and Upton Sinclair in their call for a united congress against war to be held in New York City, September 2, 3, and 4.

We are united in the belief that the peoples of the world must arouse themselves to take immediate action against the wars now going on in the Far East and in South America, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war. We appeal to all organizations, all workers, farmers, youth, and professional groups to support this congress against our common enemy.

THE GOVERNMENTS ARM

After 10 years of futile preparations and promises, the World Disarmament Conference has met only to adjourn itself with more promises and with all the imperialist governments continuing to prepare for war more intensively than ever. The Four Power Pact, the latest imperialist gesture to avoid concrete disarmament measures, has solved nothing. The rise of fascism among the western imperialist nations and the continued aggressive policy of Japanese militarism have increased the dangers of war involving the Soviet Union. The World Economic Conference now in session in London has revealed only too clearly the inability and the unwillingness of the great powers to solve the basic international problems which are steadily driving us toward war preparations and war.

FASCISM BREEDS WAR

The recent spread of fascism brings before us another serious problem, one which is closely related to war. It means forced labor, militarization, lower standards of living, and the accentuation of national hatreds and chauvinistic attitudes. It sets the people in one country against the people in another country and even exploits the internal racial groups within each country, instead of uniting them for joint action to solve their common problems.

UNITED STATES PREPARES FOR WAR

We emphasize that the declarations of peaceful intentions on the part of the United States Government cannot be relied on to keep this country out of war. In spite of repeated statements of peaceful intentions all governments continue to arm, to train, to prepare. In the United States the Roosevelt administration has systematically aided and furthered preparations for war; the concentration of the entire fleet in the Pacific Ocean, the continued maintenance of armed forces in China, give the lie to the peaceful declarations of our own Government.

Under the guise of public works, the National Industrial Recovery Act has become the vehicle for launching the building of a vastly larger Navy along the lines demanded by the big Navy jingos; the widespread unemployment of youth has been utilized to concentrate them in so-called reforestation camps, directly under the administration of the War Department, where semimilitarized conditions prevail; the military training of youth in the colleges continues; and more and more, national holidays become excuses for glorifying the armed forces and stimulating war hatreds. Throughout the country,

hundreds of firms are busy shipping munitions and basic war materials to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. With all this, the Roosevelt administration has developed centralized control along the lines of the War Industries Board of 1917. We must organize and act to save ourselves from these war preparations and war forces certain to culminate in suicidal international war.

It is to accomplish this task that we unite in support of this congress. It is to formulate a program of concrete struggle against these conditions that we appeal for the widest possible participation by the workers, farmers, youth, and by all opponents of war throughout the Nation.

We call every organization to form a united front and we appeal to every individual sincerely opposed to war to begin immediately the work of building this mighty rampart against the forces of war.

TEACHERS OPEN WAR ON MILITARY TRAINING

The opening gun of the antiwar battle in the public schools of New York will be a campaign to abolish military training in the three city high schools in which it exists. Plans for the campaign are being mapped by the New York Teachers' Antiwar Committee, in accordance with the Amsterdam program.

The committee is now preparing a pamphlet for distribution amongst teachers.

The articles to be included in the pamphlet are: The Report and Resolutions of the New York Teachers' Antiwar Conference; the War Danger and American War Preparations; War Preparations in the School; Antiwar Actions of Workers, Farmers, and Intellectuals.

The sums now going into armaments could be applied to keeping open the schools now being shut down in the interests of bankers' "economy" all through the country. Support the Teachers World Congress Against Educational Economies, Fascism, and War, Paris, August 1-4.

WARNING TO FRENCH C. O.'S

In our last issue we reported the preparations of the British Government against the future conscientious objector. Here is the French equivalent in a letter sent out by the Ministry of the Interior to all prefects and mayors of France:

"Secret."

"I have the honor of calling your attention to a nation-wide movement encouraging conscientious objectors to refuse military duty on the pretext of moral scruples.

"Religious and professional societies of the most diverse views are involved in this movement. [Here are listed the Quakers, some Catholic organizations, and several pacifist and war-resisting groups, together with their official organs, as well as certain Government employees who have shown sympathy toward conscientious objectors.]

"In transmitting this information our War Minister gave me examples of the effect that similar propaganda has already had upon some young soldiers, reservists, and even upon certain reserve officers. Several of these soldiers have already been sentenced. Both while awaiting trial and after being court-martialed these soldiers were in receipt of messages of sympathy and approval from the pacifist organization both here and abroad.

"This movement,' writes the Minister of War, 'is in grave danger of spreading unless the nation be shown the dire consequences of such action and a grave warning be issued to those who are tempted to become conscientious objectors either through conviction, self-interest, or cowardice.'

"I am enclosing the instructions sent by M. Daladier to the generals of regional command.

"I would be obliged if you would call the representatives of the military authority in your department together and act at all times in close cooperation with them as the occasion arises to combat this dangerous propaganda.

"Please acknowledge receipt of this circular, and keep me informed of whatever steps you undertake to execute its instructions as well as of the events making them necessary.

G. CHAUTEUPS.

"Ministry of the Interior, Department of Public Security."

Support the United States Congress Against War, September 2, 3, 4, New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE CALL

American Committee for Struggle Against War.
 A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief.
 Anti-Imperialist League of the United States.
 Bonus Expeditionary Forces, Rank and File of America.
 Committee on Militarism in Education.
 Communist Party of the United States of America.
 Conference for Progressive Labor Action.
 Farmers National Committee of Action.
 Farmers Union Cooperative Marketing Ass'n.
 Fellowship of Reconciliation.
 Finnish Workers' Federation.
 Friends of Chinese People.
 Friends of the Soviet Union.
 "Icor" Ass'n for Jewish Colonization in Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
 Intercollegiate Council, L. I. D.
 International Committee for Political Prisoners.
 International Labor Defense.
 International Workers Order.
 John Reed Clubs of the United States.
 Labor Sports Union.
 League of Industrial Democracy.
 League of Professional Groups.
 League of Struggle for Negro Rights.
 Marine Transport Workers Ind. Union, I. W. W.
 Marine Workers Industrial Union.
 Nat'l Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.
 National Farmers Holiday Association.
 National Lithuanian Youth Federation.
 National Miner's Union.
 National Student Committee for Struggle Against War.
 National Student League.
 Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.
 Ohio Unemployed League.
 Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament.
 Socialist Party of America.
 Steel & Metal Workers Industrial Union.
 Trade Union Unity League.
 Unemployed Councils, National Committee.
 United Farmers League.
 United Farmers Protective Ass'n.
 Veterans' National Rank and File Committee.
 War Resisters League.
 Women's Peace Society.
 Workers & Farmers Cooperative Unity Alliance.
 Workers E-Servicemen's League.
 Workers International Relief.
 Workers Unemployed Union, I. W. W.
 World Peaceways, Inc.
 Young Communist League.
 Young Peoples Socialist League.
 Young Pioneers of America.
 Youth Section, American Committee for Struggle Against War.
 And other National, State, and local organizations.

ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

The following have been selected and have consented to serve on the arrangements committee for the United States Congress Against War:

Donald Henderson—Executive Director, Amer. Com. for Struggle Against War.
 Mrs. Annie E. Gray—Director, Women's Peace Society.
 J. B. Mathews—Executive Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation.
 Roger Baldwin—Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union.
 F. E. Bearce—Marine Work. Unemployed Union, I. W. W.
 Herbert Benjamin—Nat'l Organ., Nat'l Committee Unemployed Councils.
 Leroy Bowman—N. Y. Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy.

A. Davis—Secretary, A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief.

Anna N. Davis—Treas., War Resisters' League.

James W. Ford—Trade Union Unity League.

William Z. Foster—Chairman, Communist Party of U. S. A.

Mary Fox—Ex. Sec'y, League for Industrial Democracy.

Carl Geiser—Nat'l Sec'y, Youth Section, Amer. Com. for Struggle Against War.

Julius Gerber—Ex. Sec'y, N. Y. C., Socialist Party.

Dr. Israel Goldstein—Chairman, Social Justice Com., Rabbinical Assembly of America.

Gilbert Green—Nat'l Sec'y, Young Communist League of U. S. A.

Powers Hapgood—Member, Exec. Com., League Against Fascism.

J. B. S. Hardman—Ed., The Advance, Amalg. Clothing Workers of America.

Lem Harris—Nat'l Sec'y, Farmer Nat'l Committee for Action.

Clarence Hathaway—Editor, Daily Worker.

John Herling—Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief.

Harold Hickerson—Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League.

Roy Hudson—Nat'l Sec'y, Marine Workers' Ind. Union.

Mrs. Addie Waite Hunton—Hon. Pres. Int'l Coun. of Women of Darker Races.

Abraham Kaufman—Exec. Sec'y, War Resisters' League.

Dr. Harry Laidler—Director, League for Ind. Democracy.

Edward Levinson—Pub. Dir., Socialist Party of America.

Aaron Levinstein—N. Y. Sec'y, Young People's Socialist League.

Lola Maverick Lloyd—Women's Peace Society.

Richard Lovelace—Nat'l Treas., Vet. Nat'l Rank and File Committee.

Robert Morss Lovett—Pres. League for Ind. Democracy.

Robert Minor—Member, Central Exec. Com., Communist Party of U. S. A.

A. J. Muste—Nat'l Chairman, Conf. for Progressive Labor Action.

Ray Newton—Sec'y, Peace Section, Am. Friends Service Committee.

Albert G. Sellers—Nat'l Treas., Bonus Exp. Forces, Rank and File Committee.

Upton Sinclair—American Committee for Struggle Against War.

Tucker P. Smith—Brookwood Labor College.

Charles Solomon—Soc. Party of Amer.

Jack Stachel—Acting Sec'y, Trade Union Unity League.

Norman Thomas—Member, N. E. C., Socialist Party of America.

Louise Thompson—Int'l Labor Defense.

Wm. R. Truax—Pres. Ohio Unemployed League.

Gus Tyler—Young People's Soc. League.

Howard Y. Williams—League for Independent Political Action.

Alfred Wagenknecht—Exec. Sec'y, Nat'l Com. to Aid Victims of German Fascism.

MR. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, do you consider yourself qualified to designate these various war-front organizations which have been initiated or which may be said to be under the control of the Communist Party?

MR. WARD. No; I make no such claim; would not think of doing it.

MR. MATTHEWS. Subsequent witnesses, Mr. Chairman, will deal with the character of the particular organizations which constitute the body called the United States Congress Against War.

THE CHAIRMAN. Very well.

MR. MATTHEWS. I offer as an exhibit the program of the United States Congress Against War, held September 29 and 30 and October 1, 1933, at which, according to the chairman, the American League Against War and Fascism was founded.

And also as an exhibit a page from the Student Outlook of November 1933, which carries an article headed "A United Front Against War," by Joseph P. Lash.

(The documents referred to were identified as Ward Exhibits.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Joseph Lash?

Mr. WARD. I met Mr. Lash.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what his present duties are, his affiliations are?

Mr. WARD. I think he is some officer in the American Student Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The American Student Union.

In the Student Outlook of October 1933, under the article, "A United Front Against War," Mr. Lash made this statement:

Possibly the most valuable result of the congress was the reestablishment of communications between responsible representatives of the Communist Party and other organizations. And this is mostly to the credit of Mary Fox and J. B. Matthews.

Was it your understanding, Dr. Ward, that that was the result of the United States Congress Against War?

Mr. WARD. I never heard that statement made before.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are familiar with it?

Mr. CASEY. Do you know that that is the result?

Mr. WARD. How would I know, because that is concerning conditions prior to the time when I became interested or active in it.

The CHAIRMAN. He said he had no personal knowledge prior to his connections with the league.

Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, is this a copy of the manifesto and program of the American League Against War and Fascism which was in effect when you assumed the chairmanship of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. WARD. I do not know, personally; I assume so; it bears that date. You can identify it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was in effect when you were chairman of the organization, was it not?

Mr. WARD. Yes; apparently that is the program that was in effect when I took charge. I do not recall any change between that and 1934 when we did change the program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This transpired 5 or 6 months after the first United States Congress Against War; and in the meantime there had been no change—

Mr. WARD (interposing). Oh, this must be it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the program when you took charge?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer for incorporation in the record and I want to quote some excerpts from the program of the congress which became the program of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The congress pledges itself to do all in its power to effect a Nation-wide agitation and organization against war preparations and war. To this end we join together in carrying out the following immediate objectives:

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes.

2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding national recovery.

3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the civilian conservation camps, by a Federal system of social insurance paid for by the Government and employers.

4. To oppose the policies of American Imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitutes the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic manoeuvring, or intervention by imperialist governments.

6. To oppose all developments leading to fascism in this country and abroad, and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers, and the special terrorizing and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascization of our so-called democratic Government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of this program.

8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to Fascist and war propaganda.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and antiwar fighters against their own imperialist governments.

10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed, and farmer organizations.

You said a moment ago that the adoption of such a resolution would be quite natural at the congress in Europe. It appears it was also natural for the adoption by this particular committee.

Mr. WARD. Not at all; it is quite different in its manifests and shows the main purpose; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I take, for instance, one phrase out of a particular point in the program which reads:

To oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, including intervention by imperialist governments.

I take it that refers to military intervention, does it not?

Mr. WARD. I should say so; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in that sense it seems to be in line with, though not exactly stated, similar to—

Mr. WARD (interposing). It is in line with, surely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the seventh, "To win the armed forces to the support of this program."

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Ward, how can you justify an American organization adopting a resolution of that type and character which so strongly indorses the Soviet Union and condemns any attempt to weaken the Soviet Union, and to fight intervention of the Soviet Union, and yet in the meantime to call upon other countries to disarm? And also to oppose measures in this country to go ahead and prepare to defend itself. How can you justify that, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. Mr. Starnes, I can tell you the point of view of the people who passed that, but so far as I am concerned those things you will find absent from the program since I took control, or took the chairmanship.

To get back to the question: You will note that the resolution supports, or the program supports the policy of the Soviet Union, and mentions particularly its proposal for universal disarmament.

Now if that proposal is carried through and the world does disarm then the point of view of the people who passed that resolution is that the United States like all other countries would be freed from the necessity of armament, and for that reason they seek universal disarmament.

Mr. STARNES. But they did not say so; they asked everybody else to disarm except the Soviet Union, and are opposed to intervention in the Soviet Union on the part of any other nations which they asked to disarm.

The CHAIRMAN. Also to defend the Soviet Union.

Mr. WARD. Precisely.

The CHAIRMAN. They had already committed themselves to defend the Soviet Union.

Mr. WARD. That just took shape in the program. But, Mr. Matthews, I do not think that is exactly what is meant. But, however, I took the position, immediately after I took the chairmanship, that it was not our business; that our business was something else and we took it out.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, let us proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Point No. 10 in this program I have already inserted.

Now, Dr. Ward, the first congress at which you were present as the chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy was held where?

Mr. WARD. In Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. September 1934.

Mr. WARD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. September 28, 29, 30?

Mr. WARD. 1934, that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask you if you can identify this as the call to the Second United States Congress Against War.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this be introduced as an exhibit.

(The document referred to is found in appendix.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the fourth page of this document there appears the 10-point program from which we have just read, is that correct?

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a copy of the proceedings of the Second Congress Against War and Fascism, at which you presided [showing document to witness]?

Mr. WARD. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this also be marked as an exhibit. According to this document, the second congress was attended by 3,332 delegates representing 1,807,201 people. On page 3 of this document, there is a continuation of a speech delivered by you at the time. No doubt you recall that particular speech?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I recall that speech.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I quote:

As this audience knows this superficial, governmental, authoritative state turns out to be the arm of the owning and employing class. This is the fact that must be made clear to the workers and the farmers of this country.

Did you mean by that that it was the function of the American League to educate or to make clear to the workers and farmers of

this country that the United States Government turns out to be an arm of the owning and employing class?

Mr. WARD. Well, if I did, it was not so done.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The education was not——

Mr. WARD. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Successful?

Mr. WARD. It was not attempted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Again, on the same page——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). What sort of a government did he designate; this Government?

Mr. MATTHEWS. An arm of the owning and employing class.

Mr. STARNES. I know, but those words "superficial"——

Mr. MATTHEWS. Superficial government, authoritative state.

Mr. STARNES. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Again on the same page, in your speech, you said:

You all heard the speech of Earl Browder last night. You heard him make a clear, historical judgment that there was only one choice before mankind now, and that was between fascism and communism.

Do you recall having made that statement, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I recall that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 4 of the same document, and continuing with your speech, you said:

Along with and secondary to that is the necessity of increasing our strength among the middle class, especially among the intellectuals, because of their propaganda value. This is one of the key positions we must storm because if we split the middle class on this issue and join a section of them to the working class and the oppressed minority groups it becomes certain that in the struggle against Fascist forces we can win.

Dr. Ward, that was not essentially different from the program of the Communist Party at that time, was it?

Mr. WARD. I am not prepared to answer that, because I do not know what the program of the Communist Party at that time was. That was my program and the program of anybody who wanted to stop fascism from coming into this country. You know very well, Mr. Matthews, the reason fascism came in Germany and in Italy was because the Fascists captured the middle classes. My point there was that the only way you can keep fascism out of this country is to get the middle classes for democracy and not for fascism.

Mr. STARNES. There was nothing said about democracy in that statement, was there? You said it was a struggle between communism and fascism.

Mr. MASON. A choice between communism and fascism.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; a choice between communism and fascism. That did not leave anybody a place for democracy, unless you consider "communism" and "democracy" synonymous terms?

Mr. WARD. Not necessarily; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider "communism" and "democracy" synonymous terms?

Mr. WARD. I consider communism in certain of its aspects and as taught by certain people, by the founders and the leaders in their program and philosophy, as an extension of democracy.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, an improvement upon democracy?

Mr. WARD. That depends upon your judgment.

Mr. STARNES. I am asking you about your judgment.

Mr. WARD. That would depend entirely upon how it was carried out. If it is an extension of democracy from the political to the economic field, and carried out within the democratic process, and by the democratic method, you could not say it was an improvement upon democracy. It would then be democracy advancing to a higher field.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, that is what you meant, that communism was simply democracy advanced into the higher field?

Mr. WARD. No. That is according to the type of development.

Mr. STARNES. We are assuming, of course, that it would be a proper development.

Mr. WARD. That depends upon what you mean by communism, of course. That depends upon how it is carried out politically. You are asking me theoretically, for my judgment theoretically, which is a very different thing.

Mr. STARNES. All I was trying to do was to develop your thought and what you had in mind when you made that statement. You quoted with approval Earl Browder's statement that we had come to the point in this country where it was a fight between two ideologies, communism and fascism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Starnes, a choice between communism and fascism.

Mr. STARNES. A choice, that is it. That is what I had in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the document speaks for itself. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 4, Dr. Ward, you said:

It is necessary also to make clear to the American people the relationship between the next war and fascism because if you turn the next war into an unsuccessful war you have by that broken the power of the Fascist state.

Would you please throw some light upon what you meant by turning the next war into an unsuccessful war?

Mr. WARD. Precisely. We are talking about the next world war.

The CHAIRMAN. Any war; you are just talking about the next war.

Mr. WARD. That means the next world war. There can be no war except the next world war. At least, the last war was a world war. We are now seeing the second world war, the world war in its second stages. That is what we are talking about, the second world war.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that what he says in that speech?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next war; yes. But what I want to know is what he means by turning it into an unsuccessful war, to educate the American people on the need for turning it into an unsuccessful war.

Mr. WARD. Precisely. That would mean insofar as the American people were concerned that the American people do not help the Fascist states in Europe to success in the war, because if the governments do not succeed in the war, then their people will overthrow fascism and will create another form of government.

Mr. CASEY. What states do you consider Fascist states in Europe?

Mr. WARD. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SASEY. What states do you consider Fascist states in Europe?

Mr. WARD. Obviously, Germany and Italy. Hungary has a Fascist government and several of the Balkan states have semi-Fascist governments.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you feel about the assistance given by the Soviet Union to Germany?

Mr. WARD. How do I feel about that?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. WARD. I am willing to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, but I want to raise a question for the committee here. It is this: This committee is empowered—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). We are going to get to that. Would you mind withholding that question, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. I would be perfectly willing to. The only reason I asked it was because Dr. Ward spoke about Fascist states in that passage.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that point will be developed.

Mr. VOORHIS. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, you recall the speech made by Gen. Victor Yakhontoff at the second congress?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You recall that he spoke?

Mr. WARD. I recall that he spoke; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Reading an excerpt from Victor Yakhontoff's speech, which appears on page 7:

The Soviet Union is sound, the industrial program is rapidly progressing, and they are already producing practically everything they need in case of such calamity. That is the situation today, and I am not willing to take the responsibility to forecast what it will be tomorrow.

But there is one thing I very definitely know and of which I am convinced, and that is, that the Soviet Union must remain alert and get ready to fight back if and when a necessity arises, and we outside must do two things. First, watch very closely the activity and development and events of the Far East, to expose the machines designed to foment war, and secondly to fight all lies about the Soviet Union designed to create animosity toward the Soviet Union.

Dr. Ward, was it not true that references, wherever they were made, to the Soviet Union, supporting the Soviet Union or defending it at the second congress, received rather extraordinary ovations from the delegates present?

Mr. WARD. I would not say extraordinary. They received applause, certainly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The subject was frequently brought into the speeches and discussions, was it not—the subject of the Soviet Union and the defense thereof?

Mr. WARD. I do not recall that. You have the record there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the speech made by Clarence Hathaway at the second congress?

Mr. WARD. No more than any other speech.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that he did speak?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the speeches were incorporated in these proceedings?

Mr. WARD. I remember that; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Clarence Hathaway the editor of the Daily Worker?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he presently a member of the national executive committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. WARD. He is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read an excerpt from Clarence Hathaway's speech delivered at the second congress of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Our position—

speaking of the Communist Party—

was that it was necessary for the working class to defeat their own capitalist class in the war, with the objective of establishing the rule of the working class and proceed to build a Socialist society. The leaders in the Socialist and labor movements rejected this analysis of war. They found one excuse after another to justify their support of their own imperialist government in the war.

* * * * *

The left in the labor movement took the position of Marx and Lenin; that our fight against the ruling class does not stop during the war, that we must pick up every issue for the workers, all their immediate problems in the factories, their grievances arising from the war, and attempt to develop a mass struggle for higher wages, improved conditions, all demands of the people, to the point where they will be able to transform this imperialist war into a civil war for the destruction of capitalism. The Communist Party has adhered to this position and its correctness is proved by the fact that today, over one-sixth of the world's surface, the working class is in control and the Soviet Union is established.

Does that refresh your recollection concerning any of the things which Clarence Hathaway said in his speech?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not recall them. That is in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recall that this statement by Clarence Hathaway elicited any objections from the congress?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not recall that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, so far as your recollection goes, there was either accord with the statement or at least the absence of any objection to it.

Mr. WARD. The point is that there is no reflection of that in the program, so far as I know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever had discussions with the leaders of the Communist Party who have been active in the American League as to their purposes and objectives in supporting the work of the league?

Mr. WARD. Naturally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have here an editorial from the Daily Worker of October 3, 1934, which is shortly after the second congress about which we have been speaking. This editorial is addressed to "The Active Fighters against War and Fascism." It appears in the appendix on page xxviii.

You said you had discussed with the leaders of the Communist Party their purposes and objectives in the league. Did they, in those discussions, disclose this line of reasoning to you?

Mr. WARD. Now, just a minute, Mr. Matthews. You have read into the record there a part of a quotation from my speech. I have here the full record of that part of my speech. It is not very long, Mr. Chairman, and I should like to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is only right that you should be permitted to do that.

Mr. STARNES. Let him answer the question first and then let him read that.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I asked Dr. Ward if the leaders of the Communist Party had disclosed to him the objectives which were set forth in the editorial in the Daily Worker when they discussed with him their reasons for being interested in the work of the American League.

Mr. WARD. I have discussed with them the question that I dealt with in this portion of my speech, namely, legitimate and illegitimate party activities inside the American League. And that refers not simply to the Communist Party but to any other party, and at that time we were an organization which admitted political parties. Now we are not.

I have with them discussed the limits of legitimate recruiting within the league, and we have always agreed that party politics and party propaganda are to be kept out of the league, and whenever any case of that sort has been brought to their attention, I have secured prompt cooperation in disciplining the offenders.

Now I would like to read, Mr. Chairman, what my statement was.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead. That is the statement from which the Daily Worker quoted?

Mr. WARD. One sentence.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not quote enough?

Mr. WARD. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. [Reading:]

Now, I want to touch on just one question in passing, especially for the benefit of those delegates who are troubled about the question of political domination in the league. I want to speak now, not simply as the chairman of the league but I want to speak for a moment as the representative of the nonpolitical group in the bureau.

We called it then the bureau. It is now the executive board. [Reading:]

I want to speak to the point of the fears of a good many people, both in political and other groups, concerning the domination of this organization by one political party. I want to say to you that nonpolitical members of the bureau have not seen a single manifestation of any attempt of domination of this league by one political party.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you referring to the Communist Party when you said one political party?

Mr. WARD. Not necessarily, but mostly.

The CHAIRMAN. You had that in mind?

Mr. WARD. Because that was the fear that many people had.

Mr. STARNES. You have answered the question that I was going to ask you. That is, what those dangers were that they were fearful of. They were fearful of control of the movement by the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And you were speaking to quiet those fears?

Mr. WARD. I was speaking to that point particularly; that is correct. [Continues reading:]

I want to say to you that as the broadening of the base of this movement, as well as the broadening of the representation in the governing body, grows, it becomes increasingly impossible for any political party to dominate this league even if it wanted to do so.

I want to say one more thing, and this time I speak not representing the nonpolitical group, but simply representing myself. I am offering a personal and purely a personal opinion. I want to say that there is a legitimate as well as illegitimate use of this organization by political groups. It is quite

illegitimate for any political group to seek to dominate this organization for parties and purposes. The only indication I ever had of any move in that direction at all comes only, and very seldom, in local incidents where zeal outruns knowledge. In every case where that happens it is promptly dealt with by the national body. There is no question at the top whatever on that point.

Now, when it comes to participation of different political groups in this movement, my own personal opinion is this: Legitimately, the group which can offer to this movement the most valuable suggestions concerning the program and tactics, which can offer the most dynamic active force for carrying it out, will gain political prestige out of their activity in this league, and they are entitled to do so.

I want to point out then that there is a sense in which the league becomes the competitive testing ground of all political groups who profess to offer their own leadership in the struggle against war and fascism.

We had four political groups at that time. [Reading:]

Let them all come in. Let them throw all their forces into the making of the program, into the carrying out of the program, into the work of the league, and as they demonstrate their capacity for leadership, as they show us that they can do so, they are entitled to reap any political party later which they can. As they sow, so shall they reap.

Now, if I may be permitted to speak to one previous point that was raised here, I cannot find in this report of my speech, which was published, any mention of that phrase which Mr. Matthews read to me.

The CHAIRMAN. What phrase?

Mr. WARD. The one about the historic choice between fascism and communism, about which Mr. Starnes raised the question. I cannot find that here. If it is in the record there, I must have said that or something like it.

The CHAIRMAN. Show it to him.

(Mr. Matthews hands document to witness.)

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes; now, then, Mr. Matthews did not read it all.

You all heard the speech of Earl Browder last night. You heard him make a clear historical judgment that there was only one choice before mankind now and that was between fascism and communism.

That is his clear historical judgment. Continuing with this quotation:

When Earl Browder pointed out that humanity now has to choose between the Fascist and Communist type of organization of society he neither meant nor implied that we all had to join the Communist Party if we were not going to turn Fascist. He then went on to point with pardonable pride, as he was perfectly entitled to do, to the achievements of the Communist Party throughout the world in offering every effective resistance to the development of fascism. If other political groups who we have invited here had taken part in that program, if their leaders had spoken as asked, they would have been entitled to do the same thing, if they could.

Now, Mr. Starnes, you see, that is a totally different focus than the impression that was given by Mr. Matthews; when you all asked me for my very brief and hasty statement in relation to democracy, to that thing, and to my approval of Browder's semiapproval—not even approval, but my statement that Browder made an historical judgment. I should like to deal with that question later on when we come to the democracy in our program.

Mr. STARNES. I notice that, but I also notice that is the official record of the convention proceedings whereas that other booklet before you apparently is a publication for propaganda purposes and publicity values in which you have left some of those things out.

Mr. WARD. Now we have the whole record as I am supposed to have said it there.

Mr. STARNES. Making it work both ways, your organization apparently put out some things to beguile the public into joining it, that left out some of the things that are quoted in the official record.

Mr. WARD. Not at all.

Mr. STARNES. I think it is fair to point that out for the record.

Mr. WARD. I do not think that is the point, because the point is that this full statement here has a totally different focus and application than Mr. Matthews' use of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the statement speaks for itself.

Mr. WARD. It speaks for itself; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well in the interest of fairness all around if this entire speech from the official proceedings of the Second Congress Against War and Fascism were incorporated in the record, with the quotation of all that was said.

Mr. WARD. Precisely, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. I think when you quote from any speeches it would be well to put the whole speech in the record.

Mr. WARD. I hope Mr. Starnes will come back later and ask me my views on the relation of democracy to this.

The CHAIRMAN. We will develop that later.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, continuing with the second congress and the speeches made there, I call your attention to the speech made by Frank Demick, which appears on page 13.

Mr. WARD. Frank who?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Demick—D-e-m-i-c-k.

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you identified him as a speaker from Portland, Oreg., and you said—

He was a soldier in the Regular Army, but is now a member of this organization. He was discharged for speaking at an antiwar meeting of our local branch.

Mr. WARD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You recall Mr. Demick and those circumstances?

Mr. WARD. I recall them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The closing words of Mr. Demick's speech, according to the report here, were:

We must also go into those organizations—the Army, the R. O. T. C., the C. C. C. and build antiwar and anti-Fascist committees in these organizations.

On page 16 of the proceedings, there appears a speech by E. A. Beber, who is described as secretary of the First Canadian Congress Against War and Fascism. Are you acquainted with Mr. Beber, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I take it you were at the time you introduced him.

Mr. WARD. I only met him on the platform; I have not seen him before or since, as I recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of Mr. Beber's address, he stated:

* * * To understand fascism and fight against it, we have reached the time when we, the workers who operate the means of production, must be the one political party to administer economic control. Briefly, it means this. Who is going to rule? Are we to have the Fascist State? Are we to have

the Socialist State? That is the vital problem. Only by solving that can we solve fascism.

Another of the speakers at the Chicago congress was Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, who, I believe, Dr. Ward, addressed the congress in German and this is a translation of his speech.

Mr. WARD. I do not recall whether he did speak in German or not, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Rosenfeld—whom you know as a German emigree, do you not, in this country?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I know him as a German emigree.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Rosenfeld stated:

Hitler today is the greatest war danger in the world. Germany is arming to a greater extent than any other country. How different is the situation between Germany and Soviet Russia. The Soviet Union is the greatest hope of the working class.

I call that to your attention as another one of the speeches in which the Soviet Union was put forward as the most significant element—

Mr. WARD. You are trying to give the impression here that these selections set the tone and temper of the congress, and those are things on which we built our program?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I am not trying to give any other impression than—

Mr. WARD. That those things were said there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. WARD. And, just like picking up any harum-scarum speech made in a Democratic or Republican organization.

Mr. STARNES. But this man did not make a harum-scarum speech; this man could not have been there and spoken without being put on the program by the responsible heads?

Mr. WARD. When you come to the program, we had on that part of the program a number of short speeches allowed and permitted more than they wanted or—

Mr. STARNES. I am asking you if it is not a fact that you, as the head of the organization, permitted these speeches to be made there, and incorporated them in the record?

Mr. WARD. Of course; certainly.

Mr. STARNES. And, of course, what they meant, we can only get from the tone and the tenor of what was said by the men who spoke there.

Mr. WARD. No. You know, Mr. Starnes, by the program adopted as the official record, just the same as in a political convention. You do not judge the convention on the speeches made; you do not go before the country on the speeches made by the speakers on the platform. We go on the program of the convention, not on the speeches.

Mr. STARNES. But the speeches are usually in line with the platform, of course?

Mr. WARD. Not always—in a gathering of that sort. There is very much difference between a united front gathering and a gathering of one political party, naturally.

Mr. STARNES. But you would very naturally describe it as a harum-scarum Republican or Democratic convention, if half a dozen or more speakers uttered even one sentence to the effect that the Soviet Union was the greatest hope of the working class.

Mr. WARD. That depends upon whether or not it was in their program, would it not?

Mr. STARNES. You never heard a harum-scarum Democrat or Republican, either one, make that sort of a speech at their convention?

Mr. WARD. No. Usually they do not know anything about the Soviet Union.

Mr. STARNES. That is right. But this, apparently, is an organization that knew a great deal?

Mr. WARD. Some people did.

Mr. STARNES. This is a convention devoted to education. In a harum-scarum Republican or Democratic convention, usually they know something about American institutions and ideals and usually concern themselves with American institutions and ideals.

Mr. WARD. We had a lot to say about that, too, Mr. Starnes—quite a little.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We will come to the program presently.

Maxim Gorky, the Russian novelist, sent greetings to the Chicago conference, did he not, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. If it is in the record. I don't recall. He certainly did if it is in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were translated, according to the proceedings, and the translation was read by Roger Baldwin. Maxim Gorky said in this translation:

The proletariat is the only power capable of changing the world for the common benefit of the entire toiling people. It is high time for "brain workers" to understand this.

The inhuman and insane actions of the capitalists are incurable. The swiftness of destruction of the falling party of the capitalist world is analogous to the immutable law of physics, the greater the drop, the faster the tempo.

Side by side with this process, and even more rapidly, proceeds the organization of the proletariat of the socialist state over the vast expanse of the Union of Social Soviet Republics. The accomplishments, having for its aim the liberation of the toilers of the whole world, are indisputable.

It is high time for people of intellectual pursuits to decide with whom they do stand.

One of the speakers at the Chicago congress, according to the proceedings here, was Corliss Lamont.

Mr. WARD. Is this a question, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I am going to read you—

Mr. WARD. Is it a specific question, or what is it?

The CHAIRMAN. He is just asking you whether or not you know one of the speakers was Corliss Lamont.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I have asked several times whether he knew such-and-such a person was a speaker, and he said, "If it was in the record of the proceedings."

Mr. WARD. I am asking the purpose of reading Corliss Lamont's speech.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to get the background generally of the delegates who were there as speakers, the messages sent to the gathering, and some of the tone of their utterances, in order to understand, if possible, what the organization was like at this particular period.

Mr. WARD. Why don't you get the activities; that shows what it was like—and the program.

The CHAIRMAN. The convention is an activity, is it not, Doctor?

Mr. WARD. Beg pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. I say when they hold a convention that is one of the activities?

Mr. WARD. Yes; the results of the convention.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want first to find out what views were expressed.

Mr. WARD. What some views expressed by some people were; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated earlier this morning after you assumed chairmanship of the American League Against War and Fascism, you very soon modified that program, which I have read here, which was adopted at the first congress?

Mr. WARD. Precisely; go on down and you will find it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not mean you adopted it at its next meeting, do you?

Mr. WARD. I was hardly in evidence at this time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You had been in office from March until September.

Mr. WARD. Yes; and had been out of the country during the summer months. This was still the color of the old organization which you put in it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; and it was still there after your second congress?

Mr. WARD. The second congress?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. WARD. No; this is my first. This is my first initiation, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did not mean to speak of you personally; I meant the organization.

Mr. WARD. Oh, certainly. You do not change an organization in 6 months, or 3.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you kept the program as it was adopted during that congress?

Mr. WARD. Oh, no; not the same. There is a good deal of this reflection in there that he is talking about, but we did not keep the same program, sir. You will find quite a little difference.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that is a matter of opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The speech by Corliss Lamont deals almost entirely with the Soviet Union, and I will read a few excerpts from it, unless you prefer to have the entire speech in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no; we are just trying to get the tone and tenor of the meeting—what the people were thinking about.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

We are in a more favored position today because of the organizations which did not exist before 1914. There are political parties today in every country that are constantly campaigning against war. There is the League Against War and Fascism in America, which is pledged to the same thing if a war should break out somewhere.

Also there is the Soviet Union, which did not exist in 1914. Here you have a whole country organized against war, and it is the greatest single factor in the world today toward keeping international peace. Now, how has the Soviet Union changed its attitude so much since the old days when old Russia was the most belligerent of the imperialistic nations? It is quite simple, and the reason is that in Russia they have eliminated private property.

In the Soviet Union there is no group, no individual, who can profit economically or financially from war. The Soviet Union has no need for war because of its central economic planning, and there is no chance of what we call over-

production. In the Soviet Union we know that the people will be able to buy back the goods they produce, so they will never reach a stage of overproduction. Private capitalists must have foreign markets to dispose of their goods and must carry on cutthroat competition to find markets. They are backed up by their own governments in trying to find markets and spheres of influences where they can dispose of their goods and get raw materials. The Soviet Union does carry on a foreign trade, but only in a planned way to meet the needs of the country. You don't have this breeder of war there, and you never will.

The Soviet Union is interested in the welfare of the international working class, and it is the workers, peasants, and farmers who suffer primarily in a great war, and they sincerely desire to prevent any such outbreak again. Those who have been to the Soviet Union will find, furthermore, that they have a real international spirit. It is significant that the Red Army is the first army that takes an oath of allegiance not only to the country but to humanity, at large. The Soviet Union is practically the only country today where there is neither fascism or any sign of fascism.

Again, according to the record, Dr. Ward, there was a speech by Hansu Chan, designated as editor of the publication China Today. This is a brief speech.

Mr. WARD. You mean it is brief in the record. I am not sure if that is the one. I recall attempting in vain—I do not know whether there or in a later congress—to get a Chinese speaker to stop, because you cannot ever get them stopped once they get started. So it may be that one; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is not only confined to the Chinese, is it?

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman, would it not save your time—you say you want to get the tone and temper of this thing. Now, it is quite obvious that your research expert has very carefully selected parts here that will give you that impression.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your own language.

Mr. WARD. I am willing to put this in the record, to save your time and avoid this thing—that this congress, the first one after I took office, had a larger proportion of what we call left-wing delegates and very much more of a left-wing tone and temper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean Communists, don't you?

Mr. WARD. Not necessarily; no; because we had there more than Communists. We had different left-wing groups in that convention, and I am perfectly willing to admit, to get a fair picture, that that gathering was more "left" in its composition, in its tone, and in its temper than any gathering we have had since, and that we progressively moved away from that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you progressively moved away from the ideas that you yourself expressed in a speech at that time?

Mr. WARD. The only thing in the speech of mine that needs further explanation is the point about the relation between fascism, communism, and democracy, which was not properly explained there.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is, you yourself read your speech, or excerpts—

Mr. WARD. Oh, about the control of the organization?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes—where you pointed out that the Communists were the greatest foes of fascism, and they deserved to be commended.

Mr. WARD. At that time; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore, I say, have you moved away from those views, the same as the organization has?

Mr. WARD. On that particular point I should say since that time there has developed a much more democratic attack on fascism in the democratic countries—France and Great Britain—and that that judgment now would have to be qualified to allow for the part which democratic forces have played since that time in the fight against fascism.

Now, with regard to whether I have moved from that point, and as to the political control of the organization, I make that very much stronger today. Today I would say it was absolutely impossible for any political group to control the American League and that in the last congress, as contrasted with this one, the first one at which I was chairman, after my initiation—and the last one the left-wing forces—

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to get to that, Doctor.

Mr. WARD. All right; we will get to that.

Mr. STARNES. I think we ought to follow the logical development.

The CHAIRMAN. You are right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have as a speaker, at the Chicago congress, an officer of the United States Army?

Mr. WARD. I do not recall. If it is in the record, I suppose we did. I recall one instance, of the one soldier who spoke.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; who did make a speech. Was he introduced by name?

Mr. WARD. I don't think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was introduced anonymously?

Mr. WARD. Naturally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he wear his uniform when he made his speech?

Mr. WARD. That I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 25 of the proceedings, there appears a speech made by a man designated as first lieutenant of the United States Army. The speech is as follows:

The revolutionary soldiers of the Sixth Corps Area, which includes the Regular Army in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois, extend revolutionary greetings. The troops of this area have just completed at Camp Custer, Michigan, war maneuvers on a larger scale than ever since the last war. The Reserve officers of this area have worked out all the details of their mobilization plans, while training has been intensified here. For the machines of destruction the capitalists pay dearly, but to the General Staff the lives of workers are cheap. Our participation in this congress is our militant answer to those preparations.

These are not preparations for an imperialist war alone. Special equipment has been issued and troops at Fort Sheridan have been called out on riot duty. These troops can be brought into Chicago with one hour of call.

The treatment of the working class of Rhode Island, Toledo, and San Francisco, points out the significance of this fact, but at the same time today in ever greater numbers, soldiers and some officers are realizing that their function is not to defend the people, no—as part of the Government machinery their function is to defend the profits of the capitalists against the interests of the people, at home as well as abroad.

We, who know this, believe that only by unity with all the sincere opponents of war and fascism within the civil population, can war be prevented. Our roots lie deep within the people, we in uniform are workers and farmers. We call upon you to let this fact be impressed. Only through much fraternization, only through your friendship can the soldiers realize their interest as workers. You must defeat the attempts to isolate the armed forces from the toiling masses. We ask you to cooperate in this task with our work from the inside. At the same time, from this mighty demonstration we take new courage and we therefore resolve and pledge to this congress our support in the struggle against war

and fascism within the armed forces. We will struggle relentlessly until the workers' democracy has removed this dangerous development and if the capitalists call upon us to wage war, we will wage war, but it will be a war against the war makers.

Do you recall that speech, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. Yes; now that you read that to me, I recall it, Mr. Matthews; and also—

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall the man who made that speech—the name of the man who made that speech?

Mr. WARD. No. I never knew his name.

Mr. STARNES. Did you introduce him by name?

Mr. WARD. I don't recall that—whether that was when I presided, or not. But I know this, that I had no knowledge of what was going to happen or to be said. I put it down as mere talk and nothing like that has ever occurred at any conference of the league since.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not that in line with your pledge, and exactly what you have in your pledge?

Mr. WARD. We did not take any pledge like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not in line with the Amsterdam pledge; is not that in line exactly with what you said, and what would there be to shock you about that? You had in the pledge you were going to do the same thing.

Mr. WARD. No; that is not the pledge in our organization. In our organization—

The CHAIRMAN. The members at that time did. Did they keep it?

Mr. WARD. No; it did not come down, Mr. Dies. Furthermore, there was not only not anything of that sort ever again committed since I was chairman of the league, but I took it as a stunt that had been put over on us—idle talk. It could not be taken seriously. Everybody knew there was not any situation like that in the armed forces of the Middle West. Nothing of that sort has been permitted since, and the item I found in the programs, about working among the armed forces, was stricken out and has never been in the program since.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is here was the Chicago congress at which they agreed to do the very thing this man talked about. Now, it must not have been anything very shocking to you, I said, when one of the delegates at the Chicago congress concurred in it.

Mr. WARD. To some of the people there, perhaps not; but, as I told you, continuously, we have changed over on this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. WARD. That is one of the reasons it did change.

The CHAIRMAN. We will see about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Doctor, you know James Lerner?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes; I know Jim Lerner.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was secretary of the youth section of the American League?

Mr. WARD. That is right; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall up until what date?

Mr. WARD. No; I don't recall until what date.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Up until last year, was it not?

Mr. WARD. I do not think so. I think it was year before last, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. James Lerner, in his speech at the Chicago congress, included this statement:

We pledged to carry on work within the armed forces of the United States Government, to make the soldiers feel that they must unite with the working class against war.

Was not that in line with the appearance of the first lieutenant, who appeared anonymously?

Mr. WARD. Are you reading from the minutes of the youth section, or the congress itself? The youth section held a separate congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; this is—

Mr. WARD (continuing). And sent over a report from it to the main congress. It was not under the control of our main congress, and I was not present at any of its sessions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is reporting to your congress from the Youth Congress.

Mr. WARD. Oh, this is reporting what they said?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, which was sent over to the American League.

Mr. WARD. Correct. And my answer to your question is you will not find anything of that sort in the youth program thereafter, from a given date.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, on the question of the adoption of a program growing out of the Chicago congress, on page 27 you discussed that subject:

Dr. Ward:—

Mr. WARD. When is this?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is in the Chicago congress.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Page 27 (reading):

Dr. WARD. You have all seen the manifesto and program adopted by the last congress. There has been little change to that manifesto, except that section which deals with the world situation, to make it up to date and to add a little paragraph which makes clear the connection between fascism and war, which says:

"That fascism and war are organized by the same people for the same purpose, for preservation of the power and privileges of the ruling class. They must be fought together by the same forces, using the same weapons. Stop the growth of fascism and check war. Make it impossible for the fascist state to wage war successfully, and its power is broken."

Then continuing with your own language:

The program was a program of ten points. That this program is sound is proven by the extent to which the forces against war and fascism have united behind it.

Now, Dr. Ward, that is the program you said I (Mr. Matthews) wrote?

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You also thought it was sound, did you not?

Mr. WARD. With the exception of the changes therein specified.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say that this statement that war and fascism are designed and organized by the same people for the preservation of the power and privileges of the ruling class is a toning down of the original 10-point program?

Mr. WARD. No; I would say that was clarifying the original 10-point program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But not toning it down?

Mr. WARD. Yes. Now go on from there, will you, and see how we change that program immediately?

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I understand you are quoting the words of Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In which he endorsed the 10-point program?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There were two changes which he calls "little."

The CHAIRMAN. What were the changes?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have read you one of them—the words that were added which said that war and fascism are organized by the same people to preserve the power and privileges of the ruling class. The next change—I will continue the quote:

The program was a program of 10 points. That this program is sound is proven by the extent to which the forces against war and fascism have united behind it. It has not been changed except to bring the intellectuals in line with the workers, withdrawing their services from the war machine, and by adding a word or two that makes clear again the connection between war and fascism. There has been added at the end of this—

And then there appears:

"National, State and city organizations of the league shall carry out these objectives through educational propaganda, action by mass meetings, demonstrations, picketing, and political pressure on legislative and administrative officials. Every emergency calling for action shall be made by national campaigns, uniting all our forces in common resistance to these allied destroyers of mankind—war and Fascism."

Then quoting your words again:

These changes were prepared by your executive. They have been unanimously approved by the resolutions committee. Will you adopt them? Adopted unanimously.

Now I take it that the 10-point program which was adopted at the first congress is the one to which you refer in this statement?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I refer to the 10-point program at that time. Then we immediately go to work to change the 10-point program. I had had no opportunity at that time to participate in the discussions at all. As I told you, I came back to that congress. I was of the laity up to that time, and at the time of the previous administration. My administration begins then with the change in the executive officers, as soon as it could be accomplished, and a change in the 10-point program. I had to accept that for the time being.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were not critical of the 10-point program which the Chicago congress adopted?

Mr. WARD. Only as I have said. No; it was impossible at that time to change that program, except on the points mentioned.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you said it was a sound program. Was that a correct statement?

Mr. WARD. No. It was a correct statement at that time, because I had not had the opportunity to observe carefully that that point, that I have specifically referred to, regarding the armed forces, was kept in there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, now, when you made that statement, you had been in there for 5 or 6 months and you knew you were talking about the 10-point program?

Mr. WARD. I knew I was talking about the 10-point program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew that here was a program designed for the purpose of helping Soviet Russia; there was no question in your mind of the purpose?

Mr. WARD. No; I don't agree with that at all.

The CHAIRMAN. The people adopt a program to sabotage the armed forces of the National Government, and you stand before the committee and approve such a program as that?

Mr. WARD. That program was not to sabotage the Army, and such as that; that program was to resist war and to prevent war from being started again.

The CHAIRMAN. But to go into the armed forces and turn them into some machinery against the Government?

Mr. WARD. Not against the Government, Mr. Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course the language speaks for itself.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, coming to the next congress of the American League Against War and Fascism, that was held, was it not, in Cleveland, Ohio, January 3, 4, and 5, 1936?

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were the presiding officer at that congress?

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And at that congress you again adopted a 10-point program?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that appears on pages 44 and 45 of the proceedings of the Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism which I will ask Dr. Ward to identify as a copy of the proceedings.

Mr. WARD (after examining). Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What program is this?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the program adopted at the Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism, held at Cleveland, Ohio, January 3, 4, and 5, 1936. The first point in the program adopted at the Cleveland convention, which was the third congress, reads as follows:

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions in time of peace or war, and in time of war the transport of all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes; and to enlist the professional classes in educational propaganda against war and for participation with workers and farmers in antiwar actions.

The first sentence of that particular point is practically identical with the first sentence of the original 10-point program?

Mr. WARD. Practically; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Point 2 [reading]:

To expose at every point the extensive preparations for war being carried on by the Government of the United States (a) under the guise of "national defense" and (b) by diverting to war preparations funds for relief projects

and public works; to demand that relief funds be spent only in constructive work or for adequate relief, and that the huge additional budgets now being spent in preparation for war be transferred to the extension of health and education.

3. To resist the increasing militarization of youth in schools, C. C. C. and C. M. T. C. camps, and the use of their dependence upon relief to get them into the armed forces.

4. To demand total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, and to support all measures that move clearly toward that goal.

5. To demand that neutrality legislation effectively cover all war supplies, loans, and credits, and permit no discretion to the President; more particularly, to promote and support refusal of workers to handle all materials of war; to organize and support public condemnation of those who seek profit from the sale of war materials and war loans; to organize mass support for every effort, national or international, which in our judgment as occasion arises, is directed toward postponing, restricting, or shortening war.

6. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in Latin America, the Far East, and throughout the world; to give the support of our protests and demands to all peoples who are resisting exploitation, aggression, and suppression by imperialist powers, to those in all lands who struggle against the war measures and Fascist policies of their own governments, and to all who suffer under the Fascist state.

7. To demonstrate constantly the relationship between war and fascism; to expose and counteract Fascist propaganda, both foreign and native; to prevent the formation of Fascist forces in this country.

8. To oppose all developments leading to fascism, particularly the increasingly widespread use of armed forces and vigilante terrorism against workers, unemployed, farmers, Negroes, and other racial minorities who are exercising their constitutional rights to protest against unbearable conditions and to organize for their own advancement.

9. To resist the attempts of our American Fascists to destroy—by legislation, Executive order, judicial decree, or lawless action—our guaranteed civil rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize, strike, picket, and demonstrate; and further to resist all forms of discrimination against foreign-born based on their political or labor activities.

10. To oppose all legislation or orders denying citizens in the armed forces their constitutional right to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program designed to secure peace, freedom, and justice; and to defend their right to join organizations on the same basis as other citizens.

I have read the entire 10-point program, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have read the entire 10 points of the program.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In order to show you this tone which is characteristic of many parts of your program.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The two portions which are retained are shown by comparison in the program having to do with stopping the movement, transportation of munitions in times of peace or war, and again the same which states the purpose of supporting refusal to work in handling our materials.

Was the league officially on record as opposed to the McCormack-Tydings bill against disaffection in the Army?

Mr. WARD. I do not know, Mr. Matthews; I think it was but I could not say without having the record put before me. If we were, it was because of the provisions of this bill which we regarded as infringing the rights of citizens—and soldiers are citizens.

Mr. STARNES. There is another point: You still go along—since the Amsterdam congress, it is a fact that you speak in the very

highest terms of the Soviet Union and still condemned what you called fascism. Notwithstanding, the Soviet Government has an army of 2,000,000 men, standing army, and some sixteen or eighteen million men in reserve.

MR. WARD. Mr. Starnes, let me conclude the answer to that if I may.

MR. STARNES. Certainly.

MR. WARD. That point is out, if you will let me complete the statement, Mr. Starnes. What you are talking about is an entirely different matter.

The Soviet Union came three times to the League of Nations at Geneva with a disarmament proposal, first for complete disarmament, which would have really obviated this present war if it had been adopted. That proposal was not adopted.

They came back a second time and made an official proposal for a 50 percent disarmament. It was not adopted.

They came back a third time and made a proposal for a 30 percent disarmament, and the United States delegates were over there, according to our press, instructed to vote for that proposal, and they apparently, according to the press, for some reason did not vote for it and it was defeated.

Those are the press reports.

Now, that is what we are talking about. The present situation is the result of those proposals not having been adopted. We would have supported any country putting forth such proposals and were still in favor of them.

MR. STARNES. That is right, and as I say, that same thought runs down through this whole program, from the original Amsterdam conference, which was conceived in communism, apparently, which praised the Soviet Union and condemned fascism.

MR. WARD. Yes. That is the specific thing that I want to get you to consider, if you will allow me to complete the statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. WARD. This thread, which in turn runs down through the years, originated prior to the time of the Amsterdam congress and which you assumed by your question to be a Communist congress. That thought has come down through the years from existing peace movements before the Communist idea existed, long before communism ever existed in this modern world, and there has been a peace movement, if you please, in favor of complete disarmament which we have not been able to get.

MR. STARNES. The point I am raising, of course, is not against a sincere desire on the part of any organization for peace but the point is the praise of the Soviet Union, the only country which has a standing army of 2,000,000 men and a reserve of sixteen to eighteen million.

MR. WARD. There is one thing, Mr. Starnes, you must remember that when the proposal for disarmament was made at the Geneva conference the Soviet Government was the one making the proposal; and if any other nation had made one, we would have been glad to support them.

MR. STARNES. And the Soviet Union has 2,000,000 men, standing army, with sixteen or eighteen million in reserve.

MR. WARD. Which all came about after that time, Mr. Starnes.

The CHAIRMAN. It is about 10 minutes after 12 now. I think we had better take a recess.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I had not concluded the questions in reference to the McCormack-Tydings bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A portion of the speech before the Cleveland convention of the American League for Peace and Democracy, on page 16 of the proceedings, there appears these words:

Now, the immediate question we have before us in Congress, of course, is, first, the gag bills—the Kramer sedition bill and the Tydings-McCormack bill regarding disaffection of the armed forces. * * * We must win that fight. Other forces are with us, outside our own. One thing you have got to do when you go back home is simply to flood Congress with demands that neither of these bills be passed.

Mr. WARD. As I stated, Mr. Matthews, with some other organizations of this country, the Congress and other organizations interested in democracy were alarmed by the proposal that the United States soldiers were not citizens and were being denied rights guaranteed under the Constitution, and I will continue as long as I have breath to fight for that same principle.

Mr. STARNES. That was your understanding of the document.

Mr. WARD. That was the principle we were fighting for, the right of every American citizen whether a soldier or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In order to clarify what was in mind as to the resolution I should like to insert in the record the language contained in the bill, S. 2253, which reads as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whoever advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of the military or naval forces of the United States, including the reserves thereof, to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, or whoever publishes or distributes any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter, or other writing which advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of such military or naval forces of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

SEC. 2. Any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter, or other writing of the character described in section 1, of this Act may be taken from any house or other place in which it may be found, or from any person in whose possession it may be, under a search warrant issued pursuant to the provisions of title XI of the Act entitled "An Act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 228; U. S. C., title 18, ch. 18).

Mr. WARD. The trouble with that, as you well know, is the construction that can be put on such legislation under which officers, in peacetime, can be given authority under that bill to invade a man's house and inquire as to any books or literature, such as the writings of Tolstoy or any other documents.

That is the reason we opposed that bill.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dr. Ward, would it be fair to say that so far as the principle of that bill is concerned you were not opposed to it but you were afraid of the construction that might be put on it which might lead to abuse of rights guaranteed under the Constitution?

Mr. WARD. Well, obviously that question—

The CHAIRMAN. He has asked you a very specific question, Dr. Ward. You can answer it yes or no, can you not? What was the question?

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to know whether your opposition to this bill was to the principle of the bill, against people counseling disaffection among the armed forces, or whether the opposition was to the particular bill in question on the ground that that particular bill, in your judgment, was too broad and might lead to abuse and you thought that there would be a possibility of somebody getting into trouble because of some inconsequential matters or literature he may have in his possession.

Mr. WARD. With one qualification about the recognition of the principle, that we did not approve of any language which denied rights to soldiers, as citizens, and the point attempted to be covered is already covered by military laws and criminal laws at the present time.

And, with another exception, if we accept that principle without this qualification, that in our opinion where anybody can offer to a young fellow, and young fellows came to me in times of the last war—one fellow came to me to discuss matters concerning his individual conscience.

Mr. VOORHIS. That would not be in the armed forces.

Mr. WARD. Yes, it was.

Mr. VOORHIS. He would not have been in the armed forces then, would he?

Mr. WARD. Yes; young men who were in the armed forces and got out because they did not believe in war.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Ward, it is now 12:15 and we want to take a recess.

Mr. WARD. I want to complete this observation, if I may with reference to supporting the principle, except the point of qualification that anybody should be allowed to talk with a person about his rights or conscience.

The CHAIRMAN. This deals with the soldiers—of people who are in the armed forces.

Mr. WARD. I am talking about people in the Army, about conscientious objectors; those are the persons I have in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn I think it is particularly significant and I want to call attention of the committee to the fact that in all of the 10-point program and in all the statements that the league passed, they have decried and opposed dictatorship on the part of fascism and imperialist nations and the exploitation of the masses but in no case, so far as I have heard, do they decry dictatorship and exploitation of the masses as it is found in the Soviet Union, which is a dictatorship regardless of what it is called. That is the significant thing to me.

Mr. WARD. I suppose you will want to question me about that later on in the afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we meet back here at 1:15 p. m. That will give us an hour.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 1:15 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee was called to order at 1:15 p. m. by Hon. Martin Dies, chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come order. You may continue, Doctor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, we had reached the point of your speech before the third congress of the American League, held in Cleveland, 1936. In the course of your speech you said, quoting from page 16 of the proceedings:

That leads me to another question, with which I close. A good many times our constituent forces and those who come to our meetings ask us this: "Is the American League Against War and Fascism anticapitalistic?" Of course it is. How otherwise could it stop war? [Applause.] We don't talk in vague terms about economic causes of war. We try to show people in our propaganda that today the economic causes of war are rooted in capitalistic economics. [Applause.] How could we be against fascism without being against capitalism, seeing that fascism is an organized expression of capitalism in its declining period? Because we can in no other way expose the causes of war and fascism, and in no other way can we mobilize the people for their removal, we must continually explain to them that the causes of both of these twin destroyers of mankind root inherently in the profit system. [Applause.]

You made that statement; that is a correct statement of yours?

Mr. WARD. That is a correct statement, but it was something of what you might call a trial balloon; it was a proposal to the organization. The organization never accepted it; even the Communists would not stand for it.

The CHAIRMAN. It was too radical for the Communists?

Mr. WARD. The organization never came out against capitalism.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, I believe you stated that between the second congress of the American League, which was held in Chicago, in September 1934 and the third congress which was held in Cleveland in 1936, you were able to bring about a considerable modification or revision of the program of the league; is that correct?

Mr. WARD. That is correct; but that must not be put down purely to any personal efforts of mine. That was the result of bringing in of a more nonpolitical element into the American League which was the result of the historical situation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say it was the result in part of the change of the historical situation what do you have particular reference to?

Mr. WARD. I have reference to the fact that the Fascist powers commenced their campaign of aggression and that changed the situation of the United States in the world. The emphasis that we have made so much of in the previous congresses of the league in attacks against war were in the situation in which the United States was in no danger whatever; absolutely secure.

Now, to get to the situation, there we have Fascist powers beginning their campaign of aggression and consequently the position of the United States differed; as a consequence we brought about the change.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, between these congresses of the American League there did intervene the seventh congress of the Communist International; is that not true?

Mr. WARD. Let me see; that was in 1935, I think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct; in August 1935.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is true, is it not, that the attitude of the Communists in the league underwent considerable change in this same period in which the league changed as a result of a new line of the Comintern.

Mr. WARD. You have got the history wrong, Mr. Matthews. You do not know the inside situation or you would understand the situation. The attitude of the Communists in the league changed before the Comintern changed; and the attitude in France and in England and in some of the colonies of England, in my judgment, was in part responsible for the change in the Comintern instead of the other way around as you have it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not drawing any conclusions. As a matter of fact, I think I know from the reading of literature that the Seventh World Congress simply ratified changes which had already been inaugurated in several countries and especially in France.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where the popular front had already been initiated in February, prior to the Seventh World Congress, so I am not saying that there was cause and effect on the one side or the other—

Mr. WARD (interposing). You made plenty of that in the previous record which you put into these hearings last year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right; I am coming to that question.

It is true, is it not, that the change in the line of the American League, in general, coincided with the change in the line of the Comintern?

Mr. WARD. No, it is not. The development of the line began before there was any influence of the Comintern on the situation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I asked you, Dr. Ward, this morning if you had consulted with the Communist leaders concerning their purpose and their objects in joining the league, and in your response you confined your answer to a discussion with them on the subject of political parties being in the league itself.

Mr. WARD. On the question of discipline.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. All right. Now, I refer to the thing that I want to ask you the question about: Did the Communist Party leaders consult with you as to the purposes for which they wanted to use the league, outside the league, on particular organization matters?

Mr. WARD. Certainly not. You have reference to attempts to use the league outside the program of the league? The only consultations we have ever had as to how they could be more effective in carrying out the program and purposes of the league, and those were only minor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever met with the central committee?

Mr. WARD. Why, certainly not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On matters pertaining to the American League's program—

Mr. WARD (interposing). Certainly not. The only people I have ever met were the people in the league itself.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean Communists in the league?

Mr. WARD. Communists in the league and on the league's business.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Communist, which is the official publication of the Communist Party of the United States, in its issue of July 1934—I beg your pardon, in the issue of August 1934——

Mr. WARD. That is before the date we are speaking of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I am speaking of any period.

Mr. WARD. You cannot do that, Mr. Matthews, without confusing the subject before us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I am going over it again and spend an hour on it.

Mr. WARD. That will not prove anything, Mr. Chairman, but a matter of opinion and dispute which does not bear on any activity——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Well, the record will speak for itself.

Mr. WARD (continuing). When you go back to 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We are going back to that now.

Mr. WARD. It has no relevancy to the question you are asking.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I asked you about discussion with Communist Party leaders as to their purpose in using the American League.

Mr. WARD. After this time. 1935 we are talking about.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; my question did not say after this time.

Mr. WARD. I beg your pardon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The record will show that.

In an article in August 1934, in the Communist, entitled "For a Bolshevik Anti-War Struggle," by Alex Bittelman, we find the following statement:

Therefore, the question must be raised again: How do we expect to be able to carry on a Bolshevik struggle against war, how do we propose to prevent the shipment of munitions and troops and to hinder the execution of orders for belligerent countries, and, in general, to attack "the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism" with the still existing slowness in the carrying out of the program of concentration?

In the reply to that question asked by the author, he answers, among other things:

We must also check up and draw the necessary conclusions from the work of organizing in the factories groups of the American League Against War and Fascism. The work of building up branches of the league in the neighborhoods, and among the nonproletarian masses, is of the highest importance. But the program of concentration demands precisely the giving of the chief attention to the factories, especially those producing ammunition, to the marine workers, railroads, transport generally. No district or section of the party that does not provide for the building of factory groups of the league will be in a position to register even moderate advance of the antiwar work now being developed around August 1.

I want to know, Dr. Ward, and you may have answered it clearly enough, but I assume that this might refresh your recollection; I want to know if any leader of the Communist Party ever discussed with you especially the question of the building up in factories of groups of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. WARD. Why, certainly not. And furthermore, that was never done or proposed, and was never proposed, and is never done by the administration of the American League. I would not discuss that with anybody in those terms.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But, it was proposed by the Communists themselves.

Mr. WARD. All sorts of proposals are made in political gatherings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Communism in the United States, by Earl Browder, which has already been identified as an exhibit in these hearings by the author of the publication himself—I will read from page 44 of this volume the following.

Mr. WARD. What is the date of that, please, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This book was published in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Browder was one of the directors of the league.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was vice president at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Vice president.

Mr. WARD. In 1935 he was; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WARD. That was in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. So then you are reading from the declaration of one of the officers of the league.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading) :

The broadest movement of mixed-class composition has been the American League Against War and Fascism, formed at the great U. S. Congress Against War, held in New York last October. The congress itself, while predominately working class in composition, embraced the widest variety of organizations that have ever been united upon a single platform in this country. It gathered a most significant strata of the intellectuals. The breadth of the movement was not secured by sacrificing clarity of program. On the contrary, while its program is distinctly not that of the Communist Party, it is so clear and definite in facing the basic issues, that to carry it out in practice entails clearly revolutionary consequences.

That is the end of that particular quotation and I should like to read two or three other quotations from the same book.

Mr. WARD. Before you do, let me make this clear. You have referred to the American League in New York. That was at a time when I was not chairman of the league. That refers to nothing of the date we are now at. This is past history.

The CHAIRMAN. Your position is that the league was never controlled by Communists; that is your position?

Mr. WARD. No; I am not in a position to say at that time, under Mr. Matthews' administration, not at all. I am only in a position to discuss it after I came in.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, he is not contesting that.

Mr. WARD. This does not refer to my period.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not contesting the issue then as to whether or not it was controlled by Communists prior to the time you got in?

Mr. WARD. I know nothing about that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But, how do you explain certain remarks of yours that are very much in line with the whole program of the Communists? I mean that last statement that he read there, Doctor.

Mr. WARD. Which one?

The CHAIRMAN. The one in which you say that you put out trial balloons.

Mr. WARD. The one against capitalism.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WARD. Why, Mr. Dies, you certainly know, sir, that there are lots of people in this country who are against capitalism who are also very strongly anti-Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking about socialists.

Mr. WARD. Yes; and there are lots of other people too. There are lots of economists on technical and practical grounds. You can be against capitalism on moral grounds as I am and practical grounds, as I am. That does not make you a Communist by a long shot.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you classify yourself, Dr. Ward, as an anti-Communist?

Mr. WARD. I do not classify myself at all under those categories, because they are entirely misleading. I am not a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not disassociate yourself—

Mr. WARD (interposing). Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. But, you are not an anti-Communist?

M. WARD. My position on communism is that of a critical student, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Critical student?

Mr. WARD. Critical student, as anybody must be in professional work as I am.

Mr. STARNES. What is your attitude toward democracy?

Mr. WARD. Democracy?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. WARD. I am a believer in—

Mr. STARNES. I am talking now about the type of democracy we have in this country.

Mr. WARD. I am talking about American democracy, sir. I am talking about that, because I came to this country when I became old enough to choose for myself, because it was here, I believe, sir; in the basic principles of American democracy. I believe that is the only way mankind is ever going to be saved from the perils that now confront him, is by the perpetuation and extension of those principles to every area of human life.

The CHAIRMAN. And, I believe you stated this morning that from your studies of communism it was the extension of democracy.

Mr. WARD. I beg your pardon, sir. I said that that was what its founders claimed for it.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. WARD. They say that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, let us progress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to point out that when Mr. Browder referred to the American League in the first quotations I have read, that they have to do with the first congress.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. However, the book itself was published in September 1935.

Reading again, from page 148, also with reference to the first congress:

We also had a delegate from the United States Army. The congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly but without in anyway infringing upon its nonparty character.

That is the end of that quotation.

Mr. Browder himself has identified that, and that is approximately correct?

Mr. WARD. Precisely, Mr. Matthews; and you might as well, if you are going to conclude from that, that that has anything to do with

the activities of the American League today, you might as well conclude that the Republican Party today is the same Republican Party as the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln or that the Democratic Party is the same organization as of the earlier period. There is no relevancy in all of these questions, as to what is the degree today.

The CHAIRMAN. He is quoting one of the officers of the league.

Mr. WARD. Precisely; but the league has changed.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he is trying to develop.

Mr. WARD. Precisely, but he has gone out—

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to determine if there ever has been any fundamental change in the league.

Mr. WARD. But you cannot tell that simply by—

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You have got to first find those things out.

Mr. WARD. By repeating these quotations in regard to Earl Browder. We are now in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WARD. It is just prejudicing the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. We are trying to get at the truth of the whole thing.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. But it requires a great deal of mental gymnastics to try to follow these things through here.

Mr. WARD. The way they are presented; yes. I do not wonder, with the record being handled the way it is, Mr. Starnes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed, gentlemen.

Mr. STARNES. You said a moment ago you believed in democracy.

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. But you believe in democracy without profit and without capitalism; is that right?

Mr. WARD. Correct, if you extend democracy in the American situation.

Mr. STARNES. That is all I wanted to know.

Mr. WARD. That is where you would land.

Mr. STARNES. That is your interpretation.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Reading again from the same book, page 266—Mr. Browder is now dealing with the second congress:

The key point in the whole united-front struggle at the moment is the Second United States Congress Against War and Fascism to be held in Chicago, September 28–30. In connection with this is a special youth congress called by the youth section. In the American League Against War and Fascism and in this congress we have a broad united front which met and defeated the attempts made to disrupt it last spring. We must say that the Communists have not given the league the help and attention that it deserves, and there has been too much of a tendency to place the daily functioning of the league into the laps of the middle-class elements.

These elements are valuable; their contribution to the league has been considerable, but they will themselves be the first to admit that the most important work of the league—rooting it among the workers in the basic and war industries, cannot be done by them, but only the trade unions and workers' organizations, and, first of all, by the Communists. The final work of the Congress in the next 3 weeks must mark a decisive improvement in the work in this field—engaging of the workers' organizations in this congress and into active affiliation in the American League.

Dr. Ward, I am not drawing conclusions from these quotations. I am placing them in the record as statements of the vice president of the league, who published them in 1935.

Mr. WARD. Correct, and my comment on that——

The CHAIRMAN. You have made your comment.

Mr. WARD. No; I have not. He is placing them in as of 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WARD. We are referring to 1934 and were obviously put in a book published in 1935 from a speech made in 1934. That is what they are. They are Browder's speeches. They refer to that situation. I have already said—I have admitted in the record—that situation was one in which the left forces were considerable and in control of that Chicago convention, if they wanted to be; but after that situation began to——

The CHAIRMAN. What distinction do you make between the left forces? You say the lefts. You yourself, as an economist, would be regarded as a leftist?

Mr. WARD. In economics, I suppose I would be called a left.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by left views?

Mr. WARD. Yes. Well, generally, the left-wing forces, Mr. Dies, are all wings and branches that go under the general head of Socialists. That includes the Communists, because in Europe they are simply trying to bring about changes along broad lines, and that would include the lefts.

The CHAIRMAN. So you are speaking of Socialists?

Mr. WARD. Socialists; socialistic forces is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And they carry on in a degree, do they not, the same methods of approach?

Mr. WARD. That is correct. Now, the situation begins to change, and with the Cleveland convention those forces are not in a position even if they wanted to to dominate the situation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, can you identify this as a photostatic copy of the American League's publication? I have the positive here, if you would prefer to see it.

Mr. WARD. No; I cannot identify it. They published a lot of publications at that time. I could not positively identify that, Mr. Matthews. It may be or may not be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not recall the organization having published anything by that title, "A Program Against War and Fascism"?

Mr. WARD. We put out a large volume of publications in that year. The publications' committee was in charge of that, and not myself. You would have to check that with one of the persons in charge of the publications at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please check and see if this is a publication?

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And I will proceed without having you——

The CHAIRMAN. He says that it probably is. He is not making any point on that. There is not any point on that, as we understand it, Doctor.

Mr. WARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is entitled "A Program Against War and Fascism" and is published by the American League Against War and Fascism, July 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. 1936?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. July 1936. This is approximately 6 months after the third congress with which we have already dealt, the congress held in Cleveland, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first point set out in this program corresponds to the point listed in the proceedings of the third congress, which is—to work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions in time of peace or war.

Under each 2 of the 10 points of the program there is a discussion. I take it they are editorial elaborations made by the headquarters or officers of some committee of the league itself.

After the 10 points are elaborated or discussed, we have a series of questions and answers in the latter part of the book, and on page 21 there is a discussion of the question of communism in the league. That reads as follows:

The American League Against War and Fascism was founded at the First U. S. Congress Against War, held in New York City in September 1933. The steering committee which organized this Congress was composed of Communists and non-Communists, the latter being in the majority. Communists have continued in positions of prominence in the league, but they have not given a communistic slant to the program or policies of the league. It is natural enough that they should be proud of their part in founding the league, and should claim a large share of credit for its successes, but this does not mean that the league is in any sense Communist controlled.

On page 22, in answer to the question:

Is the American League against communism as well as fascism? Why not have a league against war, fascism, and communism?

appears the following:

So far as the economic and political organization of society is concerned, fascism and communism are opposite. Fascism is for war; the Fascist state is the war-breeding and war-making state. Communism is for the abolition of war. We can't in any sense be against both on this score, for one destroys the other. We are opposed to fascism because it not only makes for war but also brutalizes human life and destroys democratic rights and culture. Communists—in Germany and other countries—have shown themselves to be hard, courageous, and sincere fighters against war and fascism. The same is true here in the United States. To exclude Communists or other so-called radicals from a common and active movement against fascism would be an act savoring of fascism itself.

Do you recall this publication, Dr. Ward, now that I have read some of these?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I remember seeing that part of it; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was that the position which the league held, as far as you understand it?

Mr. WARD. That was the position that it held then; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That it held in the summer of 1936?

Mr. WARD. Summer of 1936.

Mr. STARNES. That was 2 years after you had taken over the reins of the office?

Mr. WARD. Correct; correct.

MR. STARNES. And, if I recall correctly, there it states that you cannot be against "the Fascists and the Communists because the one is for war and capitalism, and the other is for peace"?

MR. WARD. There is nothing in there about capitalism and socialism, as I recall, sir. We are talking simply about the limits, and you must understand very clearly that any question you ask me about my own views on socialism are not the views of the league nor the position of the league. That is the program, and that is limited exactly to the objects of the league, namely, its struggle against war and struggle against fascism. That is what it says. It does not say anything about the other relations between the two. It says as to these matters we are taking opposite positions; therefore, as a league against war and fascism, we would be ridiculous if we were against both, as we are taking opposite views on those two matters. That is all.

MR. STARNES. That is ostensibly all that the league was ever formed for, anyhow?

MR. WARD. Correct; that was all it was formed for.

MR. MATTHEWS. I will ask that these proceedings of the third congress, which I believe have been identified by Mr. Ward, be made an exhibit, and that the publications to which we have just referred, the program against war and fascism also be marked as an exhibit.

Now, Dr. Ward, when was the fourth congress of the American League held; do you recall?

MR. WARD. In Pittsburgh, in 1937, if I recall.

MR. MATTHEWS. Pittsburgh, November 26-28, 1937.

MR. WARD. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you identify this?

MR. WARD. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. I will ask that this be marked as an exhibit.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. MATTHEWS. And for this hearing.

It was at this congress, was it not, Dr. Ward, that the name was changed?

MR. WARD. Correct.

MR. MATTHEWS. To the American League for Peace and Democracy.

MR. WARD. Correct.

MR. MATTHEWS. I wish to read from a report of Dr. Harry F. Ward, national chairman, page 16, the following statement:

Our movement from the beginning has known that the present price and profit economy itself was the basic cause of war and the basic origin of fascism. [Applause.] Hence, we cannot solve these two problems without a recognition of this basic economic fact, we must be prepared in the development of this movement to educate the people in the necessity of solving the problem of how to live, so that the Fascist elements will not be able by their deception to capture the masses for their program.

Dr. Ward, when you say that the "movement to educate the people in the necessity of solving the problem of how to live," you refer to what has gone before in the previous sentences, the price and profit economy which accounts for war and fascism.

MR. WARD. That is an attempt of mine, if you want to make it as such, but again, as you see, my program is never made the program

of the league. I repeat again even the Communists would not stand for it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is another trial balloon?

Mr. WARD. Surely; repeating my own views, giving my judgment; that is all. That was never the program of the organization. The chairman in his speech has that much liberty.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it your understanding, Dr. Ward, that the League Against War and Fascism, in France was the chief factor in stopping the appearance of Fascist assemblies in France?

Mr. WARD. Why, certainly not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was not your view?

Mr. WARD. It was one factor which played a very large part in it. It depends upon what you mean by the word "chief."

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read from your speech and ask you to clarify a point or two in it.

There is one place where they acted in time in Europe and that was France. In France they anticipated and stopped the Fascist aggressions. [Applause.] They still have a big battle to fight there, but the point is this: They took the offensive. They did not wait for the Fascists to strike in the open. As soon as the Fascists appeared upon the streets of Paris with arms, the forces of democracy drove them off the streets, and compelled the Government to take arms away from them. [Applause.]

Do you know what was behind that? I will tell you. Behind that was the French League Against War and Fascism, which prepared the people for that. [Applause.] If they had not had a French League Against War and Fascism, they wouldn't have been prepared, they wouldn't have known what was going on, or how to act.

Now, it is not an exaggeration to say that you considered the French League Against War and Fascism as the chief—

Mr. WARD (interposing). It is a complete exaggeration. Mr. Matthews, because when fascism was politically prevented from having or coming to power in France, it was done by a combination of a formidable combination of nine groups which included some very larger political groups and the French League Against War and Fascism was a small and minor group. I am speaking of the preparatory, educational work which was done by that league in enabling a situation to develop.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. I do not quite see where we are getting with all these questions of opinion which have nothing to do with the activities and the program of the league or the purpose for which it was organized.

Doctor, you are the official head of the organization.

Mr. WARD. Precisely.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Browder was vice president and Mr. Hathaway was another vice president.

Mr. WARD. He was on the board. He is now talking about my speech.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no better way of determining what the real purposes of the league were than to find out what the views and activities of you gentlemen were who were the officers of the organization or are now, so far as that is concerned, and so far as confining yourselves to the spoken word, the Communist Party claims to be a twentieth century American institution; it claims to be a great democratic institution; yet when you go beyond their prospectus and get

into the real purposes, we find that there is an entirely different situation.

That is what we are trying to do here. You are the head of the organization. You are the spokesman for it. We want to find out what your views were as head of the organization and as promulgating its policies.

Mr. WARD. Not necessarily.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to find out what your activities were, because much of the league's activities were centered around you.

Mr. WARD. That is exactly my point, Mr. Chairman. You said that we wanted to get away from the spoken word. We are dealing with the spoken word, and my point is that the test of the league is the very thing you gentlemen are empowered and authorized to investigate, namely, activities. We have got to go beyond that. We have got to go into the activities. We have got to get away from the words. That is the test. That is where all of this discussion comes out. You have a lot of words, but what do the words mean in fact when you get organized for your program; and that is the test of our American or un-Americanism, as you will admit; and that is what we want to investigate, is it not?

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You have got to have the words, in the light of the activities.

Mr. WARD. So far we have not been getting any of the activities at all. All day we have simply got words, words, words—no activities at all yet.

The CHAIRMAN. I can well see that you are displeased with the reading of some of the quotations, Doctor, but we will proceed.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, may I make an observation pertaining to the relevancy of these questions. These are words of the officers spoken at their national conventions when they were reviewing accomplishments and laying down the programs of the league. They were seeking to direct the league and the activities along these lines.

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. As trial balloons.

Mr. WARD. Now, you will see where the activities come out, if you ever get to there; you will see what the result is.

The CHAIRMAN. I think quite a number of them failed.

Mr. STARNES. If their activities were different from their words, then there was some hypocrisy somewhere, or some double dealing among them.

Mr. WARD. If they do; let us get the "if" in.

Mr. STARNES. I said "if."

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MASON. One activity was the distribution of literature.

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. MASON. Is this some literature which was distributed in the course of the activities of the league?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. MASON. Then that was an activity of the league.

Mr. WARD. It is an activity; the distribution of printed matter; yes.

Mr. MASON. Then it will be important, to look upon it as just a small part of its activities.

Mr. WARD. Yes; it is done supplemental to the program.

Mr. MASON. But this is a part of the activity, the distribution of books of this kind and other material of this kind?

Mr. WARD. But, that does not contain a program of the activities of the league as carried out.

Mr. MASON. And, we can put that down as a factor?

Mr. WARD. We have got to.

Mr. MASON. We have to put this in the record one thing at a time.

Mr. WARD. Yes; another thing, what you are picking out is not the activities.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I wish to repeat, for clarification of the record a sentence in the statement:

If they had not had a French League Against War and Fascism, they wouldn't have been prepared, they wouldn't have known what was going on, or how to act.

And, I will let the language speak for itself as to whether or not the French League Against War and Fascism is considered by Dr. Ward as the sine qua non of success in defeating fascism in France.

Now, you want to advocate, did you not, or did you, Dr. Ward, that similar preparation should be made in the United States to have the same degree of success in stopping fascism and war in America as they had in France?

Mr. WARD. I probably did, because that is what we were organized for, to prevent the Fascists controlling the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to know if you envisioned the league being organized in such a fashion as to be able to go on the streets and engage in combat.

Mr. WARD. Certainly not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the picture as I understand your language of what the situation was in Paris.

Mr. WARD. In the United States we do not have armed gangsters going around the streets trying to destroy our democracy. When we do, why, we will develop an appropriate organization of American citizens to deal with that. You cannot compare French conditions with American conditions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is what you are doing here?

Mr. WARD. Yes; but coming from a different program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the same paragraph you draw the illustrations from France which you used. I did not use it. You say:

I submit to you, with the evidence before us of the attack on democracy and peace in this country, that the thing for us to do now is to form a movement which can take the offensive, which can act before the antidemocratic forces capture the government.

Mr. WARD. Precisely, and the activity is to be the methods laid down in our program, which is educational methods pure and simple, and then we will not have armed gangs taking the streets and we will not have physical combats. That is exactly the point we are trying to prevent. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To conclude with the various congresses and reports of the congresses, I will ask Dr. Ward to identify this [handing a document to witness].

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the proceedings of the fifth annual congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy held in Washington, D. C., January 6, 7, and 8, 1939.

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, Dr. Ward.

Mr. WARD. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And I ask that this also be marked.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. May I see that?

Mr. WARD. It is understood, Mr. Chairman, that the league voluntarily furnished all of this material to your staff?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All of the material?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am sorry, but that is not correct at all. Nineteenths of this material did not come from the league.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question but what the League made available all of its records, so far as the records you had that we asked for are concerned. We will let the record stand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of course, the point that I am making is that when he says "these documents," a lot of these he did not send here. They did not come from him.

Mr. WARD. I am talking about what the league brought in here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that you did not furnish all of them. You know better than that.

Mr. WARD. Let us have it very clear on the record that all of this material——

Mr. MATTHEWS. We are talking about the material of the league.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is what I am speaking of.

The CHAIRMAN. The record shows that Dr. Ward gave this committee voluntarily all material that we got from the league's offices. Now, we have material, of course, from other sources.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. In other words, he gave us all that we got from it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You supplemented that. That is the point.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, what is the largest sum contributed in the course of a single year by the Communist Party to the American League for its work? Can you give us the record on that?

Mr. WARD. Insofar as I know, the largest contribution to the league itself, or contribution by the party was the one that has previously been named for you in testimony from the financial officer of the party. That, so far as I know, as the record stands, is the largest sum.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Weiner testified, Dr. Ward, on that. You think that the information he gave was correct?

Mr. WARD. So far as I know and I am informed in the office that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Weiner testified that, "Since we broke with them," by which I take it that the Communist Party has officially withdrawn from the league, which it did in 1937.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He says:

Since we broke with them, I do not know exactly, but probably from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is your annual receipts. How much do you receive a year?

Mr. WARD. Our budget—you have the complete record there, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We have?

Mr. WARD. Our accounts are audited and the audited statements are published. Those statements have been furnished to your offices, and they run between \$25,000 and \$30,000 a year.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WARD. And when the Communist Party was an affiliated body of the league, as with all other affiliated bodies, we endeavored to fix all of their contributions on the quota basis, according to the number of members, so many cents per member, in order to make it fair all the way around.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the way you happened to arrive at that?

Mr. WARD. That happens to be the standard by which we have reached the amount they gave to the league.

The CHAIRMAN. That is two or three thousand dollars is everything they contributed.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And after they officially withdrew from the league they kept on contributing on the same basis?

Mr. WARD. They contributed practically on the same basis, according to my information, insofar as I am aware from the officers of the league, for this reason: We had a deficit. We still have a deficit. We had a loan which we had to amortize and I think they considered it an honorable obligation, because the deficit was largely incurred while they were affiliated members of the league and that they should contribute to the wiping out of the debts.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have approximately, you claim, 7,000,000 members, do you not?

Mr. WARD. No, no.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, in the affiliated organizations.

Mr. WARD. But they are not members in any sense of the word.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean you claim that the league represents, or that there is affiliated with the league, or there are organizations affiliated with a total membership of 7,000,000.

Mr. WARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you claim?

Mr. WARD. We claim, and this is very important to us, Mr. Chairman. When we claim on our pamphlet here to speak for the voice of 7½ million people, we are speaking for the bodies who send dele-

gates to a national congress which we called of all organizations that are interested in the preservation now of peace and democracy. Any organization in the country that is represented.

The CHAIRMAN. That sends delegates to your national organization?

Mr. WARD. To that congress, yes; and that congress makes our basic policy and program until the next congress meets.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand, but——

Mr. WARD (interposing). But those members are not members of the league. All of those organizations are not affiliated. It just comes to controlling——

The CHAIRMAN. So when you say you speak for 7,000,000 people, you mean you speak for all organizations that send delegates to your national conventions?

Mr. WARD. And laid down an approved policy.

The CHAIRMAN. And laid down and approved approved the policy of the organization.

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you actually have how many affiliated organizations?

Mr. WARD. Nationally, hardly any at the present time since we have thrown out the political parties. We are now largely, nationally, a member organization. Locally we have affiliated organizations through our local bodies, but that does not at all affect the national-office budget at all. We had at the last report, I think, we had somewhere about 19,000.

The CHAIRMAN. But I don't mean before you threw out the political organizations, as you say, but what I am asking you is how many affiliated organizations you had then.

Mr. WARD. Did we have then?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WARD. I could not tell offhand, Mr. Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. Three or four hundred?

Mr. WARD. No; not nationally; never had that many nationally; never had that many organizations that sent delegates to the congress.

The CHAIRMAN. I was not speaking about the ones you sent to the congress. I am asking you about the ones affiliated to your organizations, which according to your literature were somewhere around two or three hundred.

Mr. WARD. Not nationally.

The CHAIRMAN. How many, nationally?

Mr. WARD. I could not tell you that offhand. If you are talking about anything like three or four hundred there, that includes affiliated organizations, local or city committees. You have got something there.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I mean. That is what I mean; the number affiliated with your league.

Mr. WARD. That would be, if you are taking in the local affiliations to our city committees.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. WARD. That would run, bring it up to three or four hundred; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That would bring it up to three or four hundred.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that represents a total membership of how many?

Mr. WARD. They are not members.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand they are not members.

Mr. WARD. Because they are not on the same basis.

The CHAIRMAN. No one is a member, except the individual who does actually join?

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. No organization was a member of the league?

Mr. WARD. Only when affiliated; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. How many such organizations were ever members of the league? That is what I am trying to get at. Now, the Communist Party was a member of the league. Who else was? Give some other organizations that were either members of the league or members of it by affiliation.

Mr. WARD. After that time?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WARD. I would have to get the list from the office, because that now is ancient history.

The CHAIRMAN. Up to the time they withdrew?

Mr. WARD. I can send the list to you.

The CHAIRMAN. You have that, and you will furnish it?

Mr. WARD. We have that list and will send it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Did all the other organizations do as you say the Communist Party did, contribute on the basis of membership?

Mr. WARD. We tried to get them all to contribute on the same basis. We tried to get them to. They did not all pay up.

The CHAIRMAN. How many did pay up out of the three or four hundred?

Mr. WARD. I do not think any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. None of them except the Communists?

Mr. WARD. Wait a minute, Mr. Dies. These three or four hundred that are referred to there include these local affiliations. We have no right to call on them from the national office for any contribution to our national budget.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the ones that had the same status as the Communist Party.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That were affiliated with your organization.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, none of them paid up except the Communist Party?

Mr. WARD. None of them paid up in full, but the Communist Party continued to pay.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am trying to find out.

Mr. WARD. But, the budget is built up—

The CHAIRMAN. From money which comes from the membership?

Mr. WARD. No, sir; our budget comes from three sources. First our membership dues; and second, our attempt to get a quota when we had affiliated organizations—from them. That is out now.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. WARD. That is out now. Third, contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Affiliated contributions?

Mr. WARD. Contributions of individuals. That means men inside our city organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Inside the city organizations.

Mr. WARD. Yes. And fourth, money raised by parties and meetings, and so on, benefit balls, and programs and that sort of thing. Those are the four sources of income.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, let us proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any other national affiliated organization which assisted in the sum of, or approximately the magnitude of that assistance given by the Communist Party?

Mr. WARD. I have just told the chairman that we did not succeed in getting other organizations to pay up or even to accept the quota basis, in full.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the membership of the congress; can you tell us what it had?

Mr. WARD. I do not remember. I do not know these details.

The CHAIRMAN. The secretary would?

Mr. WARD. The secretary-treasurer at the time being. I am simply interested in fixing the policies, that is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. My question intended to go beyond your answer to the chairman.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And to ask if you had insisted, or, in other words, if you had tried to get these other organizations to pay up on the same basis.

Mr. WARD. Surely we did; certainly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The same sum, or the same magnitude?

Mr. WARD. Well, that depends, Mr. Matthews, on the number of their members. We assessed them on the same basis. We tried to assess them on the same basis, every organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the Communist Party continued its per capita tax contributions after its disaffiliation with the American League?

Mr. WARD. I am not prepared to say that it was a per capita. That was up to them to decide. They accepted that principle, and we supposed they were carrying it out, naturally, and as I have pointed out, for the reasons that that contribution has been continued and accepted by us since. It seems to us and to them a moral obligation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The point I am making by this particular question then is, they did continue then after they disaffiliated?

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, you supplied the committee's counsel with these lists as of April 3, 1939?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I presume there may have been some alterations.

The CHAIRMAN. Lists of what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that you may have more up-to-date copies of these.

Mr. WARD. No; what is it you want?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a list of the national committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy as of April 4, 1939.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY AS OF
APRIL 4, 1939

Joseph Adler, New York.	Rev. William H. Jernagin, Washington, D. C.
Bishop C. Alleyne, Pennsylvania.	Henry Johnson, Illinois.
Roger Baldwin, New York.	William N. Jones, Maryland.
Katherine Barbour, New York.	Judge Robert Kenney, California.
Mrs. Clinton M. Barr, Wisconsin.	Rockwell Kent, New York.
Alice Barrows, Washington, D. C.	Harry C. Lamberton, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin.	Professor Oliver Larkin, Massachusetts.
John T. Bernard, Minnesota.	Joseph P. Lash, New York.
Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Washington, D. C.	David Lasser, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Henry L. Bibby, New York.	Robert Morss Lovett, Illinois.
Rev. Myles D. Blanchard, Florida.	Rep. Vito Marcantonio, New York.
LeRoy Bowman, New York.	George Marshall, New York.
Prof. Robert Brady, California.	Robert Marshall, Washington, D. C.
Eleanor Brannan, New York.	Arabella Halsey Miller, New Jersey.
Joseph Burnham, Wisconsin.	Rev. Albert T. Mollegen, Virginia.
Joseph Cadden, New York.	Steve Nelson, New York.
Charles Wakefield Cadman, California.	Morton Newman, California.
William H. Carey, Jr., Massachusetts.	Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, New York.
William F. Cochran, Maryland.	Jerry J. O'Connell, Montana.
George A. Coe, California.	Harvey O'Connor, Illinois.
Rep. John M. Coffee, Washington.	Mrs. Samuel Ornitz, California.
Jerome Davis, Connecticut.	Dorothy Parker, Pennsylvania.
John P. Davis, Washington, D. C.	Dr. Emily Peirson, Connecticut.
Rev. Dale DeWitt, New York.	L. E. Price, North Carolina.
Thyra Edwards, Illinois.	Dr. Curtis Reese, Illinois.
Ralph Emerson, Washington, D. C.	Reid Robinson, Colorado.
Abram Flaxer, Washington, D. C.	Prof. Paul Rogers, Ohio.
Margaret Forsyth, New York.	Mrs. Anna Center Schneiderman, New York.
Miguel Garriga, New York.	Byron N. Scott, California.
Frances R. Grant, New York.	Rev. Joseph Seftl, Illinois.
Mary Foley Grossman, Pennsylvania.	Viola Brothers Shore, California.
L. O. Hartman, Massachusetts.	Rev. William B. Spofford, New York.
Clarence Hathaway, New York.	Edward E. Strong, Virginia.
Max Hayes, Ohio.	Jack B. Tenney, California.
Mrs. Anne A. Hedgeman, New York.	Dr. R. H. Valinsky, Pennsylvania.
Donald Henderson, Washington, D. C.	Prof. Colston E. Warne, Massachusetts.
William W. Hinckley, New York.	Morris Watson, New York.
Daniel Howard, Connecticut.	A. F. Whitney, Ohio.
Rev. William Lloyd Ines, New York.	Dr. Max Yergan, New York.
A. J. Isserman, New Jersey.	

EXECUTIVE BOARD, AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY AS OF
APRIL 4, 1939

James Allen.	George Marshall.
Reverend Jule Ayers.	Professor Walter Rautenstrauch.
George Biddle.	Herman Shumlin.
LeRoy Bowman.	Reverend William B. Spofford.
Eleanor Brannan.	Dr. Channing Tobias.
Joseph Cadden.	Mrs. A. H. Vixman.
Margaret Forsyth.	Morris Watson.
Walter Frank.	Max Yergan.
Clarence Hathaway.	Chairman, Dr. Harry F. Ward.
Professor Oliver Larkin.	

Vice chairmen: Mrs. Victor L. Berger, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Howard Costigan, Robert Morss Lovett, William B. Spofford, A. F. Whitney.

Mr. WARD. I haven't the list of the national committee with me. We can supply you with one to date and will send it to you immediately.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the one you have? April 4?

Mr. WARD. April 4 of the present year.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very good. Any changes since April 4?

Mr. WARD. I do not recall any. There may have been one or two additional names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the meanwhile we have this, which can go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. If there have been any changes, let us know and we can make the correction.

Mr. WARD. We will send to you, Mr. Dies, immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have an up-to-date list of the executive board?

Mr. WARD. Here it is.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD. AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

James S. Allen, George Biddle, LeRoy Bowman, Eleanor Brannan, Helen R. Bryan, Joseph Cadden, Clarence Hathaway, Thomas L. Harris, Prof. Oliver Larkin, George Marshall, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Herman Shumlin, Rev. William B. Spofford, Dr. Channing Tobias, Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Morris Watson, and Dr. Max Yergan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have there been any changes?

Mr. WARD. You can see by comparison there. I do not think there have been. There may have been one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The national executive board, this is as of to date.

Mr. WARD. As of this date; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. James S. Allen. Do you know the name under which James S. Allen was born, Doctor?

Mr. WARD. No; that does not interest me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. James S. Allen has been identified before the committee as Sol Auerbach.

Mr. WARD. By whom?

Mr. MATTHEWS. By Mr. Browder or Mr. Foster.

Mr. WARD. So it is official?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think later——

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by that? Would you have us give any more credence to Mr. Browder's or Mr. Foster's statement than anyone else?

Mr. WARD. Well, I should think that as Mr. Browder says——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do you attach more credence to his statement than anyone else's?

Mr. WARD. He would have no object in misleading the committee as some other people might have.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think that he would have any object——

Mr. WARD (interposing). Obviously not.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. George Biddle is the second name on the list, and the third name is LeRoy Bowman.

Is the New York Times account this morning correct?

Mr. WARD. I could not tell you. I have received no information from Mr. Bowman. All I know is what I have read in the paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have not received his resignation?

Mr. WARD. Not at the time I left last night; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell that name?

Mr. MATTHEWS. L-e-R-o-y B-o-w-m-a-n.

I will have some more about his report presently, when we have the names of the national executive board completed.

Eleanor Brannan, Helen R. Bryan, Joseph Cadden, Clarence Hathaway, Thomas L. Harris.

Thomas L. Harris is executive secretary of the national organization at the present?

Mr. WARD. That is right. He meets with the board with voice but no vote.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Prof. Oliver Larkin. Do you know where he is a professor?

Mr. WARD. Smith College.

Mr. MATTHEWS. George Marshall. Do you know the occupation of George Marshall?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch. Where is his professorship?

Mr. WARD. Columbia University.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Herman Shumlin. Can you identify him from this, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. He is in the theatrical world. That is all I know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Rev. William B. Spofford. What are his connections, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. Episcopalian minister.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he the business manager of The Fight?

Mr. WARD. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I thought that Dr. Spofford was the editor. Perhaps you are right.

Mr. WARD. I do not know. I think he is one of the editors.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is also secretary of the Church League for Industrial Democracy?

Mr. WARD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Channing Tobias. He is a Y. M. C. A. secretary, is he not?

Mr. WARD. I believe so; special worker.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. A. H. Vixman. Could you identify her?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Harry F. Ward.

Morris Watson. Do you know his affiliations?

Mr. WARD. I think he is with the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. MATTHEWS. An officer of the American Newspaper Guild?

Mr. WARD. In some connections there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Max Yergan. Do you know his connections?

Mr. WARD. It is some committee in connection with African work; work for Negroes; some international committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I will ask you if the officers which you do not have on this statement but do have on the statement as of April 4, 1939, are still the officers of the organization—yourself as chairman; vice chairmen, Mrs. Victor L. Berger.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.

Howard Costigan. Is he still a vice chairman?

Mr. WARD. Well, I am not sure. When I came back from my vacation one member of the board had—one vice president had—to resign, because of having taken a position. I am not sure whether it was Mr. Costigan or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Perhaps that was Dr. Robert Morss Lovett.

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir; that is right, Mr. Lovett. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovett.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So Mr. Costigan is still there.

Mr. WARD. He is still there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Howard Costigan is connected with the Commonwealth Federation of Washington, is he not?

Mr. WARD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next is Robert Morss Lovett, and you are quite sure he has resigned?

Mr. WARD. Certainly. He had to, and he sent in a letter with his regrets when he received his official position.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is secretary of the Virgin Islands?

Mr. WARD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. William B. Spofford has already been identified to this committee, and A. F. Whitney. A. F. Whitney is a representative of the railroad brotherhoods.

Mr. WARD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Chairman—

Mr. WARD. President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, is that an approximately correct list of your branches throughout the United States?

Mr. WARD. I could not answer that question, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This one was supplied on April 1.

Mr. WARD. Well then it will be, but my point is this, that I have no knowledge of the administrative details in the last year. I confine myself to matters of policy. The executive secretary will have to answer that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who handles the actual administration of the league?

Mr. WARD. The executive matters, the secretary, Mr. Thomas L. Harris at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that cover all administrative matters?

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your function is largely, you say, one of determining policy?

Mr. WARD. Yes; chairmanship of the board responsible for policies, seeing that the policies are carried out by administration.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then I will ask about this list of branches and city committees, American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. WARD. Dated?

Mr. MATTHEWS. April 1, 1939.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a list of approximately 120 local chapters, or branches or city committees of the American League for Peace and Democracy throughout the United States.

Do you want any of those read, Mr. Chairman? The largest ones with the membership, are indicated in case you would like to have those.

The CHAIRMAN. And make it a part of the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Los Angeles, 1,600; Chicago, 800; New York City, 8,500; Philadelphia, 900; Pittsburgh, 700.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the largest ones.

The complete list referred to is as follows:

BRANCHES AND CITY COMMITTEES AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY,
AS OF APRIL 1, 1939

Arizona: Tucson.

California: Los Angeles (1,600 members), Menlo Park, Napa, Oakland, San Francisco.

Colorado: Denver.

Connecticut: Hartford, Meriden, New Haven, New Milford, Norwalk, Stamford.

Delaware: Arden.

District of Columbia: Washington.

Florida: Miami Beach, St. Petersburg.

Idaho: Boise.

Illinois: Chicago, 800 members, Urbana.

Indiana: Gary.

Iowa: Davenport.

Kansas: Kansas City.

Kentucky: Louisville.

Louisiana: New Orleans.

Maryland: Baltimore.

Massachusetts: Boston, Brookline, Cambridge, Dorchester, Fall River, Lynn, Maynard, Northampton, Revere.

Michigan: Ann Arbor, Detroit, Ironwood, Pontiac.

Minnesota: Duluth, St. Paul.

Missouri: St. Louis.

Montana: Missoula.

New Hampshire: Dover, Manchester.

New Jersey: Newark, Atlantic City, Bernardsville, Bergenfield, Camden, Elizabeth, Englewood, Hackensack, Jersey City, Kearney, New Brunswick, Orange, Paterson, Perth Amboy, Plainfield, Trenton, Union City, West Caldwell.

New York: Amityville, Bedford Hills, Binghamton, Buffalo, Crompton, Croton-on-Hudson, Glen Cove, Gloversville, Huntingdon, Kingston, Long Beach, Mount Vernon, Newburgh, New Rochelle, New York City (8,500 members), Niagara Falls, Peekskill, Port Chester, Poughkeepsie, Rochester, Schenectady, Syracuse, Utica, Yonkers.

North Carolina: Durham, Greensboro.

North Dakota: Fargo.

Ohio: Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Toledo.

Pennsylvania: Allentown, Chester, Doylestown, Easton, New Castle, Philadelphia (900 members), Pittsburgh (700 members), Reading, Wilkes Barre.

Rhode Island: Pawtucket.

Texas: El Paso, Houston.

Utah: Salt Lake City.

Virginia: Norfolk, Richmond.

Washington: Everett, Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma.

Wisconsin: Madison, Milwaukee, Superior.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are the ones having the membership indicated.

Dr. Ward, you said that you had seen the account of the New York Times this morning of the statement given out by Mr. LeRoy Bowman?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it correct that the national executive board of the American League refused by a vote of 14 to 1 to condemn the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. WARD. I will read you exactly what the executive board said.
Mr. STARNES. Let him answer the question "Yes" or "No," Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WARD. I can only answer in terms of reading what the vote was, sir.

That will answer it exactly. I have the actual vote here. That is precisely the answer to the question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. He cannot answer the question "Yes" or "No."

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

You are going to read all of that?

Mr. WARD. I am going to read the exact vote, which is shown here. I will not read the discussion preceding, unless you want it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You will read what the vote was?

Mr. WARD. What the vote was as shown on this:

Meanwhile, the decision of the board is that at this time, we neither condemn or approve the actions of the Soviet Union. Our members will have their own opinions on these matters and will express and implement them in their political organizations outside the league. By the time the emergency conference meets, the situation will be much clearer, and the question of its relation to our policy can be more adequately settled, or if necessary, referred to a congress.

I would offer the whole statement as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that would be well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. May I ask that you just read the question upon which the vote was just taken?

Mr. WARD. That is the one Mr. Bowman referred to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the statement on which the vote was taken?

Mr. WARD. That is the statement on which the vote was taken.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the vote?

Mr. WARD. Mr. Bowman is put down here as the only one against it, so far as I am aware.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So far as you know that is a correct statement?

Mr. WARD. So far as I know, that is a correct statement; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you present at the time the vote was taken?

Mr. WARD. I was chairman at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you not know precisely what the vote was?

Mr. WARD. My memory is correct with regard to that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; that is what I want to know.

Mr. WARD. Surely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When is the congress to which reference is made there to be held?

Mr. WARD. It is not a congress, Mr. Matthews; a membership conference.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A membership conference?

Mr. WARD. A conference of the members only of the league. That is to be held the 27th, 28th, and 29th of this month.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The end of this week?

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is it to be held?

Mr. WARD. In Philadelphia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the affiliated bodies such as there are remaining in the league—I believe you say there have been some changes

in policy in that respect in recent years—will not be permitted to send delegates?

Mr. WARD. No; this is not a congress. This is a delegated membership conference to settle our position on these recent issues.

Mr. CASEY. Did you vote in that 14 to 1?

Mr. WARD. The chairman does not vote when it is 14 to 1. The chairman only votes in case of a tie.

Mr. CASEY. Did you express an opinion?

Mr. WARD. I beg your pardon.

Mr. CASEY. Did you express an opinion?

Mr. WARD. Certainly. I sponsored this motion. That is the reason given for withholding judgment at the present time or endorsing it at the time the vote was taken. It was held that there was not sufficient evidence to justify us in taking a position there as to the motivation or consequences of these acts and therefore pending the developing of further evidence we refused to do this, either to condemn or approve. We will let the membership discuss this when they will come to the meeting.

Mr. CASEY. In the event Russia should join Germany as an active ally of Germany, what would your position be?

Mr. WARD. Nobody can tell that.

Mr. CASEY. What is that?

Mr. WARD. Nobody can answer that question in advance.

Mr. CASEY. Could you not answer that in advance?

Mr. WARD. Nobody can answer that in advance. The board would have to decide.

Mr. VOORHIS. You can answer as to what your own position would be?

Mr. WARD. As to my own position; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I do not mean what the board's position would be, but under circumstances such as Mr. Casey suggested, you would know what your own position would be, would you not?

Mr. WARD. At that point, Mr. Chairman, I wish to raise a question with the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want to answer the question, Doctor?

Mr. WARD. I beg your pardon.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me get the record clear. You are asking a question. You are asking if he can answer the question.

Mr. VOORHIS. I do not want to press it if he would rather not answer. I would like to have Dr. Ward's views on it.

Mr. WARD. This is the point, Mr. Chairman: In the first place—

The CHAIRMAN. He does not insist upon your answering the question, so I do not think it is necessary.

Mr. WARD. You can understand, Mr. Chairman, as chairman of an organization he is in a difficult position as a matter of policy. It is difficult to have a proper settlement if the Chair declares himself personally beforehand; but I have no objection to giving my own personal answer.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not insisting upon it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I will not insist upon it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, there are some matters that are not directly connected with the work of the American League, about

which we have some questions to ask Dr. Ward before he leaves; but at this time you do have some questions on the league and I believe that this is the best place to ask them now. There are some other organizations which Dr. Ward has connections with, that I would like to have clarified briefly. If you wish to break in at this point, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MASON. You say that you want to ask him about some other organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Is the Methodist League for Social Service that one?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the title of one.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman, are we leaving this angle at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we are coming back to it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; Dr. Ward.

Mr. WARD. Are we leaving the American League at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. Not at this time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. He said he would not.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman, in the interest of orderly procedure, I request that we be permitted to finish some matters connected with the American League, and questions which have been raised about it.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not leaving the American League just now, Dr. Ward.

Mr. WARD. But, he says for the time being.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

Mr. WARD. No? All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To what extent, Dr. Ward, are you acquainted with the activities of the league in the various branches throughout the country?

Mr. WARD. Naturally only in a general way, unless some question of discipline comes up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Mrs. Clinton M. Barr, of Wisconsin; Milwaukee?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has Mrs. Barr been in communication with you recently?

Mr. WARD. Yes. I received a letter from Mrs. Barr a week ago last——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). She is on the national committee of the league, is she not?

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you please state the purpose for which she has been in communication with you recently?

Mr. WARD. Yes. She wrote me making charges against the secretary of the league in Milwaukee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the nature of the incident about which charges were made?

Mr. WARD. She charged that the secretary of the league had attempted to censor a radio speech of hers that she had been asked to make for the league, and she charged further that the secretary had consulted about the speech with the State secretary of the Communist Party of Wisconsin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you taken any action pursuant to her charges?

Mr. WARD. Certainly. Immediately, as soon as I could get in touch with the office—that letter came on Saturday night, and I could not get to the office until Monday morning—immediately the secretary was informed, and he instructed the Milwaukee organization to suspend the secretary immediately pending investigation, and that if the charges were true, then the secretary would be immediately dismissed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that secretary Margaret La Budde?

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive evidence to the effect that the speech had been revised?

Mr. WARD. The investigation is still in process. The executive secretary went to Milwaukee himself to see what had happened, and the investigation concerned with whom Miss La Budde had consulted is still in process. She denied having shown the speech to the secretary of the Communist Party in Wisconsin. She said that she had only submitted the speech to the radio committee of the league. Our executive secretary then informed the Milwaukee branch—I have the report here—that to have a committee, a radio committee, which had any power of revising or rejecting script submitted by speakers invited to speak under the auspices of the league was not in conformity with the national policy of the league, and that the policy itself, regardless of what the secretary did, whether she did or did not consult with the secretary of the Communist Party—the mere fact of having a radio committee within the league that could revise script was contrary to the national policy, and that situation must be changed at once; and the executive board has agreed in Milwaukee that that committee will be deprived of any such powers in conformity with the national policy. The remainder of the investigation is not yet complete.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking of Miss or Mrs. Barr, who appeared before the committee in Chicago and testified?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she not testify that certain remarks of hers condemning Hitler were censored?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. WARD. That is the thing we are investigating. That is the charge on which we suspended the secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as I recall the woman's testimony—and this is not very accurate—she had a speech prepared at the request of the American League; she was going to make a radio speech.

Mr. WARD. That is her statement.

The CHAIRMAN. She prepared a speech condemning the Soviet-Nazi pact.

Mr. WARD. She did not tell me what was in the speech.

The CHAIRMAN. And also condemning Hitler; and the speech was censored, and all condemnation of the Soviet-Nazi pact was erased.

Mr. WARD. And, as I have told you, the action was promptly taken.

The CHAIRMAN. And the secretary has now been suspended?

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And who is acting?

Mr. WARD. I do not know that there is any.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the branch operating, if it has no secretary?

Mr. WARD. I don't know that it is operating at all. It sometimes does by volunteers. That is how it must be. But the action was prompt. The action will be final if the action is approved. I have been in the league for 5 years, and this is only the third case of maladministration, and that is a pretty good record for any organization, business or political.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What are the other cases, Mr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. One was a similar case in New York, in connection with a speech of Harry Elmer Barnes, and the person responsible for that was dismissed. It is a violation of the national policy in the New York City office.

The other case was within a few weeks after I came into the league. I have forgotten what it was, but it was a violation of a principle of the league by an official, and that official, the facts being established, was promptly dismissed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the nature of the violation?

Mr. WARD. I do not recall it at the present time. It was nearly 5 years ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it also a case of overzealousness on the part of some Communist-minded person in the organization?

Mr. WARD. It was; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All three cases were of that character?

Mr. WARD. All three cases were of that character.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Individuals or officers in the league being overzealous in trying to direct the activities of the league in line with the Communist Party's principles?

Mr. WARD. No; not necessarily so in the other two cases; I don't think so. There is an element here that you have to reckon with, Mr. Matthews. You want to make your case, of course, but there is another aspect here, in my judgment, in these cases and similar cases, and I have seen a good deal of this stuff in other organizations. The same person would have acted in the same way if he had been a Republican as well as a Communist. It is the person oftentimes. It is just their way, and you have to deal with them as such.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with the financial programs and activities of the branches of the American League in various parts of the country?

Mr. WARD. Naturally, in detail, not, Mr. Matthews. I could not be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you know whether the local branches receive contributions from the Communist Party?

Mr. WARD. I would not know. I do not know of any that do. None has ever come to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was your attention called to the case of the American League in Boston, brought out in the investigation by the legislature of the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. WARD. No. We have not much of an American League in Boston, and never have had. Anything that happened there would have been quite minor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The books of the Communist Party indicated that payments have been made to the American League.

Mr. WARD. That may well have been so. I could not tell you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know about such contributions in other offices?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know about the contributions of such organizations as the International Workers Order, which might be made from local branches; whether that is the practice or not?

Mr. WARD. I do not. The only contributions I know of, of the International Workers Order, are those that were made in the day when they were a national affiliate of the league, and subscriptions that may have been made from them at public meetings. Once or twice I have heard of subscriptions from the I. W. O. at a public meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did the International Workers Order cease to be a national affiliate of the American League?

Mr. WARD. I don't know that it has technically ceased, but it has ceased any active relationship and any contributions, so far as I know. As I say, I am not speaking by the book in the last year or so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the Pittsburgh congress of the American League in 1937, Mr. Browder was the delegate from the International Workers Order to the congress, was he not?

Mr. WARD. Yes. That was because no political parties were sending delegates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, they did send delegates to that particular congress?

Mr. WARD. No; they did not. That is, they felt, because the matter was to come up, that it was somewhat of a point of honor that they should not be there as a political party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean that matter had been decided in advance?

Mr. WARD. No. Some people have some scruples, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not talking about whether anybody has scruples or not. I am asking you a categorical question if the question of the Communist affiliation had already been decided in advance of the congress.

Mr. WARD. I told you that it was to come up for discussion, and they felt that it would be improper for them to appear as a party when the question was up for discussion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the Communist Party then had no delegates as such?

Mr. WARD. As such. That is why, I suppose, Browder came as a delegate from the I. W. O. They had no delegates as such. They were entitled to send delegates; they were still in, but they felt that it was a point of honor that they should not. It would appear to be influencing the discussion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And, so far as you know, all Communists that in the past have been delegates to congresses of the American League are free to come as delegates of such organizations as the International Workers Order, the International Labor Defense, the Friends of the Soviet Union, and so forth?

Mr. WARD. If they can get there on the basis of the quota they are entitled to; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your experience that they have come as delegates?

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did not Mr. Browder make it explicit when he withdrew the Communist Party affiliation at Pittsburgh that the Communist Party expected to become more active, or the Communists expected to become more active, in the work of the league than they had been prior to their withdrawal?

Mr. WARD. As I remember, it indicated that that would not affect their activity as individuals in the league, but it changed the nature of that activity immediately, because the Communists then ceased to hold any caucus at our national gatherings, as they had done before and were entitled to do, and consequently their individual members voted as they felt like voting, not from any caucus instructions. That made a very important change in the league, just as important as the change that was made soon after, that there should be no Communist fractions in the league organization, which was a departure in united front policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you have any way of checking up on whether fractions are held or not?

Mr. WARD. Why, certainly I would have a way of checking up from the situation in New York City, which is the one under my own nose, so to speak, where I know what is going on from the reports from the city office, and so on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What I mean is this, Dr. Ward: In the days when the Communists admitted they had fractions, they did not hold sessions that were of public knowledge?

Mr. WARD. Mr. Matthews, you ought to realize that Communists, like Republicans, and even Methodists, can change. I am a Methodist, and believe in repentance, and also in the possibility of backsliding, Mr. Matthews.

The CHAIRMAN. All of which was meant for Mr. Matthews' benefit?

Mr. WARD. For his personal benefit; just a little instruction for him.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; I just wanted to know.

Mr. WARD. You understand, Mr. Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WARD. You have been around among the Methodists yourself.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I have. Our Methodists are just as much opposed to communism as they are fascism. Go ahead.

Mr. STARNES. I am a Methodist, and belong to a Methodist group, and we are just as much against communism as we are against fascism; but we do exercise the privilege of backsliding.

Mr. WARD. And you might yet. [Laughter.]

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, do you know anything about the publication called the Midwest Daily Record, which is published in Chicago?

Mr. WARD. Only its name; that is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That has been identified here by Mr. Browder as the organ of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. The New Masses?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; the Midwest Daily Record, published in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. It was identified by Browder and someone else.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the cooperative relationship between the Midwest Daily Record in Chicago and the Chicago branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think that would be a matter for disciplinary action if it were brought to your attention?

Mr. WARD. Certainly, if it were proved. You prove anything like that to us, and we will take action quick enough.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, if the officers of the American League in Chicago, in written declarations, stated that the Midwest Daily Record is a publication which the league membership get behind and push, that would be out of line with the policy of the American League?

Mr. WARD. It certainly would.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean if a national officer took such a position?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; just the Chicago officers.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under date of January 20, 1938, on the letterhead of the Midwest Daily Record, we have a letter addressed to the American League for Peace and Democracy:

DEAR FRIENDS: We are enclosing our receipt #1192, for 28 New Year's tickets at 75 cents each—total, \$21.

Many thanks for all the help.

Fraternally yours,

MIDWEST DAILY RECORD,
JAN WITTENBER,
Business Manager.

Under date of April 27, 1938, Gilbert Rocke, executive secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy in Chicago, wrote to Mrs. H. Soffer:

The Midwest Daily Record phoned our office and informed us of your request for a list of articles "Made in Japan."

We are sending you a copy of a boycott circular distributed by us. If you should desire further information on the boycott, China aid or work of the American League for Peace and Democracy, we shall be pleased to supply it.

Again, under date of May 11, 1938, we have a letter on the letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy, St. Louis branch, signed by Louise C. Spencer, executive secretary, addressed to Mr. Gilbert Rocke, of the American League in Chicago:

On reading the account of the Nazi-Silver Shirt meeting in Chicago in the Midwest Daily Record, I felt that we might obtain many new members for the American League by sending contacts a copy of the article, together with a letter on the subject. It occurred to me that perhaps you had planned a similar action, so I am writing to ask you if you are making reprints of the article in leaflet form that we might get copies of from you. I could get hold of only 6 May 10 editions of the Record here.

I would appreciate it if you would write as soon as possible and tell me what action you are taking in the matter, whether you have any printed material, and if we could get copies, how much they would cost.

Thanking you for your trouble,

Yours sincerely,

Mr. STARNES. Doctor, what are the purposes, succinctly stated, of your organization?

(The witness distributed copies of a paper to the committee.)

Mr. WARD. The purpose of the American League for Peace and Democracy is to keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world; to protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people.

Mr. STARNES. Succinctly stated, that is your purpose for being?

Mr. WARD. That is our purpose.

Mr. STARNES. You are not a political party?

Mr. WARD. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You have no political program?

Mr. WARD. No political program other than promoting these objects, in the course of which we will support or oppose legislative measures that seem to us to advance or to retard the realization of our purpose.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have an economic program?

Mr. WARD. No; we have no economic program except in connection with the securing of democratic rights for all the people.

Mr. STARNES. Is that a political or economic question?

Mr. WARD. We have this statement here. You can decide it yourself if I repeat the phrase.

Our democracy can survive only if the guarantees of the Constitution are applied so as to fulfill in terms of continually rising standards the promise of the Declaration of Independence that all our people shall have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

That is our only economic program.

Mr. STARNES. You do not think the people of the United States have enjoyed life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in this country since its inception?

Mr. WARD. No; the question is this: That all our people shall have equal rights. Not all the people in this country have had equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and our purpose is to try to fulfill the Declaration of Independence on that point.

Mr. STARNES. You do not think that any other organization has done that prior to the formation of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. You are willing to admit that?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. Do you engage in propaganda?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you still adhere, to the present hour, to your belief that capitalism is wrong, and that fascism is synonymous with capitalism?

Mr. WARD. No; that was not the statement. For 20 years you can find my views on capitalism.

Mr. STARNES. I had reference to the remarks that were read to you this morning, in which you said that that statement of yours was more in the nature of a trial balloon than anything else.

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes, yes—that the capitalist system in its monopoly aspects, unless it is checked by the democratic exercise of the will of the people, will historically move into the Fascist form of the state. That is my analysis.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Now, getting down to plain verbiage that is intelligible to the man in the street, and the man you are trying to

save, you are against a capitalistic system of government; is that right?

Mr. WARD. That is my personal opinion and belief.

Mr. STARNES. And that is what I am asking for—your personal opinion and belief.

Mr. WARD. All right. Then I must make this point for the record—

Mr. STARNES. All right; wait a minute. I will help you make your point, I think, if you are so technical. But that is not the opinion nor the policy of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. WARD. I have already answered that. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Starnes is asking me a question about my personal opinion and belief. Now, I have no objection to answering that question. My books have answered it for 20 years, but the point I want to raise is this: Has this committee ever made a decision that it is authorized by Congress to inquire into the opinions and beliefs of American citizens?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are, of course, appearing here as the chairman of this organization.

Mr. WARD. Yes; but this is a question of my personal beliefs.

The CHAIRMAN. And, of course, many of the statements in the literature and pamphlets of the organization are very much in line with your statements.

Mr. WARD. And I am willing to answer them, but I am asking you about the constitutional right of an American citizen before this committee.

Mr. STARNES. Let me say this to the learned and distinguished gentleman: That I want him to exercise every constitutional right on God's green earth, and that in appearing before this committee he is not injuring any rights that he may have throughout this entire land of ours.

Mr. WARD. Thank you, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That statement was read this morning, and you were asked whether it was the opinion of the league, and you answered that it was your own personal opinion.

Mr. WARD. That is right. And I may call the committee's attention to the point that Congress itself cannot give this committee any power to inquire into a person's opinions and beliefs, because Congress cannot constitutionally legislate on those matters, and Congress has never given any committee those powers, and never can. No committee can get those powers, because they do not exist.

Mr. STARNES. May I say to the gentleman that I do not need any lecture from him about the Constitution. I admit that there may be a lot about it that I do not know, but I do not desire any lectures from him about it, and I have no desire to infringe on it. I merely am trying to draw the distinction and make it clear for the record, so that this committee can form an intelligent opinion, if that is possible, with reference to some of this evasive, equivocating testimony that we have here from him and other witnesses.

You say, then, that that statement read into the official record this morning was a personal statement?

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. And not an official statement of the policy of the league?

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. That is all I wanted to get in the record.

Mr. WARD. Thank you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it was disseminated by the league, was it not, Doctor Ward?

Mr. WARD. It appears as my speech. That is the end of it. It is not in the program of the league.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But the proceedings were disseminated by the league?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. Is the American League for Peace and Democracy concerned with international situations, international laws, and international policies?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Or is it one that concerns itself wholly and solely with the welfare of the American people?

Mr. WARD. We concern ourselves with these others as they affect the welfare of the American people, and so we have taken this position about war—one position at a time when the United States was secure from all attack, another position at a time when, because of the rise of the Fascist powers, the United States was not secure, and we have taken a position on the legislation affecting those matters ever since it was first framed.

Mr. STARNES. I am reading excerpts from your address before the last meeting, or the last congress of the league, in Washington, in which it seems that the first three or four pages of your dissertation are taken up with a discussion wholly and solely of international relations.

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. What do you mean by the statement on page 5:

If Congress wants more investigations, it may well turn its attention to the State Department.

What do you mean by that? Do you mean to suggest that the Congress should investigate the State Department because of its handling of foreign affairs here? In this thing you are discussing a consistent foreign policy.

Mr. WARD. That is correct. There were indications, in my judgment, that there were certain influences at work on the State Department, on certain people in the State Department, that the American people ought to know about. There were reports going around to that effect in the press, and in the interest of the American people and in justice to the people in the State Department concerned, I thought it was time that there should be an investigation of those rumors.

Mr. STARNES. I see; all right. Now, then, on the question of concerted action, I notice your statement on page 6:

They understand that cooperation with democratic forces is not entanglement with other powers. Meantime we are getting concerted action with the same peoples' forces in other countries are represented here. With the peoples' forces of Spain and China; with the French Peoples Front; with the forming British groups. Recently in Great Britain the joint council of delegates from local labor parties, cooperatives, and peace councils, stopped Chamberlain in Paris with a distribution of 10,000,000 leaflets against belligerent rights to Franco and we are here today bringing peoples' pressure on our Government

to end its disgraceful partnership with those who are planning the destruction of Spanish democracy.

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you charge this Government with having formed a disgraceful partnership with someone else to destroy, or plan to destroy, Spanish democracy; is that the effect?

Mr. WARD. That was the effect of its policy in Spain; yes.

If that policy had not been adopted, in my judgment, we would not now be face to face with——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). When was there ever a democracy in Spain?

Mr. WARD. There was a democracy in Spain until Franco's armies overthrew it, from the time the Republic was first founded.

Mr. STARNES. I wish you could give us some light on this, and I quote from this record:

A free Spain would be more effective for the defense of this hemisphere than many battleships.

Mr. WARD. Yes; for the reason that Spain is the cultural homeland of Latin America, and if fascism predominates in Spain, then all the influence of Spain, the homeland of Latin culture, upon Latin America, is Fascist influence and works against democracy on this hemisphere.

Mr. STARNES. Does your organization believe in the boycott and the embargo?

Mr. WARD. Yes; we believe in the refusal to buy goods that people feel they ought not to buy, and we believe in the embargo.

Mr. STARNES. Do you not recognize the fact that both of those weapons can be used as a weapon of war?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. More effectively sometimes than shells or ships.

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, has your organization taken any part in the conduct of a boycott against any racial groups or minorities, or national groups or minorities, in this country?

Mr. WARD. We have supported the boycott against goods from Japan and we support the boycott of goods from Nazi Germany.

Mr. STARNES. Have you supported a boycott against American citizens of German descent in this country?

Mr. WARD. Never; never would.

Mr. STARNES. Have you advocated or have you taken part in any campaign of persecution against American citizens of German descent or naturalized American citizens who were born in Germany, in this country?

Mr. WARD. On the contrary, we oppose all such campaigns.

Mr. STARNES. What have you to say with reference to the statement made under oath here during the past week by a leader of another "Save This Country" group who stated that your organization specifically—and that is the reason I am asking the question; it is a matter of record, and I want to give you an opportunity either to affirm or deny it—he stated under oath that your organization had boycotted or had persecuted not only him personally, but the members of the group which he represented.

Mr. WARD. What group was that?

Mr. STARNES. Well, he said it was the German American element in this country.

Mr. WARD. I deny that.

Mr. STARNES. You deny that statement?

Mr. WARD. Completely.

Mr. STARNES. I notice here in your program for 1939 you say that the first and most important action in the campaign for peace and democracy is to lift the embargo on Spain.

Mr. WARD. That was our judgment then.

Mr. STARNES. That was your judgment; that was the greatest thing America could do for peace and democracy.

Mr. WARD. At that time, that was our judgment.

Mr. STARNES. And second, the next step, according to your words, in defense of peace and democracy against Fascist aggression is to place an embargo against Japan.

Mr. WARD. That was our judgment.

Mr. STARNES. By the same token—and I again quote—it is equally necessary to place an embargo on Germany and Italy.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In one and the same address to American citizens, you advocate the placing of an embargo upon the goods of three nations of the earth and the lifting of the embargo in connection with a civil embroglio in another nation.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Why do you consider it any concern of the American people to meddle in any of these situations, or any one of them?

Mr. WARD. I have just told you, in regard to Spain, because of its relation to the Latin-American situation, from which we cannot disconnect ourselves. And with regard to Germany and Italy, recent developments all show that if German aggression is not stopped, the United States will have a difficult time to keep out of war, and, in our judgment, the way to stop that aggression without war was by the use of economic pressure in the right direction.

Mr. STARNES. You do not think anybody in this country was trying to get us into war on the side of Germany and Italy, do you?

Mr. WARD. The inevitable consequences——

Mr. STARNES. Can't you answer that question, Doctor?

Mr. WARD. The only persons I think that would be trying to do that would be those groups of Nazi and Fascist sympathy that would operate to get us into war, not that way, but the opposite direction.

Mr. STARNES. Give us the names of those groups, in your judgment, that would do that.

Mr. WARD. I said "in the opposite direction."

Mr. STARNES. This committee is very much interested in trying to get testimony from you, not only about the work of your own group, but we are trying to get any information that you have——

Mr. WARD. You have already——

Mr. STARNES. Just a moment. We are trying to get from you information that you may have with reference to groups in this country who are trying to embroil us in a war on the side of Germany and Italy. Do you have any such information?

Mr. WARD. Of activity in that direction?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. WARD. Concretely, no.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any information that there are any groups at work in this country, or any individuals actively at work in this country, in an effort to get us into the war between China and Japan, on the side of Japan?

Mr. WARD. No; I would not say that. Our judgment is based on the effect of the policies of those countries, unless they are not checked; and our purpose was to check it by economic means, so that the United States would not ultimately have to go to war to check them in another way.

Mr. STARNES. You say you know of no such organizations or no individuals, either, that were trying to do that?

Mr. WARD. No. Our point was that if these nations kept on with their aggressive policies the situation would develop to a point where the United States would go to war with them. That was our point.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, I read you three letters which had to do with the Midwest Daily Record.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you a fourth one, dated May 21, 1938, signed by Gilbert Rocke, as your secretary in Chicago, addressed to Miss Louise C. Spencer, St. Louis, Mo. That is apparently in response to Miss Spencer's letter to Mr. Rocke of May 11, 1938. [Reading:]

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

ST. LOUIS BRANCH

110 Olivia Building, 1023 N. Grand Ave. Franklin 7060

MAY 11, 1938.

Mr. GILBERT ROCKE,

Room 902, 188 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. ROCKE: On reading the account of the Nazi-Silver Shirt meeting in Chicago in the Midwest Daily Record, I felt that we might obtain many new members for the American League by sending contacts a copy of the article, together with a letter on the subject. It occurred to me that perhaps you had planned a similar action, so I am writing to ask you if you are making reprints of the article in leaflet form that we might get copies of from you. I could get hold of only 6 May 10 editions of the Record here.

I would appreciate it if you would write as soon as possible and tell me what action you are taking in the matter, whether you have any printed material, and if we could get copies, how much they would cost.

Thanking you for your trouble.

Yours sincerely,

LOUISE C. SPENCER,
Executive Secretary.

That, Dr. Ward, is the letter to which I had particular reference when I said that the executive committee of the American League in Chicago was urging support of the Mid-West Daily Record by subscriptions and sending out copies for that particular purpose.

Mr. WARD. I hope, Mr. Matthews, you will be good enough to supply us with copies of those letters so that we can take the necessary action.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This happens to be a photostatic copy, and the original has been sent back to Mr. Rocke in Chicago.

Mr. WARD. Perhaps you will allow us to take the photostatic copy of the copy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; you are welcome to have that.

Mr. WARD. Thank you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, you were at one time connected with an organization known as New America, were you not?

Mr. WARD. Before we leave the American League, Mr. Chairman, may I have the opportunity—

Mr. STARNES. Doctor, we have not left it yet. We are going to let you hear some more about it before we get through with it.

Mr. WARD. All right; go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were connected, then, with an organization known as New America?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your connection with the organization?

Mr. WARD. I was a member of the board or the national committee—what did they call it?—something or other.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you not the national chairman or whatever the office was?

Mr. WARD. I was acting chairman; I do not think I was national chairman; maybe I was. I was simply helping them out of a hole for the time being.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have a document here entitled "New America News, a Message From Our National Chairman," and it has a type-written signature, "Harry F. Ward."

Mr. WARD. Yes; I think I was national chairman for a short while. I am not in the organization now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you be good enough to identify that as one of the early publications of the organization [handing document to witness]?

Mr. WARD. Yes; that was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is entitled "New America—Its Goal and Program." The document is undated. Do you recall the date of the document, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the year in which New America was organized?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not even know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it not in 1934?

Mr. WARD. Somewhere around in there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Early in 1934?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you draw up this statement entitled, "Its Goal and Program"?

Mr. WARD. It was drawn up in a process of group discussion. I participated in the discussion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall who collaborated with you, or with whom you collaborated?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not. You see, I am not interested in that group any more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recall any of the individuals who were associated with you in this?

Mr. WARD. No; I think, Mr. Matthews, if you want to get that, they have their headquarters in Chicago, and you can get hold of them and bring them in here, if that is what you want to do.

The CHAIRMAN. As national chairman of the organization, you would know something about it.

Mr. WARD. I was national chairman for a brief while.

The CHAIRMAN. How long?

Mr. WARD. I cannot even remember that.

The CHAIRMAN. You were national chairman for more than a year, were you not?

Mr. WARD. Yes; it was more than a year, a little more than a year.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote many letters in connection with the organization?

Mr. WARD. Surely; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were very active?

Mr. WARD. Surely; but you are asking me who sat in that group that drew that thing up, and I cannot tell you accurately.

The CHAIRMAN. "That thing"? What do you mean by "that thing"?

Mr. WARD. This statement that he is asking me about. That is what he is asking me.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know who was there?

Mr. WARD. I cannot remember. I cannot remember who sat in that group. I cannot remember who the personnel was.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember who sat there with you?

Mr. WARD. Some of the people who are now the national officers, or on the national board, my recollection is, were there; I cannot remember just who they were, or how many of them, but I know there are some on the board now that were not present when that was done at all. That information is easy to get.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember the name of a single man that sat with you?

Mr. WARD. Certainly, I can remember one or two of the people; national officers now of the organization, the present national chairman and the present national secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they assist in the preparation of that?

Mr. WARD. Yes; they did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Dr. Thomas Wright?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Mr. Richard S. Childs?

Mr. WARD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does Mr. Childs live, do you know?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. WARD. He lives somewhere in New York. You can find him in the telephone book. There are two Richard S. Childs. Don't get the wrong one.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he finance this organization?

Mr. WARD. He contributed to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he not the main contributor?

Mr. WARD. I could not answer. I have been out of that organization for some little time.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were in it, do you know whether or not he was the principal contributor? He is a very rich man, is he not?

Mr. WARD. That I do not know—how rich he is. I would not call it large sums that he contributed. He gave—well, as far as I know, he would meet, for example, the deficit and the salary of an organizer for a certain time—something like that. I would not call it large sums.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, do you not know, as a matter of fact, that Mr. Childs was the principal contributor of the organization?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not know that as a matter of fact. You can easily find that out. If I knew it I would tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say those contributions were in the magnitude of \$500 a month?

Mr. WARD. I never knew them to be. There is no use asking me about that, because I cannot speak of my accurate knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You severed your connection with New America the first part of this present year, did you not?

Mr. WARD. Either the last of 1938 or the beginning of 1939, one or the other.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were connected with the organization in some capacity for a period of something like 5 years?

Mr. WARD. Not quite that long a time, but part of the year before, I was not active in the organization. I had only a nominal consulting connection with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In order to give some indication as to the nature and purposes of New America, in which I think you have testified you had for a period of some years a vital interest—

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In order to clarify its nature, I would like to read just a few excerpts from this program:

New America will use and develop the two general incentives of self-interest and idealism that are interwoven throughout the whole of life. Against the system that is now destroying humanity and making impossible the unfolding of human capacities, it will direct the force of hate and the destruction that removes obstacles in order to build. In behalf of the new order it will enlist and develop the creative force of sympathy for human need and the love of the ideal.

Do you recall that particular statement?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I recall a long controversy over that particular paragraph.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did that at the time correspond to your own?

Mr. WARD. As stated, no; nor does it now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it did go into the program as representing some collective view?

Mr. WARD. Yes; it went in the same as in any organization you may find things that outweigh points that you disagree with. I never knew anybody to agree with a total program of any organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, would you please state briefly the reasons for your severing your connections with the organization New America?

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman, has that anything to do with the activities of the American League?

The CHAIRMAN. This is another organization of yours, the New America. Was this a revolutionary organization or not? Did they advocate the achievement of a new economy through revolution—this New America?

Mr. WARD. Not so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. You would know, if you were with them for 5 years.

Mr. WARD. Yes. We advocated it while I was with them, by the democratic process.

The CHAIRMAN. But you advocated a revolution in the United States, did you not?

Mr. WARD. I would not call it by that name, because as soon as you call it by that name you are bringing in other factors.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you call it by that name?

Mr. WARD. I did not; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not the organization in its pamphlet refer to the revolutionary program to be accomplished by revolution? Didn't you have something in your program about that?

Mr. WARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know; I am asking you.

Mr. WARD. Well, if they used the term "revolutionary" organization, they did not mean, while I was with them, anything as to method, but only as to the complete nature of the change.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the socialization that they were going to accomplish would be through the ballot box?

Mr. WARD. Through the democratic process of the ballot box; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They were going to abolish private property through the ballot box as distinguished from any revolutionary action?

Mr. WARD. They were never going to abolish private property in that sense; but whatever changes they were going to make, they were going to make through the ballot box.

The CHAIRMAN. What changes? Was it not to abolish private property?

Mr. WARD. No; abolish private property in certain of the fundamental processes of industry, just the same as some people would—

The CHAIRMAN. But it was not to be accomplished—primarily, what I am trying to find out is whether or not this organization of which you were the chairman, when it used the word "revolutionary" or "revolution," meant a physical, violent revolution?

Mr. WARD. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or were you referring to a radical change in the basic social structure?

Mr. WARD. Referring only to a radical change to be accomplished by the American democratic process, if it could be done.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you had no reference whatever to—

Mr. WARD. None whatever. I have always been against that process in all of my speeches and writings.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by "if it could be done by the ballot box"—did you say that awhile ago?

Mr. WARD. If it could be done. If it could not, it would not be done at all, in my judgment, in the United States. We would not do it if it could not be done.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you would not advocate, and you did not understand the organization to advocate, the resort to force in the event the ballot was not successful?

Mr. WARD. I am on record for years in my books as opposing that, and always will be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read some pertinent paragraphs of that publication, the pamphlet which is before us.

New America recognizes that to remove antisocial behavior and antisocial institutions a controlled mixture of education and coercion is always required, and that the use of this is the only possible preventive of destructive violence. The record of American strikes and farm protests shows the habitual willingness of our ruling class to resort to violence to maintain their power and privilege, without any restraints of legality or compunctions of compassion. Recent events in other countries make it certain beyond question that this is the historic role of the ruling class. It will be the endeavor of New America to leave them in the position of bearing this disgrace alone, and it will seek to prevent them in this country from using this evil weapon effectively or destructively, by preparing the masses to use sufficient coercive restraint at the proper time.

New America holds that the concept of legality cannot be invoked to prevent the people from exercising their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In the development of our legal system, that part of it which was designed to uphold the rights of property has been continuously expanded over that part which was framed to protect the rights of the people to alter their political and economic system. Such a system has lost its moral authority, we cannot and will not regard it as sacred. It must be altered to meet present needs. Where it still retains any ethical values these are based upon an economy of scarcity, and are therefore either invalid or inadequate in the presence of an economy of plenty. Therefore, the only part of our legal system which we can accept and on which we can build is that part which is based upon the principle that the right of the people to live and develop is superior to all other rights.

New America offers and strives to maintain an attitude of friendliness to other revolutionary groups that have the same general objectives, recognizing that honest criticism of each other's strategy and tactics is mutually beneficial and serves to clarify the present historic crisis before the people. It will cooperate in genuine united-front movements designed to weaken capitalist society and to awaken the people to its dangers, especially the dangers of war and fascism. Its members are expected to leaven the labor, religious, and other organizations to which they belong.

New America will not expend its energies seeking reforms which prolong the profit system. It will neither demand nor accept halfway measures. It will only engage in activities to meet current needs when those activities are designed to weaken capitalistic society and the power of those who control it.

New America will participate with all its power in the daily struggles of the American people, in both industrial and agricultural communities to free themselves from the misery caused by the disintegration of our economic and social systems and from their increasing bondage to those who profit even by the decay of capitalism. It will enter into the conflicts of workers (industrial and distributive), farmers and professional organizations against the profit system and the powers that control it. It will use its influence to keep these conflicts from being waged solely for immediate gains within the profit system, and will endeavor to relate them always to the larger purpose of overthrowing that system and building the new America.

New America does not follow the traditional political pattern. It subordinates and directs political action to the conquest of economic power by the masses in order that they may build a new society. Therefore it reserves its political drive until it appears probable that a mandate for a new economic order can be secured, or the resort to direct action by the reactionaries makes other tactics necessary. It will not take office to reform the profit system, only to abolish it. Meantime, if and when it participates in the election system, it will do so in order to expose, protest against, and weaken the profit system and the power of those who control it.

That perhaps throws some light on the purposes of the organization?

Mr. WARD. Yes; that throws quite a little light.

The CHAIRMAN. That organization, where did its membership come from largely?

Mr. WARD. It never had any large membership.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point I am making. Was not its appeal to form a leadership to take over things? Was not that the purpose of the organization, to have a select group who were to be the leaders to take over the new America when it was fashioned?

Mr. WARD. In this sense, yes; that the concept of the organization was that you had to change by force of circumstances from an individualistic, competitive economy to a planned, socialized economy, and that people would have to be trained—and this was my main interest in the organization, and when that interest was not developed I left the organization—people would have to be trained technically, functionally, to be able to operate the changes that the people of the United States would some day bring about through the ballot box.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, in another part of this pamphlet on page 8 it is stated:

In a world in which capitalism increasingly finds foreign trade impossible and socialism is being built on a national base in the Soviet Union as the quickest way to world revolution by the force of its example, no other tactic is practicable.

I would like to ask you if you can recognize this as having come from you; it is headed "Message From Our National Chairman, New America News."

Mr. WARD. Let me see that, will you please? [Examining document.] Yes; that seems to be accurate, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward says that this appears to be accurate. This is a typewritten memorandum which begins:

NEW AMERICA NEWS—A MESSAGE FROM OUR NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

The last time I was in the Soviet Union, studying the incentives of a nonprofit society, I went to one of the national secretaries of the Teachers' Union for suggestions.

"You must get acquainted with the younger generation who have grown up since the revolution," he said. "They are different—they know where they are going—they know why and they know how."

I, too, found that these youngsters knew how to tell an inquirer the why, the where, and the how of their lives and activities, sharply and briefly. Every New American should be able to do the same.

The other day I heard of an elderly worker who asked some of our members what the symbol was on our printed matter. "The New America symbol," he was told. "Yes; I know that; but what does it mean?" the man persisted. The members, busy selling literature to others, thought it would take too long to stop and explain just then.

But it shouldn't have taken a minute to say that the bent arrow going down is the profit system, that the straight arrow going up is a planned and planning social economy resting on social ownership of all things necessary to its operation and democratically controlled by all the people.

This would have given the worker at least the beginnings of where we are going, why, and how. It would have opened the way to a fuller explanation later, perhaps to getting him to join one of our discussion groups.

HARRY F. WARD.

In the course of this document, Dr. Ward, you suggested changes in terminology, I take it, for the sake of a better understanding, or translation of some foreign terms into American language.

Mr. WARD. In the course of what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of this memorandum that you have just identified.

Mr. WARD. That memorandum there [indicating memorandum]?

The CHAIRMAN. The one you identified, he is asking you about.

MR. MATTHEWS. I will tell you what I mean. You have a discussion here as to substituting certain words for words which have been formerly or familiarly used in radical organizations.

MR. WARD. What have you got there? You have just read me a memorandum from myself.

MR. MATTHEWS. That is right.

MR. WARD. What else are you reading?

THE CHAIRMAN. It is all the same memorandum, is it not?

MR. WARD (examining papers). No.

MR. MATTHEWS. It is all a part of the same?

MR. WARD. Why, certainly not. Where is this signed by me?

MR. MATTHEWS. This [indicating] was the preface to the document. Do you identify that [indicating]?

MR. WARD. Absolutely not. This is what I said [indicating document], and this is what I stand for. That is the message and has my name underneath it.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you deny having had any connection with this [indicating document]?

MR. WARD (after examining). I have no recollection of having any connection with this. This is my message, and that is the only one I signed.

MR. MATTHEWS. Dr. Ward, will you state you did not have any connections with this?

MR. WARD. My memory does not go that far; but this is my message, and the only one I signed.

THE CHAIRMAN. Now, Doctor, you could remember that, could you not?

MR. WARD. Yes; but I cannot remember, Mr. Chairman, whether any copy of the rest of this material ever came to me. In the ordinary course of affairs, it did not. All this material he is quoting from was prepared and sent out by the secretary of the national office in Chicago, except this message from me. Now, so far as I know, I never saw the other material until it was sent out. That was not my function. This [indicating] is the message from me and the only one from me. The other you have to get from the national office, from the secretary who prepared it.

MR. MATTHEWS. That is correct, but this document does not state who prepared it, and your testimony is that you did not prepare it?

MR. WARD. I did not prepare it; no.

MR. MATTHEWS. And, therefore, it must have been prepared by other persons in the organization?

MR. WARD. Correct.

MR. MATTHEWS. That is all I want to get at; it is the nature of the organization, rather than your own particular views that I am interested in in this particular connection.

MR. WARD. But all this, Mr. Chairman, is somewhat irrelevant, is certainly irrelevant to the purpose I was to come down here for. I had no more connection with this organization at the time—I am out of it now.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, you had the same connection with this that you have with the American league, did you not?

MR. WARD. No; not so much.

THE CHAIRMAN. You were national chairman?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I know; but, as I told you, they did not have a chairman, could not get one at the time, and I agreed to help out for that short time. The only responsibility I will take in that regard is the personal things and the speeches such as that one Mr. Matthews read to you. I am out of the organization now.

The CHAIRMAN. When a man is chairman of an organization, it seems to me he has accepted the whole organization.

Mr. WARD. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no use to let people use your name around over the country, and then say you are not responsible.

Mr. WARD. Correct. But as to my personal views and opinions, what I am being asked for here—

The CHAIRMAN. The thing we are trying to find out from you is something about this organization; whether it is a revolutionary organization.

Mr. WARD. Yes. Why don't you bring the officers down here, then?

The CHAIRMAN. You are an officer of the organization?

Mr. WARD. I beg pardon; I have been out of the organization for some time, because I disagreed—

The CHAIRMAN. We are asking you during the period you were there. You were there for 5 years?

Mr. STARNES. Certainly you ought to learn something in 5 years about the organization.

Mr. WARD. Well, maybe that is the reason I got out.

Mr. STARNES. Maybe that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that the reason you got out?

Mr. WARD. I got out because I disagreed with them.

The CHAIRMAN. On what point?

Mr. WARD. Various tendencies of the organization. My letter of resignation has been published, and I will send it in, if you want it.

The CHAIRMAN. And we will put it in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any discussions of your letter of resignation to New America, in which your son, for example, participated, in an effort to throw further light on some of the language which you used in that letter of resignation?

Mr. WARD. Oh, I have heard something about it, yes; nothing about it except from hearsay.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before I come to that, I should like to read from the minutes of the resident board meeting of the Young Communist League, which have been introduced in evidence in this hearing. These minutes are dated December 24, 1937. On page 10 of the minutes of the national committee of the Young Communist League, we have these words:

Then there is New America which is also being used by the Trotskyites. It's the organization headed by Ward. At Swarthmore certain elements who dropped out of the YCL are members of the New America and certain elements of it developed a Trotskyite quirk not characteristic of Ward's position or the older leaders of the organization.

Do you know, Dr. Ward, that the young Communist League, in its National Board, views you in that light—as not being contaminated with Trotskyite work?

Mr. WARD. No; and I do not take any credit to myself one way or the other in that matter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think the implication in that is plain that when the Young Communist League, through the national committee, absolves you on Trotskyite work, it assumes its view is just the same as and in keeping with yours?

Mr. WARD. I do not know whether the Young Communist League, or any more about whether my views are in accord with theirs, on Trotskyites. I cannot be responsible for what all the people in this country say or believe about my views or beliefs. That is going altogether too far, Mr. Matthews, in insinuations and implications.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you have been before these organizations for a good many years in a very active manner, Dr. Ward, and it would be inevitable that their members with whom you have been in touch and in political groups with which you were acquainted, thought you either had one or another political view; is not that correct?

Mr. WARD. In that case, then, why don't you quote what I say to progressive elements that have worked with me for years in a number of those organizations, as to what my views are? There is no use attempting to predicate any statements here on one group's impressions, which is entirely unjustified.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I am going to take your suggestion right now, and this is a letter furnished by the national office of New America, addressed to Thomas H. Wright, executive secretary, and signed by John T. Bobbitt, who has been identified as regional director of New America in New York City. Under date of February 13, 1939, Mr. Bobbitt wrote to Mr. Wright:

DEAR TOM: Holy hell has broken out here as a result of the Ward resignation and the statement on the league.

At the last meeting of the New York unit, on Thursday last, Lynd Ward sounded off with the following charges:

(1) That the N. P. C. was keeping back the real reasons for his father's resignation as implied in the word "tendencies." He stated that the statement of Dr. Ward published in the newsletter was only an excerpt taken from a much longer letter of resignation in which these "tendencies" and their seriousness was fully set forth.

(2) That reasons of health were not the primary cause for Dr. Ward's resignation, but that actually he resigned because "in this period of world history it was questionable whether it was worth while trying to correct these 'tendencies within new America.'"

(3) That the N. P. C. statement was of such a character that his father was considering the advisability of issuing a further statement to the membership of N. A. making these "tendencies" clear.

(4) When forced by vote of the unit to state what these tendencies were, Lynd listed them as follows: (1) anticommunism, (2) overintellectualism. He then gave a summary of his father's letter (that was the last one read at the N. P. C., wasn't it), mentioning all of the spots in the new America which indicated anticommunism.

(5) Lynd also stated that the statement on the League was motivated by our anticommunist trend.

(6) He remarked that this statement, if nothing else, was grounds for his own resignation.

These statements precipitated a bitter brawl at the unit meeting. Lynd was aided and abetted by Bert Francis, Gertrude Sayer, and Jay Wright. Bert Francis' attitude in particular was responsible for creating a bitter emotional tone to the discussion. Bert got mad, Lynd got mad, Dick Childs got mad, Manny Elston got mad at the innuendo about "red" baiting and made a bitter personal speech that drove Lynd Ward out of the meeting.

The discussion never had a chance to get on a clear basis. Lynd's whole tactic was to go on hinting darkly at conspiracy and misrepresentation by the

N. P. C. without stating clearly what these "tendencies" were. It was only by a unit vote that we were able to get them out of him. Dick Childs pursued his usual tactic of trying to avoid the issue, and this only made matters worse. Dick, Manny, and I denied that the N. P. C. had any information over and beyond that contained in the news letter. Then when Lynd came out with his enumeration of the tendencies and the evidence for them Dick admitted that this was substantially the viewpoint expressed in a letter by Ward. A motion to demand that the N. P. C. release to the members all of the correspondence on the subject was made. This got lost in the shuffle, fortunately, because it would have passed.

Unfortunately, all of Lynd's charges fitted in perfectly with the charges that Bert Francis has been making to various members around the district for a month.

Now what is the attitude of the average member on the subject? The same general views prevail among the members in all of the units, leaving out of account the violent partisans of Ward. These views may be summarized as follows:

(1) Dr. Ward's statement is ambiguous and fails to explain itself. The N. P. C. must certainly have had additional information on which to base its acceptance of his resignation and its own statement. Therefore there must have been some additional "letter" as Lynd Ward suggests. In view of Dr. Ward's prestige and his past relations to N. A. the membership is entitled to all the information that the N. P. C. can furnish on the reasons for Dr. Ward's resignation.

(2) The emphasis in Dr. Ward's statement upon his health as the reason for resigning doesn't hold water. Because he is still chairman of the league and he presided at the last league congress with customary vigor. Therefore the other elements in the picture must be more important than indicated in the statement.

(3) Dr. Ward's decision to reduce his responsibilities toward New America rather than reducing his responsibilities to the league is impossible to understand. Because surely Dr. Ward knows that New America, as a revolutionary organization, is far more important than the league. Therefore if his health made a choice necessary he would certainly have dropped the league and continued as chairman of New America. The fact that he did the contrary indicates a deep-seated, fundamental, and irreconcilable cleavage between Dr. Ward and the rest of the N. P. C.

(4) Evidence that there is such a cleavage is indicated by the discussion known to have been conducted by the N. P. C. in the framing of the fascism thesis (how this is known is beyond me). Proof of a sharp difference of opinion at that time is all that business about the thesis being sent out, called back, and corrections sent out afterward. (Boy, how I regret that slip.)

(5) The adoption of the thesis at the congress and Dr. Ward's retirement from the chairmanship indicates the victory of one N. P. C. faction over the other. A fundamental change of position resulted from the congress. This change, expressing itself on successive issues, has led to Ward's resignation.

(6) This fundamental change of position is reflected most clearly in the change of our outlook on the league.

(7) However, there is nothing to indicate that we are anti-Communist.

(8) As for being overintellectual, we are supposed to be an analytical organization aren't we?

(9) However, the leadership is at fault in being unable to present clearly and understandably to the membership the fundamental theories, the analysis, and especially a full program for action which would enable the membership to function as an intelligent revolutionary body.

These points I think summarize accurately the views of the average member on the question. As for the partisans of Ward, they are contending that we are secretly opposed to the O. P. and all its works, and that we are dead wrong in our statement on the league.

These facts, I think, indicate that a franker and less elliptical presentation of Ward's resignation would have been better for the members here. They quite definitely think that the statement as it is is just a whitewash from both Ward and the N. P. C. They feel that whatever the points of difference between Ward and the rest of the N. P. C. may be, these should have been fully indicated and discussed in the statements from both quarters.

Mr. CASEY. What is "N. P. C."?

Mr. MATTHEWS. National Policy Committee, I presume, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. Yes; National Policy Committee.

Mr. CASEY. Of what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of New America. [Reading:]

All of this puts us in a very difficult position here. Frankly, I am not sure exactly how to proceed. The New York unit is having a special meeting this coming Thursday to complete the discussion of the newsletter. The district policy council is meeting this Wednesday and I know that the question will come in for thorough discussion there.

Then another letter is quoted which does not bear directly on the subject of the severance of Dr. Ward with New America.

The CHAIRMAN. What comment do you have to offer on that; is that true, or not?

Mr. WARD. I have to comment on that, Mr. Chairman, that it is a statement from one person in a typical political row and has just about that much worth. It interests Mr. Matthews. The appointment of that man to his office was one of the beginnings of my fundamental disagreement with that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The appointment of whom?

Mr. WARD. The man who wrote that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Bobbitt?

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir. That was one of the points of difference between myself and the secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you state that in your letter of resignation?

Mr. WARD. No; but I did state it in the letter which accompanied it to the executive officer, who was responsible for his appointment. And in my letter of resignation, which I will give to you, the whole row arose, that that refers to, because they did not publish my full letter of resignation. They tried to issue a statement which would lay the thing on grounds of my health; that I had come back and insisted—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say your health was one reason?

Mr. WARD. That is misquoting there. My health was a reason; I was under doctor's orders at that time, but I made it clear that was not the reason I was resigning; that I was resigning because I was in fundamental disagreement with the tendencies of the organization. As I stated, they did not publish that full letter, and that is where the row came in. I had kept pounding to get the full letter published.

Mr. VOORHIS. You testified to that effect, I believe, a while ago, did you not?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. That there had been a certain disagreement or differences with these people?

Mr. WARD. Yes. I want to add one thing more: The way that veers into communism there gives the committee a very misleading impression. My row with the organization at that point was not that it should not be against Communists, but that they were wasting their time quarreling in discussions with Communists, instead of attending to their own business—which is a familiar fault with a radical movement.

The CHAIRMAN. What they really wanted to do was to break away entirely from Moscow and establish a Communist Party in the United States, was it not?

Mr. WARD. No; they did not have any intention of establishing a Communist Party in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not that the cause of their row with the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. WARD. No; because their row was natural. When they began doing educational work in certain unions in Chicago, they ran into a competitive conflict with the Communist Party, which was doing similar work. Then they made the old, old mistake of movements of this sort, that you find in history over and over again, that, instead of attending to their own job, they started fighting the other group. There is where I began objecting and criticizing, and it finally got to where I could not stay with them any longer.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But the organization did, in its own language, consider itself a revolutionary organization?

Mr. WARD. That has been explained, in answer to the chairman's question, thoroughly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whether you were a Communist, or not, is another matter.

Mr. WARD. That has been explained in answer to the chairman's question. It is in the record and does not have to be repeated.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your statement is, then, Dr. Ward, that your son is either incorrectly quoted here or is in error?

Mr. WARD. My son will have to speak for himself; I cannot answer as to that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is either incorrectly quoted or is in error if he said that one of the main reasons for your severing your connection was that the organization had taken an anti-Communist Party standpoint?

Mr. WARD. In the sense in which I have explained to the chairman; in the sense that they were spending their time rowing with the Communists, instead of attending to their own business.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you testified to the controversy between the Communists and New America in their competitive work?

Mr. WARD. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Dr. Ward, still another organization with which you have some connection, I believe, that we would like to have you speak about, if you do not object stepping from one role to the other successively, and that is the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman, at that point, I wish to put the situation before the committee that the American Civil Liberties Union is an entirely distinct organization, with which I have an entirely—

The CHAIRMAN. I think that point is well taken.

Mr. WARD (continuing). An entirely different connection, and the American Civil Liberties Union has requested, as the chairman well knows, to be represented here by its counsel who knows all about its affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. What are you—national chairman?

Mr. WARD. I am national chairman of it.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are not very familiar with it?

Mr. WARD. No, sir; I am not qualified to speak about the details of the organization. The executive council, or the counsel has asked to come here and give you all the information.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee found last year, in its reports, there was not any evidence that the American Civil Liberties Union was a Communist organization. That being true, I do not see why we would be justified in going into it. I mean, after all, they have been dismissed by unanimous report of the committee as not a Communist organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. But they have requested that they be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; they have requested to be heard.

Mr. STARNES. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that some of these gentlemen were so vociferous last year in statements in the press, on the outside, about being denied an opportunity to be heard, I want to insist that they be given the privilege of being heard. But I would also like for them to make statements here that are responsive and are not so evasive, and I wish they would be more frank with this committee than what they are being. I do not like these apparently bad memories, or convenient memories.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, Doctor—let us see if we can get the thing correct.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You, as national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, do not request or desire the opportunity to testify with regard to the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. WARD. The point is I do not; I do not know about the rest.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as the Chair is concerned—I do not know what the other gentlemen think about it—here is an organization that the committee has already said is not a Communist organization. Now, there is no necessity, as I see, to go into it at all.

Mr. WARD. And my personal reason—

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, if you are going to take the position there is some evidence it is a Communist organization, that is different; but the committee has found it is not a Communist organization.

Mr. CASEY. Personally, I do not know what to say; I do not know what the counsel has in his mind.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not, either.

Mr. WARD. This is the point—that the organization has requested, several times, that if the committee wants to hear it, it be permitted to send here its chief legal counsel, who handles all of its important cases directly and, naturally, if you want to hear him, its executive secretary, he is more competent to talk on the matter than I am, and it would create a wrong impression in the public mind if we were to combine the two organizations now, when we want to send people down here who know their business.

Mr. STARNES. I think that is all right, but the committee knows what it wants to do. But I think it is a strange and anomalous situation when you ask the head of an organization about something that he does not know anything about it. You are the head of it, and your name has been blazed all over America as the head of it, and he does not know anything about it, and then he refers you to some specific person, and then when he gets in here he does not know

anything about it. That is—I want to make myself plain, as a member of this committee——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I know nothing we can do.

Mr. STARNES. I do not, either; but you get some man down here as the head of an organization, and he does not know anything, and you get some underling or subordinate and he comes in and says he does not know anything, and then they go out and say they have not had an opportunity to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to the American League submitting a statement, this committee has denied everyone an opportunity to submit a statement.

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Every witness who has appeared, almost, has requested to submit one, from General Moseley on down to this week's hearing—I mean since we began and resumed in February. Do you feel the field has been covered by questions sufficiently to have given you an opportunity to have answered?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. What phases? We cannot permit you to make a general statement.

Mr. WARD. Not at all, Mr. Chairman; but if you will be good enough——

The CHAIRMAN. If you will, please, indicate what phases of it?

Mr. WARD. Yes. The point is this, Mr. Chairman: I have been asked a lot about my opinions and views, and I have been glad to answer the bulk of the questions on the activities of the American League that concern the committee, from its program and propaganda activities. Now, I think that is the point the committee wants to know—what has this organization done; what is it doing. In order to provide that information, we supplied Mr. Whitley, when he was in New York, with everything that he wanted and that we had in our printed matter, that would show what we were doing. Now, since that time, we have conducted some other activities. The list of them that I have had made up by the office is as brief as can be, and here it is [indicating], and I would like the privilege of reading that one page of the activities of the organization into the record, and you can judge us on that. We will stand or fall by the record of our activities—whether they are un-American, or not.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I think the committee is fully competent to pass upon what its policies are and I think this committee knows what it wants to know about these organizations and can frame the questions and ask for the information. And for the information of this witness, the only thing said about his organization last year was the fact it was originally organized by the Communist Party, and that the Communist Party had had a great deal to do with the formation of its policies and the direction of its activities. He has made no denial of that, and could not make any denial of it, because he says he knows nothing about it. And that was all that was said about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we are in this position, Doctor, that having denied the right to Mr. Kuhn, to General Moseley and many others, to read similar statements——

Mr. WARD. Then I will ask some member of the committee if they won't ask me what are the activities of this organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask that.

Mr. STARNES. Several of us want to know what the activities are.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not talking about questions of committee members now; we have not gotten to questions by committee members yet.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask a few.

The CHAIRMAN. You can ask all the questions you want. The point I am making is that general statements have been ruled out.

Mr. VOORHIS. You are right about that.

Mr. WARD. That is, where they are long, general statements?

The CHAIRMAN. I would not want to change that. It is perfectly agreeable to have members of the committee ask as many questions as they want, and that is up to the individual member.

Mr. VOORHIS. I agree with you about that myself, as a matter of policy for the committee, that we just cannot do that, because you have to define how long a statement is, how long it is not, and everything else. But I would like to know what some of those activities are, if you can give them to us briefly.

Mr. WARD. It won't take take a minute and a half—

Mr. VOORHIS. Cannot you summarize them briefly?

Mr. WARD. I will. This is what we have done—

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Chairman, I object to his reading.

Mr. WARD. This is what we have done.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute. Now, no demonstration. I have here the order that went out for the league members to be present at the committee hearing, and you are welcome, but let us have no demonstration.

Mr. WARD. This is since January 1939.

Mr. STARNES. I want to make a statement as a member of this committee. I object to this witness reading from that statement, and doing, by indirection, what this committee has already ruled he cannot do by direction. Now, if you are going to break the rule of this committee and permit the reading of that thing, let us not equivocate and let us not use the tactics that are used by some of these witnesses for these organizations, and let us say we revoke the rule. If we do not, I object to his reading from this statement, and then I want to say, as a member of this committee, I would like to ask some questions of this witness and give him an opportunity to tell everything this league has done.

Mr. WARD. Then I will have to refer to my notes; but you did have written answers from General Krivitsky, didn't you?

The CHAIRMAN. Written answers?

Mr. WARD. Yes. The press so reported—that you had written answers to questions which were read. Is the press wrong?

The CHAIRMAN. No; that is incorrect information, the same way as about the raiding of your headquarters.

And, by the way, I have some questions here that I want to confront you with, and I see you have Mr. Lamberton and others here, and we can settle that this evening.

Mr. WARD. Right now?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Do you want to step aside and let me get the chance to put a witness on?

Mr. WARD. I want to answer this question and, if I do that, you will let me come back, will you?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CASEY. I think, instead of reading the statement verbatim, you ought to follow the procedure under the rules of court and use it to refresh your memory, and not to read it in toto.

Mr. WARD. Yes; I will do just that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Please do that.

Mr. WARD. Yes; I will do that, and turn this in.

The CHAIRMAN. May I suggest this, that the committee members ask specific questions and you answer them?

Mr. WARD. Mr. Voorhis asks me what has been our recent main activities. The answer is that since the completion of the fifth congress, held January 7, first, we got up a mass telegram in support of "No Amendments to the Wagner Act," which we presented to the White House with 13,000 signatures.

That we also organized and brought before Congress—

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Chairman, I object to the reading of that statement.

Mr. WARD. I am not reading it; I am just refreshing my memory from my notes. I am not reading the statement at all.

Also, we organized a number of committees in various parts of the country to protest to Congress against certain antialien laws that were then before Congress.

We also urged support of an increased appropriation for the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, and then we organized a series of radio programs throughout the country in relation to neutrality legislation that was then before Congress.

Mr. VOORHIS. What position did you take on that, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. We took the position there of supporting the revision of the Neutrality Act.

Mr. VOORHIS. In line with the bill that is up now?

Mr. WARD. In general line with the bill that is up now.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you still hold that position?

Mr. WARD. We have held the same position all along.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you still do?

Mr. WARD. We still do.

Mr. VOORHIS. You still take the same position with respect to the repeal of the Embargo Act?

Mr. WARD. We still hold the same position; that is where they broke with us.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is your position with respect to the appeal of the Embargo Act the same today as it was, say, 6 months ago?

Mr. WARD. It is the same.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is?

Mr. WARD. Yes. And we conducted programs, both in New York and other parts of the country to answer the propaganda and expose the acts of the so-called fronts and I conducted a series of talks with that in mind.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask you this question: Dr. Ward, in recent years the position of the American-foreign policy of the Communist

Party has undergone at least two rather decided changes. In the first place, up until the call of the Seventh World Congress it was substantially a policy of opposition to imperialist war and of attempts to prevent anyone from being successful which carried out that idea.

Subsequent to that, however, it was a policy of collective security and so forth and the American-foreign policy, so far as the American-foreign policy went along that line and more recently there is an unquestioned indication of a return on the part of the Communist Party to its former position with respect to the foreign policy, and that is, its support of the position to oppose all so-called imperialist war and of attempts to frustrate any moves in that direction.

Now, I would like to know whether the position of the American League, during that period, has been the same, all the way through, or whether the American League, having found that the pressure of the Communist group having been defective will attempt to bring about a change in the attitude of the league with regard to this question.

Mr. WARD. The league's policy at the beginning of the period that you spoke of was different from the Communist Party in that we never stood for collective security as a broad policy. We stood only for concerted action to prevent aggression, that is, aggression of the Fascist powers by withholding economic aid to them from the democracies.

When the neutrality legislation came up our position again differed from that of the Communist and the Communist members naturally wanted to get us to adopt a policy which they had adopted, but it was not adopted.

We have continued a policy definitely along that line in the statements that we have given out on the Neutrality Act, in that as before we stand for the repeal of the Neutrality Act and for the same reason that we also stand for the cash-and-carry policy, and as to that we differ from the Communist members.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the Communist Party today is taking a different position from that with reference to the revision of the Neutrality Act?

Mr. WARD. Yes; the Communist Party, as far as I read anything of it in the paper, is not supporting the repeal of the Embargo Act.

The CHAIRMAN. You are quite certain of that?

Mr. WARD. I have never seen any evidence of it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. The Communist Party today is in favor of the retention of the Embargo Act and has changed its position which it took a few months ago completely?

Mr. WARD. So far as I can understand the printed material; yes.

We were for, in the last statement—of course, this was an executive board statement and now the matter has gone before the membership and will be the statement when the membership makes it bona fide, but we have always had this difference with the Communist members on the neutrality policy.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now then, Doctor, in one of the quotations from the Daily Worker that Mr. Matthews read this morning was one statement that struck me particularly. It was an editorial written by Mr. Hathaway and it spoke of the American Communist Party as the

American section of the Communist International and led by Stalin. I believe I quoted it correctly, did I not?

Under those circumstances, Dr. Ward, do you honestly believe that it is possible for organizations which are substantially committed to American constitutional democracy, aside from the economic viewpoint, to work in close cooperation with the Communist Party for the purpose of bettering conditions in the United States in the progressive section?

Mr. WARD. Yes; as long as, Mr. Voorhis, the Communist Party does not attempt to make its policy the policy of the cooperative organizations; if they tried to do it it would be impossible today.

But they say, in my observation and experience, the leaders of that party, so far as I have observed and have had any dealings with them, have also made a definite distinction between what was the policy of the party and what was the policy that they thought should be adopted by the American League and that has been the difference.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dr. Ward, as a routine matter of fact, do you not know that it is impossible, practically, for a member of the Communist Party to work within another organization without doing everything possible to influence that organization to the greatest possible extent?

Mr. WARD. That would be true, naturally, of any political organization, of course.

Mr. VOORHIS. But is not there a difference between a political organization, whose members are substantially free and whose rights are determined on the basis of the American Constitution, and an organization whose policy is determined on the basis of the policy of another government? Is not that the distinction that should be made in that respect?

Mr. WARD. Theoretically it is, Mr. Voorhis, but the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and I have, in my 5 years of experience, never found any attempt to influence the American League. That does not mean, of course, that there would not be disagreement. Now, naturally there are differences of opinion in the whole organization about what the policy of the organization should be and we, of course, as directors, do not agree with the Communists on the question of neutrality legislation.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course, as a matter of fact, is it not true that, generally speaking, there has been no fundamental disagreements between the American league and the line of the Communist Party?

Mr. WARD. That depends upon what you mean by fundamental. There has been very diverse differences on a number of issues.

The CHAIRMAN. Name some of them.

Mr. WARD. I have named one of the differences of opinion, that of collective security and concerted action.

The CHAIRMAN. What distinction do you make between concerted action and collective security?

Mr. WARD. Collective security is the general policy of endorsing the Government's foreign policy, endeavoring to work out collective security of the nations concerned by a minimum of effort, under a long-time policy, through such organizations as the League of Nations. We have never stood for that; the American league has stood for concerted action by the democracies in different countries,

specifically such as stopping supplies, for instance, from going to Japan, by an embargo.

That is the way it differs from a general collective security policy as a general policy. We had this difference with the Ethiopian situation.

The CHAIRMAN. What other issues have you differed on?

Mr. WARD. I do not have them all before me.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you said there were a number.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have given us collective security as one.

Mr. WARD. And later one of the more recent is the difference on neutrality legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not taken a position on that as yet; the board has taken a position.

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes; we have. We have right along differed from the beginning with the views of the Communists and we stated that before.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dr. Ward, if the American League for Peace and Democracy which, as I understand, is the successor of the American League Against War—

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. The purpose of which was to oppose fascism. Now, it seems to me that it is most difficult to understand and it is most difficult for me to understand—

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. How you could fail to take some definite action with regard to the pact between Germany and Russia which undoubtedly did strengthen the position of the Fascist, and it seems to me considerable enlarged rather than hindered its activities.

Mr. WARD. We have had different positions in the organization on that, in different groups, and still there is among the membership. But in the meantime, Mr. Voorhis, there is, so far as I can sense the situation in the membership, there is an increasing recognition of what is being recognized in the press over the world, and that instead the action of the Soviet Union in regard to Hitler has given him more of check than it has helped him.

That seems to be the judgment that is forming, not simply among the members of the organization but of the people at large. Whether it is so or not, there is a diversity of opinion among the membership which is heard at this conference.

The CHAIRMAN. But the point remains, Dr. Ward, that throughout the whole history of your organization, while you have condemned fascism many times, you have scrupulously refrained from condemning Communists and Communist tactics.

You say that Communists do not influence the organization, and yet Earl Browder, at one time the vice president of that party, said they contributed funds to your organization, practically the only organization to testify that it is contributing funds to an affiliate organization.

Now in view of that fact, whether you are condemning Fascist dictatorship or another form of dictatorship, so far as I have been able to learn there is nothing in the record to show that you have

condemned Stalin as a dictator, but the record shows that the organization has favored the Soviet Union.

How do you explain that attitude?

Mr. WARD. In regard to the last point, Mr. Chairman, you remember that any favorable approvals of the Soviet Union since I have been chairman have been confined to the proposals of the Soviet Union made at Geneva.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not agree——

Mr. WARD (continuing). That one is the only time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only time?

Mr. WARD. Since I have been the chairman of the organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you have, have you not, Dr. Ward, as the chairman has pointed out, condemned Fascist dictators but have never condemned Communist dictators?

Mr. WARD. I am coming to that. That is because obviously the non-Communist element in the membership and on the board, the overwhelming majority on the national committee and in the membership of the organization, regard the matters that we are interested in are not involved.

The CHAIRMAN. You said since you have been chairman you have been active in defense of the Wagner bill.

Mr. WARD. Against war and for peace and democracy. We consider the things that we have done were in defense of democracy.

Now, if I may, I would like to cover one other point.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WARD. Another reason, in answer to Mr. Voorhis' question, is because, in my judgment, and I think it would be the judgment of the non-Communist element that holds the majority of power in the league, that there is a vital difference between communism and fascism so far as war and dictators are concerned and that they are not the same kind of dictators. That is, the judgment that there would not be the same thing in the matter of trying to defend war.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you think there is any essential difference between the degree of liberty enjoyed by industrial workers in Germany and in Russia?

Mr. WARD. In my own observation, and I can only speak of the one, of my observation of workers in Russia. I have not observed the workers under the Fascist regime in Germany. I have observed the workers in the Soviet Union in the course of the studies there for certain purposes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you think conditions are better for them?

Mr. WARD. Yes; I do.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I am going to put the question in a little different way.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you believe that if the conditions which the workers find themselves now working in the Soviet Union are bad that they have as good a chance to correct them as they do in the United States?

Mr. WARD. My observation, and I have discussed the basis of my statement with persons recently returned from the Soviet Union, and as a result of my studies of the Soviet Union, as a basis for the statement, and I have seen the workers in meetings and have

seen them meet the conditions and I do believe that in certain things, Mr. Voorhis, in certain matters, they have a better opportunity than the unorganized workers in this country and just about the same as the effectively organized workers.

Mr. VOORHIS. I have never had anybody to attempt to tell me that any worker was free to criticize the higher officials of the Soviet Union. They say they cannot criticize them, that they can criticize their immediate superiors but they would not dare criticize the higher officials. In other words, in line with that policy, they might be working in a group and criticize their immediate superior; but, so far as criticizing the officers of the Government, it would not be tolerated.

Mr. WARD. I have not so found it. There was an organization established for the express purpose of permitting criticism to be made.

Now, let me see if I understand what you mean. If you mean the higher officers that have to do with the administration of the economic life of the country, I answer they have every opportunity.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do they have anything to say about the size of the contributions or the dues?

Mr. WARD. Yes, Mr. Voorhis, they certainly do. There was discussion, and I heard discussion in the unions of that matter.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, you got a very favorable opinion of the Soviet Union, did you not?

Mr. WARD. Well, I went there simply to do a certain piece of work.

The CHAIRMAN. And you came back rather well convinced that it was a successful experiment?

Mr. WARD. On the point that I covered.

The CHAIRMAN. You did?

Mr. WARD. I came to the conclusion that it was on the road to success in the realm of my particular study.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the great majority of the members of the league who are Communists feel very much the same as you, do they not?

Mr. WARD. They feel that insofar as their economic and social life is concerned, it is a hopeful experiment; that is about their attitude.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you explain the fact you have condemned fascism but have not condemned communism?

Mr. WARD. That is not what happened. The explanation is that the two hold opposite positions.

Mr. VOORHIS. I have about three more questions.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dr. Ward, anything in the United States which attempts to work out the economic problem, which to my mind would be the most important thing we could do concerning un-American activities, and to that end do you not think and does it not seem to you that it is necessary to take an unmistakable position in favor of democracy and opposed to all the forms of dictatorship? Do you not believe that?

Mr. WARD. I believe that; yes. But the point is that when that is usually being looked at in that way they lump in the same category the collective dictatorship of the Soviet Union or the personal dictatorship of Hitler and in my studies I know they differ.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you think there is a personal dictatorship in the Soviet Union?

Mr. WARD. I know there is not. I can give you an example of that if you want to.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has it been since you were there?

Mr. WARD. I think that I was there in 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have not been back since?

Mr. WARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not know what has happened, do you?

Mr. WARD. I know it as a part of my studies.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know what has happened since 1933?

Mr. WARD. I have studied conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. But how do you know since 1933?

Mr. WARD. Through publications.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, through papers; that is based on newspaper reports?

Mr. WARD. Yes; and by keeping in touch with documents sent over to this country.

The CHAIRMAN. What documents do you keep in touch with?

Mr. WARD. I keep the English version of the Moscow report; they come to me in my profession, and I have to be acquainted with those things to be able to teach them.

The CHAIRMAN. What other documentary evidence from Soviet Russia do you keep in touch with?

Mr. WARD. Anything which I read from the various magazines and newspapers, reading from the English.

The CHAIRMAN. What magazines; Communist newspapers?

Mr. WARD. No, no; not altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just trying to get the source of your information.

Mr. WARD. I read every shade of paper, English paper, from the Times, the complete Tory, clear through to the Communist and every shade in between.

The CHAIRMAN. From what are these sources; that is what I am getting at.

Mr. WARD. From all other sources.

The CHAIRMAN. What other sources than English newspapers; Soviet issues of newspapers?

Mr. WARD. The Soviet newspapers, plus the press reports that come from them, come from the Soviet Union clear on through the final reports.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the basis of your opinion?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dr. Ward, what really is your opinion of—

Mr. WARD (interposing). And then, Mr. Chairman, plus the conversations with acquaintances of mine who have come back from Russia, who have, from year to year, made their studies and come back with reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Quite a good many of them?

Mr. WARD. No; two, perhaps, travelers.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Regardless of your opinion about the Soviet Union, what objection could there be to the American League for Peace and Democracy taking a foursquare stand about dictatorship in the United States?

Mr. WARD. There would be no objection; there is no objection if you think it should be done.

Mr. VOORHIS. It would probably be a good idea.

Mr. WARD. You would like to see it done?

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it would be a good idea.

Mr. WARD. I can submit it to the membership if you feel it is necessary; I would be glad to do it.

Mr. VOORHIS. One more question: Why was it that certain organizations, including the Communist Party, were dropped as affiliates of the American League for Peace and Democracy; what was the reason for that?

Mr. WARD. The reason that we changed our policy was because it was deemed that no sufficient political group would remain in affiliation with the American League to make a political united front, and therefore, since we did not have enough in any one group to make a political group we would not have any.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean you only had sufficient Communists but not enough for a party—

Mr. WARD. Certainly no. There were only a few Communists, and we could not have a political group with only the one party in the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you did not have any discussions with the Communist?

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes; from time to time; it was usually myself in discussing the questions of the program.

Would you permit me, Mr. Chairman, in further answer to Mr. Voorhis' question to present some exhibits dealing with the question of what the activities are?

First a copy of the minutes of the national executive board of every meeting since you had the previous records.

Also all instructions issued by the national officers to all branches included a copy of all printed material issued in the English language.

That is a record of the activities covering the time since you have been furnished the information.

(The documents referred to were filed with the committee.)

Mr. CASE. What is the essential difference in viewpoint between the non-Communist members of the American League and the Communist members of the American League?

Mr. WARD. What is the essential difference between the viewpoint concerning what? There are probably a lot of essential differences that could not go into the question of whether a member was a Communist or not. But you mean in matters concerning the American League?

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

Mr. WARD. There has been, so far as I know, no difference between us in the progressive legislation that we support, according to the statement that I made in answer to Mr. Voorhis' question. The only differences have been on the points of policy that I have already mentioned.

Mr. CASEY. What are they?

Mr. WARD. Neutrality legislation, from the beginning.

Mr. CASEY. How about the non-Communist members of the American League for Peace and Democracy with reference to allegiance? Do they owe allegiance to any other government?

Mr. WARD. Oh, absolutely none. Only the American Government.

Mr. CASEY. The Communists are pretty swell fellows insofar as you have experience with them?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Insofar as your primary interests are the same?

Mr. WARD. Where we are primarily interested, in the same thing.

Mr. CASEY. Where you allow Communists to come in and constitute a strong minority and they have a primary interest in Communism, and fundamentally do you not think it is their purpose in coming into the American League for Peace and Democracy simply to bolster their own position, through the American League, with the Communist program?

Mr. WARD. On the contrary, in all our discussions about policy the leadership has made it perfectly clear that they make a complete distinction between the policy that the Communist Party wants us to adopt and stand for in this country and the policies that the American League for Peace and Democracy should adopt and stand for.

Mr. CASEY. Well, if the Communists within the American League have their position accepted they will make the league communistic in its efforts, will they not?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not think so. In the first place I do not see how they are going to meet with success when they only have a minority.

Mr. VOORHIS. A very active minority.

Mr. WARD. Getting back to the question of policy: The policies that are set out in this program were made at the congress that was held here in Washington last January, at which time there were delegates representing some seven and one-half million persons and the strongest group and the overwhelming group, and the people who in the last analysis make the policy for this organization were the so-called prominent men in this country, progressive Democrats, for instance, and nobody could control the congress. That is the body that passes on the program.

Now when it comes to the board that exercised the control over the administrative policy, and the national committee in the board, on the committee the Communists have two members, which we think is a fair committee in regard to the organization itself; they have two members and when it comes to a vote they could not possibly control the situation.

And then on the national committee they have—I do not know—somewhere between 10 and 12 percent of the national committee of around 100. They could not possibly control there.

Now the policy cannot be changed; the executive board cannot change the policy without referring it to the national committee and the national committee has to decide whether it involves a fundamental departure from the policy adopted and if it so concludes it goes back to the congress.

Mr. STARNES. You told us a moment ago that you went to Russia on a special mission. When did you first go to Russia?

Mr. WARD. I went to Russia on a special mission in 1924, a professional mission, to do a specific piece of professional work.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you remain there?

Mr. WARD. I remained there 1 month to study one specific question and prepare some lectures that I had to give and some questions which I wanted to answer.

Mr. STARNES. When did you next go to Russia?

Mr. WARD. I went next around the year 1931 and 1932, again, to do a specific piece of research work and at that time I spent about 7½ months.

Mr. STARNES. And when did you next go?

Mr. WARD. I have not been back.

Mr. STARNES. You have not?

Mr. WARD. I have not.

Mr. STARNES. You only made two trips to Russia?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What portion of Russia did you visit on those trips, Doctor?

Mr. WARD. On the first trip, when I was there a month, I was, most of the time, in Moscow, where the information was, with one short trip out into the central part of the country, in the town where Tolstoy lived and in the section just where I was, and I studied the situation that I was after in Moscow and Leningrad and then out into the agricultural black-soil section and on the collective farms and a little bit of time down into the region of section of the country where I made a study of one factory and then I went down from there to some of the subordinate republics of the Soviet Union where these people are working with minority groups; and then back in the Baku oil section of the Caspian Sea and over to the Black Sea up as far as the Odessa.

Mr. STARNES. You did not go into Siberia?

Mr. WARD. No.

Mr. STARNES. You say you did not go into Siberia?

Mr. WARD. No; I did not.

Mr. STARNES. You did not work among the northern people; in other words, did not work any farther north than Moscow?

Mr. WARD. Moscow was the farthest northly point.

Mr. STARNES. You saw only what they permitted you to see?

Mr. WARD. Oh, no.

Mr. STARNES. You mean you were absolutely free and they did not stop you from seeing any sections; you had no guide and no limitation placed upon your movements?

Mr. WARD. Not at all.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, they permitted you to wander about freely just like they do when they come to the United States of America?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. What is the answer?

Mr. WARD. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. What about the condition of the churches in that country?

Mr. WARD. Well, when I was there the number of attendance on the churches was increasing.

Mr. STARNES. What was the condition of the Methodist Church there at that time?

Mr. WARD. The condition of the Methodist Church was—we abandoned the Methodist Church as of 1923-24 and we had a man there who went over there on his own to organize a reform movement in the Greek Orthodox Church; he was supported by private subscription.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know a little more about the rather extensive memorandum which you said was prepared by some of your subordinates in the office.

Now, let me see what you can tell us without referring to that paper which was prepared by your subordinates. What do you know about the activities of the league without referring to this paper?

Mr. WARD. Very well—

Mr. STARNES. Yes. What have you done on this particular objective of yours, to recognize the efforts made for increasing the democratic control of the armed forces?

That is from one of the pamphlets. Now would you mind telling the committee how are you going to bring about more democratic control in the armed forces?

Mr. WARD. We have not done anything so far.

Mr. STARNES. That is something you believe should be done. But I want to know how the program is going to operate, how you are going to carry out the purposes of that part of the program.

Mr. WARD. Well, I proposed that there be more civilian control in the War Department, to start with.

Mr. STARNES. Just what do you mean by that?

Mr. WARD. I mean that especially in those sections of the War Department that have to do with the economic affairs of the Army and the technical affairs, that there should be more civilians there, and that as a policy there should be more civilians there.

Mr. STARNES. All right; that is one thing you would do to democratize the American Army. What else would you do to put a little democracy in these forces? That applies to the Navy, too, of course?

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir. Of course, I think the Navy is more democratic than the Army. Of course you are asking my personal opinion.

Mr. STARNES. No; I am not asking your personal opinion. I am asking you how the league would proceed with this program that it proposes.

Mr. WARD. I would put before the league what was proposed. What they would do about it is up to them. But what I am telling you now is what I would tell them if they asked me for my opinion.

Mr. STARNES. All right; tell us.

Mr. WARD. All right. I have told you the first thing. The next thing is that I would endeavor to secure more close relations between the officers and the rank and file.

Mr. STARNES. All right; proceed.

Mr. WARD. And, as in the case of the organization of control in the factory, I would propose bringing the rank and file into contact with the officers in discussion of the administration of that part of the forces that they were operating, and I would en-

courage the widest possible knowledge on the part of the rank and file of the plans of the Army, so that they could cooperate more intelligently in them.

Mr. STARNES. Now, have you finished?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is a full and complete exposition, then, of your proposals to make the Army and Navy a democratic institution?

Mr. WARD. At present.

Mr. STARNES. You did not propose the election of officers and non-commissioned officers?

Mr. WARD. No, no.

Mr. STARNES. But you would let them in on questions of strategy; you would let them discuss and vote on questions of strategy?

Mr. WARD. I did not say vote; I said discuss.

Mr. STARNES. Now, you have some other things here on your program. What have you done to support all moves to aid the suffering war-torn peoples of Spain, China, and any other nations invaded by Fascists? That is part of your program?

Mr. WARD. Yes; that is a part of our program.

Mr. STARNES. Suppose you give us an elucidation of your program along those lines.

Mr. WARD. Well, we organized and started a committee called the China Aid Relief, to send relief to the suffering people of war-torn China, and as soon as that committee was able to walk on its own feet it became autonomous; but we helped to start it.

Mr. STARNES. What is the name of that Chinese committee?

Mr. WARD. It is the China Aid Relief.

Mr. STARNES. And it has collected funds and sent supplies to China?

Mr. WARD. Surely.

Mr. STARNES. All right. In Spain you have done the same thing?

Mr. WARD. In Spain we have done the same thing; and also we did become responsible for one or two orphan homes—I think one, possibly two.

Mr. STARNES. What have you done with Czechoslovakia?

Mr. WARD. We have cooperated with the Czechoslovakians in this country in raising funds for relief of their refugees.

Mr. STARNES. What about Poland?

Mr. WARD. We have not come to Poland yet. The membership meeting has that matter before it.

Mr. STARNES. What have you done to "promote the people's boycott of Japanese, Nazi, and Italian goods"? I am reading now entirely from your program.

Mr. WARD. Correct. We have had meetings in which we have urged it, and we have put out leaflets urging people not to buy Japanese goods and Nazi goods.

Mr. STARNES. All right; let us take No. 4:

Replace the unneutral Neutrality Act with legislation which will immediately end all trade and financial transactions with a nation which invades another or otherwise attacks it with military force.

What have you done about that?

Mr. WARD. Well, I appeared before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and requested such legislation. We sent communications to Congressmen and Senators.

Mr. STARNES. You said a moment ago that you no longer agree with the Communist Party with reference to their position on the present proposed neutrality bill in the Senate.

Mr. WARD. I said they never had agreed with us on that.

Mr. STARNES. Oh, they never had agreed with you?

Mr. WARD. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Now, your positions were not in opposition until after the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. WARD. Oh, certainly they were.

Mr. STARNES. They were, all along, from the beginning?

Mr. WARD. All along.

Mr. STARNES. What have you done toward the fifth proposition, of supporting

a good-neighbor policy for this hemisphere which provides for cooperation between the democratic forces of all its nations and which excludes all interference with the rights of these nations to govern themselves?

Mr. WARD. We have issued certain statements in support of the administration's measures to that end, and we have endeavored to organize a Pan-American conference which was to be held, and the date set.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know any country in the whole of the Americas which has attempted, within the life of your league, to interfere in the rights of other nations within the hemisphere to govern themselves?

Mr. WARD. No; I do not think of any at the present moment.

Mr. STARNES. All right. How are you getting along with your campaign to abolish the poll tax?

Mr. WARD. We have not got very far with that.

Mr. STARNES. How are you getting along with your defense of the Wagner Act?

Mr. WARD. Well, it is not a question of how we are getting; it is a question of how the country is going. In defense of the Wagner Act, they seem so far to have prevented any amendments.

Mr. STARNES. You have not extended its principles to any State labor acts as yet?

Mr. WARD. Wherever we have sufficient forces, if State labor acts were introduced into the legislatures, we would support them.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, your organization supported larger appropriations for W. P. A., did it not?

Mr. WARD. We certainly did.

Mr. STARNES. And you criticized very severely the last W. P. A. bill, did you not?

Mr. WARD. We certainly did.

Mr. STARNES. What have you done to oppose anti-Semitic propaganda and acts?

Mr. WARD. Well, as I said, I conducted a radio series in New York exposing the anti-Semitic attacks of Father Coughlin, and that office has run that radio week ever since, and we put on radio addresses in a number of other cities of the country against anti-Semitic attacks.

Mr. STARNES. You have also led a campaign against the further use of the radio by Father Coughlin, have you not?

Mr. WARD. I did not say we have led it; no.

Mr. STARNES. You have taken part in it, then?

Mr. WARD. We have taken part in it; yes—not the further use of the radio——

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute; let me see if this is correct.

Mr. WARD. All right, but I have not answered the question yet.

Mr. STARNES. All right; I have not asked it yet.

Mr. WARD. Yes; you did.

Mr. STARNES. Well, I am asking you if you did not state a moment ago that you had used the radio in an attack against Father Coughlin and his tactics?

Mr. WARD. And I said yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now then, I ask you the further question: Did you ever participate in an effort to deny the use of the radio to Father Coughlin?

Mr. WARD. Oh, no. We participated in an effort to get eliminated from Father Coughlin's discussion on the radio these attacks on another race. We would not participate in an effort to deny Father Coughlin the air.

Mr. STARNES. I see. What have you done in your efforts to "defeat the War Department plan to conscript labor and industry?"

Mr. WARD. Well, we have a regular pamphlet on that, which is in the material handed to Mr. Whitley, who will be glad to let you see it.

Mr. STARNES. Your attitude is set out in it; it is not a mere statement?

Mr. WARD. No; it is a pamphlet of quite a number of pages.

Mr. STARNES. Does it contain a plan or method of operation which you propose to use to defeat the War Department's plan, as you state here, to conscript labor and industry?

Mr. WARD. No; it contains no plan of any sort except to get the people in Congress to vote against that plan when it is presented.

Mr. STARNES. Are you opposed to conscription?

Mr. WARD. Absolutely.

Mr. STARNES. In any shape, form, or fashion?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In a "holy war" as well as an imperialist war?

Mr. WARD. I don't recognize any difference. We are not against any particular kind of war. We are against war.

Mr. STARNES. You do not make any distinction now between holy wars and imperialist wars?

Mr. WARD. There is no holy war. We do not talk about imperialist wars. The only war that we recognize is a war for the defense of the United States against invasion.

Mr. STARNES. That is the only war you recognize? You do not recognize a war against fascism?

Mr. WARD. No, sir. We have been trying to defeat it by economic pressure.

Mr. STARNES. I believe your organization, in its January meeting here, refused to adopt a resolution which was offered to condemn communism, along with nazi-ism and fascism.

Mr. WARD. For the reason that—if any such resolution was introduced, I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. STARNES. Don't you know that such a resolution was introduced, and some of your delegates left the congress because of the failure of the congress to consider such a resolution?

Mr. WARD. I don't recall it. If that was so, it was for the reason that I have already indicated. We do not put them together at this point.

Mr. STARNES. You urge the continuation of the La Follette committee?

Mr. WARD. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You urge that the so-called Dies committee be not continued?

Mr. WARD. We did. We do. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. You make that in the present tense? All right.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know if you can tell us whom you refer to when you say that Mr. Dies represents certain groups in this country—

a coalition between the uninformed and misinformed Protestant forces of the country, whom Dies represents, and the similar Catholic forces led by Coughlin.

Just whom do you mean there?

Mr. WARD. I mean the people in certain sections of the country who are misinformed about the nature of fascism and the relation of fascism to this country.

Mr. STARNES. You think Mr. Dies is misinformed or uninformed on fascism?

Mr. WARD. I said Mr. Dies represents those people in that he speaks for their prejudices, their oppositions—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). I challenge you to state any time that Mr. Dies has ever made such a statement, and before what group.

Mr. WARD. I am not talking about statements. That is my judgment of what Mr. Dies' position means in this country today.

Mr. STARNES. What do you mean by the "antics of Mr. Dies" in your speech before the convention?

Mr. WARD. Well, I mean the kind of speeches that Mr. Dies made during the session of the committee, in the last session of Congress.

Mr. STARNES. I see. In other words, that is just about all of the Congress; is that correct—just about the entire House of Representatives?

Mr. WARD. No; I said the speeches that Mr. Dies made to the public over the air, and in public meetings, while this committee was in session. I considered it improper for a chairman of a committee to be making that kind of speeches throughout the country while he was investigating a subject.

Mr. STARNES. It was not improper for you to go about the country—

Mr. WARD (interposing). I was not chairman of a committee, or I would not have done it.

Mr. STARNES. About conditions that you were condemning or fighting in this country?

Mr. WARD. I am not chairman of a committee. It was just a question of the proprieties.

Mr. STARNES. All right. What did you mean by the statement:

The forces whom Mr. Dies represents are trying to prevent the organization of a united democracy.

What do you mean by that?

Mr. WARD. I mean the interests in the country which are opposed to the extension of democracy in the measures that have been passed by Congress and proposed by Congress for the extension of democracy.

Mr. STARNES. And you say that Mr. Dies represents that group?

Mr. WARD. I say that Mr. Dies in his speeches——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). You did not say it as such here. You just make the bald statement, "The forces whom Mr. Dies represents."

Mr. WARD. Precisely.

Mr. STARNES (reading):

Are trying to prevent the organization of a united democracy by false charges.

Mr. WARD. What is that? Is there anything there about false charges?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; on page 10.

Mr. WARD. What does it say?

Mr. STARNES. I quote in full exactly what is said here:

The forces whom Mr. Dies represent are trying to prevent the organization of a united democracy against an increasingly united reaction, by false charges.

Mr. WARD. Oh, yes; now I get it.

Mr. STARNES. Oh, that sheds some light, does it?

Mr. WARD. I will tell you exactly what I meant by that, and that is the kind of charges that were made against organizations working for democracy in the report of the last session of this committee. And Mr. Dies admitted that this criticism and similar criticisms in the newspapers had some justification, because in his appeal for this appropriation he indicated that those methods would not be followed in this session of the committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. If he did that, you could hardly say that he represented those forces, could you?

Mr. WARD. At that time, Mr. Voorhis, before Mr. Dies indicated—and he did indicate to the committee—to the Congress, in effect—that he regretted these methods had been pursued, and that they would not be pursued; and Mr. Dies' treatment of me here today shows that today they have not been pursued, and I am very glad to pay this tribute to him for the way this hearing has been conducted today.

Mr. STARNES. In all fairness to Mr. Dies, if you had been here last year, you would not have made such statements about a fellow American as you did in this speech, would you?

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman, I base that——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Sure; on false reports.

Mr. WARD. On the statements in the record. Let me make this very specific. In the report of the committee which Mr. Dies made to Congress, two quotations appeared which I am supposed to have written. That was put into the Record by some organization which evidently deceived Mr. Dies and the committee. I was never given an opportunity to verify those quotations nor to answer them. There they stand. As long as people read that Congressional Record, I am in that Record as having written those things. When I got the Journal as of that date, there was no such statement in the Journal at all. I have had no opportunity——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Your affidavit that you sent and asked to be put in the Record stands along with that statement, does it not?

Mr. WARD. Yes; but that affidavit, Mr. Chairman, unfortunately does not cover those quotations.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent that affidavit and asked that it be put in the record, and it was put in the record.

Mr. WARD. Yes, to answer other charges; but those particular charges—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What are they?

Mr. WARD. Two quotations from "Soviet Russia Today." One of them cannot be found at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean in the record of our proceedings?

Mr. WARD. No; in the number of "Soviet Russia Today," in which it specifies in your report that that quotation occurs. It simply is not there.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the quotation? Show us what you are talking about. Let us get the precise quotation.

Mr. WARD. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where in the committee report do you find it?

Mr. WARD. This one, Mr. Dies [indicating]:

In the February 1936 issue of Soviet Russia Today.

I had no copy of that journal, but the editors have looked up the number and say that there is no statement by me in that number of any sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this [indicating] the quotation you are talking about?

Mr. WARD. Yes, sir; this is the quotation.

The CHAIRMAN. You said two quotations.

Mr. WARD. There is one before that, which obviously had some words left out of it. I would like the opportunity to get the exact quotation in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to give you that opportunity. Here is the quotation from a statement made by you, as it appears on page 464 of volume 1 of the committee hearings:

There is no way to constructively organize peace except by adopting throughout the world the basic organization on which the Soviet Union is founded.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what did you actually say?

Mr. WARD. There is a misprint there.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the misprint?

Mr. WARD. I haven't got the copy of my article with me, but, as I remember it, I would never put down a statement like that anywhere, either in print or from the platform—that you must adopt the basic organization. What I was referring to there, in the words left out, was:

The basic principle of the organization of the Soviet constitution, which is that everybody must work, and the only people who have citizenship—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). But you have not the exact quotation?

Mr. WARD. I will send it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have not looked it up to see whether it is correct or not. How did you know?

Mr. WARD. Because I know I would never stand for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you had only brought it in today, we could have cleared it up. I suggest that you bring it in, so that we can be positive about it.

The second quotation is——

Mr. WARD (reading):

In the February 1936 issue——

The CHAIRMAN. In the February 1936 issue of Soviet Russia Today—which is, by the way, the official organ of another front movement in the United States—another statement by Dr. Ward was published on page 464, volume 1, of the committee hearings, in which he said:

The chief purpose of the American League is to promote a wider understanding of the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to cooperate with other agencies to prevent an attack on the Soviet Union.

Mr. WARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement is that you never made that statement?

Mr. WARD. I never said that, and it is not in that number.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; we will check that up, and if that is an error, we will acknowledge it and be glad to do so.

Mr. WARD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. You will further admit, of course, since you are here, that when you handed the committee, a moment ago, this list of the activities of the league for the year, you did not cover half the ground of the activities that you did when I asked you for a discussion of the work of the league.

Mr. WARD. You asked for a brief discussion.

Mr. STARNES. I beg your pardon; Mr. Voorhis asked you.

Mr. WARD. But you objected to that, and you would not let me read it.

Mr. STARNES. All right. It did not contain half or a third of the activities that you brought out then.

Mr. WARD. It certainly did. You asked for that program.

Mr. STARNES. I asked you about the program of 1939 adopted at Washington this year.

Mr. WARD. Certainly, and you asked me something about that.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if we might, before you leave the stand, clarify these charges that you have made as to the manner in which these documents were obtained.

Mr. WARD. Yes, Mr. Dies, surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have the affidavits that you have, saying that your records were seized here. I would like to see that affidavit, and then I want to put on some witnesses under oath here, and we will end this issue right now.

Mr. WARD. Here is one affidavit from Chicago and two from Washington—copies of them, of course [handing papers to the chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Here is the affidavit of H. C. Lamber-ton, chairman, Washington branch, American League for Peace and Democracy; then the affidavit of Miss Hancock, secretary to the

League for Peace and Democracy, and the affidavit of Leon Ritter, I think it is, who lives in Chicago.

All right. Do you mind stepping aside?

Mr. WARD. Certainly not.

The CHAIRMAN. Come around, Mr. Barker.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT B. BARKER

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barker, you are one of the investigators of this committee; is that correct?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you came with the committee you were with the Veterans' Administration for many years?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many years were you with the Veterans' Administration?

Mr. BARKER. About 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Charges have been made here by Mr. Lamberton, of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the local branch in Washington; by Lucy Hancock—I believe that is the name; is that Lucy?

Mr. BARKER. That is Lucy Hancock.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to the manner in which you, as an investigator for the committee, obtained the possession of the records of the branch here of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Will you please tell the committee what the facts are with reference to that?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

Some information had been received by the committee regarding the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the chairman on September 28, 1939, instructed me to call at the offices of the American League for Peace and Democracy in Washington, D. C., and obtain their membership list. A subpoena was duly made out under the signature of the Speaker of the House, attested to by the Clerk, on the American League for Peace and Democracy, calling for their membership list, and I went to 804 Seventeenth Street NW. to their offices, and went up to the second floor. On the way up the steps I met Miss Lucy Hancock coming down, with a letter in her hand, on the way out. But I went on up to the offices—what I thought was the offices. I was not sure, because the door was open and there was a sign on the door, but I immediately recognized the place, because they had that usual "Hitler wanted for kidnaping," you know, sign up on the wall, and I asked this young fellow who was in the office if it was the office of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and he said it was. I told him that my name was Barker, and "I am from the Dies committee, and I have a subpoena duces tecum for your membership list." He said, "Well, I am just a volunteer worker here in the office, and there is no one here at the moment, and you will have to wait until somebody comes in."

So I sat down, and I started to call the chairman on the telephone; in fact, I got the chairman of the committee on the telephone at his office, after waiting about half an hour, but I had to hang up

the receiver for the reason that this gentleman who had refused to give me his name—he was the only one in the office—had gone out in the hall, and there was somebody coming up the steps. I heard them coming up the steps, and he went out in the hall and kept looking over at the steps, and there was somebody coming up the steps, and I was talking over the phone to the chairman, and I saw him do this way [indicating]. So I said to the chairman, "There is something screwy going on here," and I hung up the telephone, and he came back in the office, and I said, "Well, I saw you motion Miss Hancock not to come back," and he grinned and said, "Well that is the situation," and he says, "Do you want to wait?" So I waited and waited, and still Miss Hancock did not come in, and Miss Hancock's hat and her purse and her glasses were on the desk alongside the telephone.

I called the chairman again, and I told him, "I am going to have some difficulty getting this membership list." In the meantime this gentleman in the office, who still refused to disclose his identity or any connection with the organization, had said that he did not have any authority to turn over any records, and that if any attempt was made to take the records out of the office he was going to resist it, even if he, by reason of that action, placed himself in jeopardy of contempt. And then he picked up the telephone and said he was going to call the police. I told him he could call the police or the United States marshal or the F. B. I. or anybody he wanted to call; and he waited awhile. I then telephoned the chairman and stated that they were mailing out some kind of pamphlet or mimeographed announcement to all the members of the organization, and that possibly the list could be obtained by having somebody copy those names off.

About that time this young fellow in the office picked up the telephone and called the Rural Electrification Administration and asked for Mr. Harry C. Lamberton, and Mr. Lamberton apparently was not in, and he left his name, and when he left his name I learned the identity of the man who was present in the office. His name was Fred Lowenstein.

In the meantime the chairman had sent Mr. Whitley, the counsel to the committee, down to the premises of the American League at 804 Seventeenth Street, and Mr. Lamberton called back, and Mr. Lowenstein told Mr. Lamberton what the situation was, and Mr. Lamberton said he would be right over. Well, Mr. Whitley came in just a moment or two before Mr. Lamberton arrived—no; pardon me; strike that. Mr. Lamberton came in ahead of Mr. Whitley, and immediately instructed this young fellow, Mr. Fred Lowenstein, to take out and mail all these circulars that were being sent out, or whatever material it was. Then Mr. Lamberton looked at the subpoena, and I said, "Well, I will serve the subpoena on you, Mr. Lamberton, because you are the chairman of the Washington branch of the A. L. P. D.," and he said, "Oh, I can't accept service of that subpoena." So I said, "Well, whether you accept it or not, you have been served with a subpoena for these records." So he looked at the subpoena and he said, "Well, my training as a lawyer tells me that this subpoena should show the purpose for which these records are intended." And we argued at some length about that, and then

Mr. Whitley came in, and he and Mr. Whitley talked about the subpoena, and Mr. Whitley then called his office and asked for the telephone number of Harry F. Ward in New York, and his secretary gave him the telephone number—Algonquin 4-7845—and Mr. Whitley put in a call for Dr. Ward, and talked to Dr. Ward over the telephone at some length.

And Mr. Whitley put in a call for Dr. Ward, and talked about this to Dr. Ward over the telephone after some length and reminded Dr. Ward of a conversation that they had had previously at which time Dr. Ward said that the Dies committee could see their records any time they desired. And he also told him that Mrs. Hancock had gone out of the office and had not come back, and then Mr. Whitley turned to Mr. Lamberton and said that Dr. Ward wanted an opportunity to discuss the matter with his attorney and that he would communicate with Mr. Lamberton later that night, and he asked Mr. Lamberton to call him, Dr. Ward, at Cliffside 6-1293, New York.

Of course, the records were under subpoena and Mr. Whitley said that in view of the fact that the question had been raised in regard to the records that possibly the records might not be in the office. No one seemed to know where they were. So Mr. Lamberton then called Miss Eleanor Fowler, I think it was, on the telephone and asked her where the records were and she said that they were in a closet and in the room. So I opened the closet door and the first thing I saw was Miss Lucy Hancock's coat in the closet, and then I saw some papers on the shelf in boxes, and Mr. Lamberton took out the membership list. It was in a box on 3 by 5 cards, and Mr. Whitley said, "Now, in view of the fact that there is a question as to the production of these records, and since you state that you know why the committee wants to get these records, and since the members of the league would not look with favor upon the publication of their names in the newspapers, or any unusual publicity about the matter," Mr. Lamberton was of the opinion that the cards should be put in some safe place for the night. So Mr. Whitley suggested that they be locked up.

Well, the cabinet, a steel filing cabinet, had no lock on it, but there was a hasp on this closet door, but there was no padlock there to lock the door, and I said I had a padlock down in my car that I had borrowed from the Western Union Telegraph Co. This statement they sent out about this raid on their offices said I went out and bought a lock. Well, I went down to my car and got that padlock. This is the padlock [exhibiting lock] and it says, "Western Union Telegraph Co." on the back, and I am sure Mr. Lamberton will recognize the lock.

So we locked the records in the closet. I had the key to the closet. Mr. Lamberton had the key to the office, or else somebody else had the key to the office; but the office was locked with a Yale lock. Before we put the cards in the closet we counted the cards, but Mr. Lamberton insisted that we count the cards upside down so that we would not see, neither Mr. Whitley nor I, would be able to see the names of a single person who was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy in Washington.

So we put the cards in the closet, and just when we were about to lock it up, I said, "Wait a moment. You are going to lock up

Lucy Hancock's coat." She was standing up at the corner without that coat. She had been up there about 4 hours. And so Mr. Lamberton took out Lucy's coat and he gathered up her wraps and her purse and her hat, and she is sitting over there now. She has got the same hat on. And he carried them out of the building and up the street to where Lucy was.

So unfortunately Mr. Whitley had left an answer to that \$3,150,000 suit that Pelley had filed against the committee on Miss Hancock's desk. That was a rough draft of his proposed answer to Pelley's lawsuit and when we got out on the street Mr. Whitley happened to remember that he left it up there. Well, Mr. Lamberton was gone, and, of course, Mr. Whitley said that he wanted to work on that that night, and it was highly important for him to get hold of it, so I suggested that we try to get the janitor of the building to get in touch with him, but Mr. Whitley said, "No; we made an agreement that nobody was going to be around that office tonight, either the committee or the A. L. P. D.," and so he said, "I will call Lamberton on the telephone."

So he called Mr. Lamberton on the telephone, Michigan 0361, and told him of the situation. So Mr. Whitley asked me to stay there until Mr. Lamberton could come back down to the office, and I stayed around there for about an hour and 15 minutes, and about 8:15 Mr. Lamberton came by in his car, and I expected him, of course, to stop there in front of the premises, but there was a policeman who had come around the corner, and I engaged the policeman in conversation, and when I stepped to one side and Mr. Lamberton saw this policeman, he just stepped on the gas and went straight down Seventeenth Street and did not stop.

So I called Mr. Whitley and told him Mr. Lamberton had gone by, and I recognized his car license, 15681, and that that was his license issued to Mr. Lamberton, and I was sure it was Mr. Lamberton in the car, and he did not stop, and so Mr. Whitley said he had just called him up on the telephone and said that there was not anybody over there. So I said, "Well, he saw me standing here," and he said, "Well, he is going to send somebody back up there with a key to get that rough draft of the answer to William Dudley Pelley's lawsuit."

So I went back out then. I had been in the flower shop. And there was a lady standing on the steps with a key in her hand, and I walked back with her, back up to the office, and we examined the papers on the desk; there was the answer to Pelley's lawsuit, and she looked at it carefully, and we locked the office up and went back out.

Next morning I went back over there to see if we could get the records, and Mr. Lamberton and Miss Lucy Hancock and Mr. Fred Lowenstein then arrived at 8:45 a. m., and I talked to them on the steps, and Mr. Lamberton said that the list of the members we had up there we were making so much fuss about, he said, "That is not the membership at all." He said, "That is the mailing list." And so I excused myself for a moment and went to the telephone and called Mr. Whitley and asked him if he wanted both the membership and mailing lists, and Mr. Whitley said that he did, so I made out another subpoena duces tecum for the mailing list, and when we went back up to the office Mr. Lamberton said, "I cannot give you this

mailing list without a subpoena." So I said, "Well, here is your subpoena."

He said, "What do you do, carry them around in your pocket?"

And, we got the records, the membership list, and the mailing list and came on up here to the office with them. In the meantime Mr. Lamberton had asked me to wait a minute so he could write a letter to the committee about these records, and I told him, I said, "You go ahead and write the letter and send it on up." So he sent the letter on up and it is dated September 29, 1939. It is addressed to Chairman Dies. Do you want me to read this letter?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER (reading):

WASHINGTON BRANCH, THE AMERICAN
LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY,
804 Seventeenth Street NW., September 29, 1939.

HON. MARTIN DIES,

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,

Room 326, Old House Office Building.

MY DEAR MR. DIES: We are turning over to your Mr. Robert B. Barker a membership and financial list, mailing list, and application list, requested in subpoenas dated September 28 and 29, respectively.

This information would, of course, have been available to you without subpoena had a request for it been made of a responsible official of the Washington branch. Our national office has always made it quite clear that any information in the league records is open and available to the committee.

The membership and financial list contains the names of persons who are now or have been members of the Washington branch. The application list is a duplication of this. The mailing list contains on it the names of some people who have never been members of the League.

I explained to your counsel, Mr. Whitley, that these lists are the only ones we have, and that they are necessary to us in the conduct of our business. Mr. Whitley assured me that the committee would have the lists copied immediately and returned to us promptly, if possible today.

Your representative, Mr. Barker, informed us that the committee did not wish Miss Hancock or me to appear immediately before the committee. When you desire us to appear I would appreciate your giving us several days' notice, in order that we may arrange our time accordingly.

Yours very truly,

HARRY C. LAMBERTON, *Chairman.*

The CHAIRMAN. Now, at any time, did anyone object to the production of the records; or in other words, did you get a single record except by and with the consent of those in charge of the records in that office?

Mr. BARKER. No, sir; no records were taken except the membership lists; the application lists, the mailing lists. Those three boxes; but there was some kind of a book on Miss Lucy Hancock's desk that I glanced at. I cannot recall now exactly what it was. It said something about speakers, I believe. I am not sure. But, that book came over with the rest of the records and when I got up to the office I had these boxes under my arm and I found this book, and that book was returned with the rest of the records.

Now, subsequent to this happening, it seems that every Member of Congress got a statement about a "raid" that had been made.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the statement they issued around over the country about the way in which we got the records. You have got the statement there?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the statement they issued to their mass meetings.

Mr. BARKER. I asked them for a couple of copies when I went down there later to get some more information from the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, will you read that.

Mr. BARKER (reading):

WASHINGTON BRANCH, AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR
PEACE AND DEMOCRACY,
804 17th Street NW., Washington, D. C.,
October 4, 1939.

To the President of the United States, Members of Congress, the Attorney General:

Under a subpoena, the Dies committee has obtained a list of the members of the Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The Dies committee had no need to resort to a subpoena to obtain information about the league. When the Dies committee first began to show an interest in the league's affairs, our national president, Dr. Harry F. Ward, informed the committee that the league's files were open for inspection by the committee's agents, and offered to cooperate in voluntarily furnishing any material concerning the league in which the committee was interested.

Instead of accepting this offer of the league, the Dies committee not only served a subpoena but also acted in a manner clearly illegal and definitely un-American. As publicized in the Baltimore Sun of September 30th, the agents of the Dies committee "raided the offices of the Washington branch of the league and seized a partial membership list." They sought to intimidate and coerce a volunteer worker of the league and were guilty of illegal search and seizure without warrant. The facts are as follows:

On Thursday afternoon, September 28, an agent of the Dies committee, Robert B. Barker, appeared at the branch office of the league with a subpoena which summoned "American League for Peace and Democracy, 804 17th St. NW., Washington, D. C., to be and appear before the Un-American Activities Special Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, * * * and bring with you list of all members in American League for Peace and Democracy in Washington, D. C. * * * forthwith * * *."

The only person in the office was a volunteer worker. The agent demanded of the volunteer worker that all membership records of the organization be immediately surrendered to him. The volunteer explained that the executive secretary, Miss Lucy Hancock, was not in, and that he had no authority to dispose of the organization's records or other property.

The agent, noticing that there was a large number of envelopes on the desk addressed and ready to send out, phoned his office to send two stenographers to copy the names and addresses from the envelopes.

When the telephone conversation was completed, the volunteer worker said that he had no authority to allow the copying of members' names and addresses from the organization's mail. To this agent replied that he had now taken personal charge of the office, and if he met with resistance, would bring charges of assault and battery against the volunteer.

The volunteer then attempted to call the president of the branch, Mr. Harry Lamberton, but when he took down the receiver, he heard a conversation between two individuals on the line in which the request for secretaries to copy the mail of the branch was repeated and a reply made that secretaries were not available and that such action might not be proper. After the phone had cleared, he was successful in reaching Mr. Lamberton, who instructed the volunteer to await his arrival.

Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel of the Dies committee, arrived at the office a few moments before Mr. Lamberton. Mr. Whitley served the subpoena on Mr. Lamberton as an officer of the league and asked him to hand over the membership lists immediately. Mr. Lamberton stated that he neither agreed nor refused to comply with the subpoena until he had consulted with other officers of the league. He further stated that he assumed "forthwith" meant within a reasonable time, and that he did not know where the lists were.

As Mr. Whitley insisted that the membership list be produced at once and implied that if it were not immediately produced it might be tampered with, Mr. Lamberton suggested that the three of them leave the office and pad-

lock it until the next morning. Mr. Whitley then raised the question as to whether the lists were really in the office. Mr. Lamberton then called Mrs. Eleanor Fowler, former executive secretary, and was told that the list was in a card file in the closet. Before Mr. Lamberton hung up, Barker had entered the closet. Mr. Lamberton selected a file that he thought was the membership list. The agent Barker insisted upon counting the cards in the list, and then sealed the file, went out and bought a padlock, padlocked the closet, and retained the key.

When Mr. Lamberton and Miss Hancock arrived the next morning, they were met by the agent Barker and a policeman who had been stationed outside the American League offices during the previous night. Mr. Lamberton and Miss Hancock were served with a new subpoena which summoned them to appear forthwith before the Un-American Activities Special Committee and "bring with you list of members, mailing list and financial records."

On the statement of Barker that the committee merely wished to have the files copied at present and that it was not necessary for Mr. Lamberton to appear at that time, Mr. Lamberton gave the files to Barker with the understanding that they would be returned immediately, if possible, the same day, so that the work of the branch would not be unnecessarily obstructed. The files have not been returned.

Legally, all that the agent and counsel of the Dies committee had the authority to do was to serve the subpoena, but the foregoing statement shows that they were not content with that. In the acts just enumerated, they were guilty of trespass, search and seizure without a warrant, and conduct wholly unbecoming agents of Congress and clearly intended as an attempt to intimidate a responsible and lawful organization.

Such tactics can only be explained on the theory that the Dies committee wished to give the impression that the American League is a subversive organization and that it would object to making its files and records public. Such is not the case, and the Dies committee knows it is not the case. As has just been stated, the national president of the league has repeatedly offered to make all records available. We properly resent the implications of such an attitude as well as the high-handed and illegal methods employed by the representatives of the Dies committee.

The American League's policies and program are well known. The league's stand on international issues had consisted in advocating a foreign policy for the United States that closely corresponds with the expressed views of the President of the United States and that serves the interests of democracy and peace. In the field of foreign relations, the league has supported the following program:

1. Revision or repeal of the Neutrality Act.
2. Supporting the good-neighbor policy for the Western Hemisphere.
3. Promoting the people's boycott of Japanese, Nazi, and Italian goods.
4. Lifting the embargo on the Spanish Government.
5. Supporting all moves to aid the suffering people of Spain, China, and other nations invaded by Fascists.
6. Placing an embargo on all war supplies, loans, and credits to Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Does the Dies committee consider these objectives, which the league has supported, subversive and un-American?

On domestic issues we have backed the progressive program of the New Deal and we have defended the constitutional guarantees of civil liberties against the attacks of reactionary, un-American, and undemocratic forces. Full details of the league's program will be found in the attached copy of the program of the Washington branch.

The Washington Branch of the American League is not interested in politics. It is interested in and devoted to the support of all progressive measures that will maintain world peace and preserve and advance democratic rights in the United States. It happens that the New Deal has advocated legislation in support of most of the progressive measures to which the American League is committed. The league has therefore been in favor of such legislation. The support of the league has been effective because the league membership and affiliated organizations represent seven and a half million people.

According to the resolution creating the Dies committee, that committee was authorized to investigate "the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda acts in the United States." Since the activities of the league have

consisted in supporting, in accordance with the program of the league, such New Deal measures as the Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the administration-supported proposals for Works Progress Administration funds, and the United States Housing Act, and since the only justification for the Dies committee to investigate the league is because it considers that the league is engaged in un-American activities, does the Dies committee wish to imply that the New Deal policies and program are un-American? Is that the true purpose?

It is time such questions were asked. It is time that all persons and organizations, devoted to preserving the democratic traditions of our country as expressed in the Bill of Rights, should insist that the un-American activities and the intimidating, illegal methods of the Dies committee in the conduct of its investigations should cease.

It is time that the people of this country should ask their Congressman whether we are paying taxes to be used for such congressional investigations as those of the Dies committee whose agents act illegally and attempt to intimidate and besmirch the reputation of law-abiding organizations.

Much more is at stake than the present attack on the league. It is vitally important, at this period of history, when war is again gripping the world, that prompt measures be taken to protect our civil liberties. These liberties are in danger. The un-American and illegal methods of the Dies committee as exemplified in its attacks on the Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy are a sinister warning of what every other progressive organization in the country may expect. Under the cloak of war conditions, there is every reason to expect that the Dies committee will act with an increasingly reckless violation of civil liberties. That sort of thing must be stopped and stopped now.

We call upon the Congress of the United States to put an end to the unlawful, intimidating methods used by the Dies committee in its recent attack on the Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The purpose of the Dies committee in obtaining the list of members of the Washington branch may well be to serve notice on Government employees that if they join progressive organizations they are suspected by the United States Government. We are certain that neither the Congress nor the administration would for a moment countenance such a position.

We call upon the Attorney General to use the good offices of the civil liberties unit of the Department of Justice to protect all organizations from violations of civil rights by the Dies committee.

We respectfully request the President of the United States to issue a statement reaffirming the importance of maintaining in these troubled times the civil rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, and the determination of the United States Government to see that these rights are respected.

Respectfully submitted.

HARRY C. LAMBERTON,

Chairman for the Executive Committee,

Washington Branch, American League for Peace and Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that you have read enough of that.

Mr. BARKER. That refers to the membership lists.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that you have read enough of that. I just wanted to compare the statement herewith that that they put out over the country, with the actual facts in reference to this matter.

In other words, the truth is, and I do not think that Dr. Ward will deny it, that no records were gotten without the consent of headquarters of the organization.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Lamberton—

Mr. LAMBERTON. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we will not have an opportunity to testify.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have an opportunity, if you will just sit there.

Mr. BARKER. On October 8, 1939, the chairman requested me to go to the American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, and to get their files. So I went out to 2000 Massachusetts Avenue, to

the office of the Rural Electrification Administration, and paid a visit to Mr. Harry C. Lamberton, who is an attorney with that governmental agency, and I told him that the committee desired to take advantage of his very generous offer made here to turn over any records that we wanted to see; that the committee would like to have their entire files.

So, he asked me if I had a subpoena for the files and I told him that I did, and he said to me, "Where is the subpoena?" And I said, "In my car." He said, "Well, I won't turn them over if you have got a subpoena." But he said, "I will surrender them voluntarily." "Well," I said, "That is agreeable to me."

So we went out and got in my automobile and went down to the league's office and I carried those membership lists back up there and then they turned them over to me, their files, which I tied up and carried out to the committee's offices for examination.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, step aside.

(Thereupon, the witness was excused and withdrew from the witness stand.)

TESTIMONY OF HARRY C. LAMBERTON, CHAIRMAN, WASHINGTON BRANCH, AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Whereupon, Harry C. Lamberton was called as a witness, and being first duly sworn by the chairman of the committee, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Harry C. Lamberton.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your position; you work for the Rural Electrification Administration?

Mr. LAMBERTON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What position do you hold?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Assistant General Counsel, Rural Electrification Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. What position do you hold in the league?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Chairman of the Washington branch.

The CHAIRMAN. Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What State are you from?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of Maryland?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Carroll County.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been with the Rural Electrification?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Since its inception—in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been with the American League?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Since its organization in Washington, about a year and a half ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you heard the testimony of Mr. Barker?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I will ask you—may I, before I ask you that—may I get you to identify this letter dated October 6, 1939 (reading):

WASHINGTON BRANCH, THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY, 804
17TH STREET, NW., PHONE NATIONAL 2872

OCTOBER 6, 1939.

HON. MARTIN DIES,

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. DIES: Pursuant to the request of your agent, Mr. Robert B. Barker, we have today voluntarily turned over to him the complete files of the Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Mr. Barker assured us that the files would be returned promptly.

Yours very truly,

HARRY C. LAMBERTON, *Chairman.*

'That is your signature?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You identify that?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your letter?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the testimony that has been given here correct or incorrect, and if not, please state where it is not.

Mr. LAMBERTON. It is incorrect in several respects.

In the first place, from the fact Mr. Barker came to the office armed with a subpoena, it appeared obviously anything that was done under that subpoena was hardly what you would call voluntary.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you recognize the right of the committee to secure records by subpoena, do you not, as an attorney?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Oh, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not questioning the right of the committee to secure records by subpoena?

Mr. LAMBERTON. No; I am not suggesting that, but I am suggesting that you have no right to send an agent to the office, send him direct to some person in the office, of the American League and ask her that the records be produced immediately, forthwith.

The CHAIRMAN. You have got a copy of that?

Mr. LAMBERTON. That in—

The CHAIRMAN. You have got a copy of that?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I am sorry.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, the difficulty is that Mr. Lamberton was told that he would have ample time. He said that he wanted to talk with Dr. Ward over the telephone and I said to let us know tomorrow morning, which he did.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. LAMBERTON. No; that is not correct. I accepted the subpoena and said, "I will answer within a reasonable time, which I assume is what the committee means by the word 'forthwith.'"

I told Mr. Barker and Mr. Whitley that they could leave it, and within a reasonable time, which I considered to be the following morning, I would answer. I did not know where the membership records were and I wished to consult other officials of the Washington branch, whereupon Mr. Whitley called Dr. Ward on the telephone and said that I was refusing to cooperate with the committee. They had refused to leave when I suggested that they leave, after serving the subpoena. I asked to talk with Dr. Ward, and I finally did.

Finally, after I got through talking with him, I turned the telephone over to you and let him talk with you. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I asked you to let me talk with him on the telephone and you reluctantly gave me the telephone.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I turned the telephone over to you.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I did not have to give it to you.

Mr. BARKER. He paid for the long-distance telephone call. He let you talk on his call.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. LAMBERTON. In any event, while talking with Dr. Ward, I told him that Mr. Whitley said these records must be produced instantly—that very minute. He said that the committee was then in session. I suggested to Dr. Ward that obviously that could not be done, I did not know where they were and I did not intend to give them over without discussing the matter with other members of the committee; but I would be willing, assuming that Mr. Whitley would be willing, to leave the office locked up until the next morning, and I stopped in the middle of my conversation and asked Mr. Whitley whether that was agreeable to him and he indicated that it was. And, that was the arrangement we made.

The CHAIRMAN. You all reached an agreement about the whole matter?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I would hardly call that an agreement; reached under duress.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we have the congressional right to issue subpoenas.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I do not think, Mr. Dies, you have the congressional right to issue a subpoena to bring the records down that instant, do you?

The CHAIRMAN. They did not bring them down that instant.

Mr. LAMBERTON. Because I refused.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course; and it was not until you gave your consent that there were any records taken.

Now, is that not a fact?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Well, when I did not want to lock up the office so as to have these records sealed for the night—

The CHAIRMAN. Let us be fair.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I am being fair.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that we have to be fair. The committee did not get any records until you gave your consent. Is that not a fact?

Mr. LAMBERTON. The next morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that not a fact? Let us be fair about the matter.

Mr. LAMBERTON. Well, they wanted the records that very minute.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about what anybody wants. It is what they get that counts.

Mr. LAMBERTON. But, they locked up the records. I hope I am making myself clear. We do not object to the committee having the records.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about that.

MR. LAMBERTON. We have said all of the time that you can have any records that you want.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is right.

MR. LAMBERTON. I volunteered to go over any requests—

THE CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get you to answer is this: It is a fact, is it not, that the committee got none of the records until you gave your consent. That is a fact?

MR. LAMBERTON. It is a fact that Dr. Ward felt, and I agreed, that in line with our announced policy, we should turn over these records in spite of the fact that both he and I resented the tactics which your agents used in trying to obtain them.

Now, the objection is not to turning over the records, but to the manner in which your agents tried to get them.

THE CHAIRMAN. But, the point that I am making is that no records of yours were ever secured until you consented. Is that not a fact?

MR. LAMBERTON. Next morning when we sent—

THE CHAIRMAN. Is that not a fact?

MR. LAMBERTON. That is a fact.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right. Then how can you say that your office was raided—how can you conduct mass meetings out here and tell people that the committee raided your offices and illegally seized your records?

MR. LAMBERTON. I should think, Mr. Chairman, that you could see my point. We are not objecting to the turning over of records. We are objecting to agents of yours coming in and taking charge of this office. If anyone arrests me, I am permitted to consult a lawyer, and we objected—

THE CHAIRMAN. Now, you are a lawyer and you work for the Federal Government.

MR. LAMBERTON. That is correct.

THE CHAIRMAN. And by your own admission you admit that no records were obtained until you consented to it; and here while a subpoena was served, and while we had a right to do it, nevertheless no one did it until Dr. Ward and you agreed to it. There is no question about that.

MR. LAMBERTON. I think you are missing the point entirely. We are not objecting to your having the records. We said from the start that you could have the records.

THE CHAIRMAN. How do you reconcile that situation?

MR. LAMBERTON. We are objecting to Mr. Barker coming in and saying to a volunteer, "I am in charge of the office." You have no authority to do that. That is hardly American practice.

THE CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. How do you know that?

MR. LAMBERTON. I talked with Mr. Lowenstein.

THE CHAIRMAN. You do not know yourself?

MR. LAMBERTON. Well, I cannot—

THE CHAIRMAN. You cannot answer here yourself.

MR. LAMBERTON. Why, I could not bring him here.

THE CHAIRMAN. Bring him in here. Is he here?

MR. LAMBERTON. No; he is not here now.

MR. STARNES. We hope before you issue another statement, you will be more careful.

MR. LAMBERTON. I will be just as careful as I have been.

Mr. STARNES. We have no feelings about the committee, so far as the committee is concerned. We do not care what you say about us individually or as a committee. You have got a right to do that as an American citizen, but before you issue some other hasty, ill-considered misstatement of fact—

Mr. LAMBERTON (interposing). I resent that, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. I resent your statement.

Mr. LAMBERTON. It was not ill-considered or hasty. We worked on that for 4 or 5 days. We considered every word that went in there, and every word is a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know. You just admitted that you were not there. You talked with somebody—with a Mr. Lowenstein.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I was not there when Mr. Barker took those records.

The CHAIRMAN. You talked with Mr. Lowenstein about them.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I was there when the records were locked up, when they were seized.

The CHAIRMAN. Under your agreement.

Mr. LAMBERTON. With my agreement, under duress, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Duress?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes. I said, "I have accepted the subpoena. Now, you gentlemen go back to your committee"—

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Lowenstein; who does he work for?

Mr. LAMBERTON. He does not work for the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he, and where is he?

Mr. LAMBERTON. He is Lucy Hancock's husband. That is why Lucy Hancock was not particularly worried about leaving her coat in his care.

Mr. BARKER. He did not take it out; you took it out.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I was going to see her that evening. She trusts me, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not get into an argument about a coat.

Mr. LAMBERTON. There is one point that I do want to make. She is not wearing the same hat at this time that she wore that day. I resent that, and I want to keep the record straight on that.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BARKER. I would like to ask Mr. Lamberton a question. Mr. Lamberton said he was willing to turn over these papers that the committee wanted without a subpoena. He has made that statement several times. But Mr. Lamberton actually demanded a subpoena on September 29, the next morning, before he would turn them over.

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes. I think I should make that clear. That is one point that I had on here. Any records with respect to the league's members and the league's activities I told Mr. Barker the next morning we would make available to him; we would make available to him any such records. This mailing list had on it the names of a number of people who never had been members of the league and whose consent had never been obtained to putting them on the mailing list. I said it hardly seemed fair to turn that over. That did not relate to the activities of the league as such nor to the members of the league as such.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you include, in this statement of facts, the fact that I had called your national chairman, Dr. Ward, and explained the situation to him?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I think that is in there.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that I also explained to Dr. Ward, when he said that he wanted to consult counsel and "I will let you know in the morning"—I told Dr. Ward, I believe in your presence—you heard it—that I thought that in order that the league might be in a position to avoid any accusation or suggestion that anyone had tampered with the records, that they should be locked up, and he agreed. Do you recall that conversation?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Well, I suggested that if you refused to leave we lock up the office. Your refusal apparently was because you feared someone would tamper with the records, and I resented that imputation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not only that, but I explained to Dr. Ward that I thought the league should not be in a position where anyone could accuse or suggest that they might have tampered with the records, and for that reason the records should be put some place where no one could get at them at night.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to ask this question: You approve of the work of the La Follette committee investigating alleged violations of civil liberties?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes; indeed.

Mr. STARNES. You know that in their investigations they have walked in and locked up an office and taken charge, do you not?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I do not know of their ever having done that.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know of their ever having done that? You do know that their own record states that they did that, if you have read their record.

Mr. LAMBERTON. No. And I follow that very closely. I do not think they have ever done a thing like that.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is, much has been made of this thing and a whole lot said about it, and that is the reason I wanted to clarify the issue.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I think much should be said about it. I think it is a sorry thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else you wish to present?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I did want to bring out the fact that Mr. Barker did not in his statement of what happened indicate that he told Mr. Lowenstein that he was taking charge of the office——

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know that, do you? Just testify about what you know. If you want Mr. Lowenstein here to testify, you may bring him here, but just testify about what you know.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I am not going over any of the material facts in this, which I take it is in the record, because there is no use taking your time or our time with it.

Mr. CASEY. What was there about this that constituted a raid?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I am sorry I have not made that clear. As I understand, a congressional committee has the right to serve subpoenas on certain persons, and then ask them to appear and bring with them

certain records which may be pertinent to the matter which they are investigating for legislative purposes. Had Mr. Barker done that, there would have been no question of a raid. He did not do that. He came with a subpoena, which, incidentally, was not addressed to anyone—it must be addressed to someone of course—he came with a subpoena and did not merely serve it, but insisted that the records be produced immediately; he wanted to take them right with him, down to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get this straight. Mr. Barker called me right from your office.

Mr. LAMBERTON. Of course, I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not there?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I had not arrived.

The CHAIRMAN. He called me and said objection had been raised to getting the files or to getting the records.

Mr. LAMBERTON. That was because——

The CHAIRMAN. And I said then, as I have said to him and other investigators, that while we have the right to do it, and it has been done many times by committees without any objection——

Mr. LAMBERTON. You mean locking up the files?

The CHAIRMAN. Going in and getting the files, and bringing them out right with them. We have a perfect right to do it. That has been tested. You know it has been tested.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I know it has not been tested, and I will be interested in seeing a single case which involves the right of a committee to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Nevertheless, I told him not to do it.

We have had many opportunities to secure things, but nevertheless we had not done it, because we were trying to keep the committee above any question of criticism.

Mr. LAMBERTON. Did you tell him not to leave until the records were turned over or until the office was locked up?

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it—and I believe you will agree—from then on you and Mr. Whitley reached an entire agreement about this whole matter.

Mr. LAMBERTON. That is not the case. We reached no agreement about the matter.

Mr. WHITLEY. You objected to the procedure that was followed?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Oh, certainly, I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not register such objection.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I told you in accepting the subpoena, I thought that was sufficient, that you could go. Oh, no; you wanted to stay and take the records immediately.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is when I called Dr. Ward. You said you did not know whether you had the right to turn them over or bring them——

Mr. LAMBERTON. In my conversation with Dr. Ward, I was the one who suggested that if you continue to refuse to leave, that we lock up the office. That suggestion was made under duress. I did not want you there all night. I did not want to stay there with

you all night. I might enjoy your company, but I would enjoy it somewhere else, not in the office.

Mr. WHITLEY. I did not propose to stay there all night or later than a few minutes longer.

Mr. Chairman, in this same connection—this is along the same line, and I think it is pertinent—last April, in response to requests and complaints, an investigator visited the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee for the purpose of interviewing officials. At that time the investigator served a subpoena on the officials of that school requesting that they prepare and turn over to the committee a list of contributors to that school. They agreed to do that. A few days later I had a letter from Dr. Ward calling my attention to that fact, in which he stated that he thought it might be embarrassing to the contributors, and that if the committee later on felt it was absolutely necessary, they could get that list. I wrote to Mr. Ward and told him that the subpoena would be withdrawn and we would not insist on the list until such time as the committee thought that it was absolutely necessary to have it, and that request has never been followed up. That is in keeping with this same proposition—these accusations of raids and seizures. That is the procedure that was followed in that case.

Is that your recollection of that situation, Dr. Ward?

Mr. WARD. Yes. You were very courteous there. I think the whole question at issue here apparently regarding the subject of the raid is a question of the veracity of Mr. Barker as against Mr. Lowenstein.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, Mr. Lowenstein has not testified.

Mr. WARD. You say you are going to get him here, and you can clear that matter up.

Mr. LAMBERTON. Then suppose I do not dwell on that any longer.

The CHAIRMAN. No. I think you had better dwell on something you know about. If you were not there, you cannot testify.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I think it best, in order to test this, if you would waive immunity, it would allow us to bring suit, and then that would be the American, the democratic, way to handle it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very clever strategy. When did you figure that out?

Mr. LAMBERTON. It came very suddenly.

The CHAIRMAN. At what meeting did you figure that out? Is that in accordance with your statement about raids that have been conducted?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I do not follow you on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you as accurate about this as you are about these raids?

Mr. LAMBERTON. As I am about what?

The CHAIRMAN. As you are about things that you know are not true?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I know that every word in that is true, and you know it.

The CHAIRMAN. You behave yourself!

Mr. LAMBERTON. I will behave myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an employee of this Government, and you owe some respect to the Congress of the United States and its agencies.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I want to make this clear, Mr. Chairman: I have the greatest respect for the Congress of the United States. I have the greatest respect for the position that you occupy as chairman of a congressional committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You emphasize the "position."

Mr. LAMBERTON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to make a distinction between the position and the man who holds it.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I am not drawing any inferences.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you have in mind. Now, do you have anything else?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Oh, yes. I do not think Mr. Barker dwelled on the fact that he asked Lowenstein to turn over this mailing list to him, the envelopes, so that he could copy the mailing list. I do not think that is called for by the subpoena.

Oh, one very little thing; Mr. Barker said I came by that evening in response to a request from Mr. Whitley. Mr. Whitley called me and I told him, although I was very busy—my wife and I were going somewhere—I will be glad to stop by. I did. Mr. Whitley said he would be there. I slowed down. I did not see Mr. Whitley there. I did see a policeman.

Mr. BARKER. Did you see me there?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I did not see you.

Mr. BARKER. You did not?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I did not recognize you. But that is hardly a place to park, with a policeman standing right on the corner. It is a no-parking place. So I went on.

The CHAIRMAN. You very much objected to that, too. Was that an illegal action?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I did not object to that. Mr. Barker raised it. I never did. It certainly is not covered in that affidavit of mine that you have.

The CHAIRMAN. It isn't?

Mr. LAMBERTON. No; it isn't.

What I would like to testify to are the activities of the Washington branch of the league. I have given a very detailed list of those activities to Mr. Barker.

The CHAIRMAN. We cannot cover that now. We have your list. You have approximately how many governmental employees in your organization, about eight or nine hundred?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Oh, 700.

The CHAIRMAN. And they range in their jobs from \$4,000 to \$7,000, do they not?

Mr. BARKER. \$10,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Some to \$10,000?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I never checked all their salaries. I would think that they would start below \$4,000.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, they start at \$1,260 and go to \$10,000.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I have not that information.

The CHAIRMAN. He has got approximately 700 Government employees.

Mr. BARKER. Five hundred and sixty-seven, to be exact.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I think this is true, too. Some of them are not up to date in their dues, so technically they may not be members.

Mr. STARNES. You follow the lines of your national organization in your activities, do you not?

Mr. LAMBERTON. What is that?

Mr. STARNES. In your activity, as a branch, you certainly follow the lines laid down by the parent organization, do you not?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Oh, we are in accord with the general program decided on at the last congress; that is correct. But if you would be interested—and apparently that would interest you, that type of thing, I would be very glad to give you a detailed list of everything we have done.

Mr. STARNES. Well, Mr. Barker has it; mass meetings, membership meetings, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you also tell us whether you have ever gone on record, your local branch, with your 800 Government employees, as being opposed to the dictatorship in Russia? Have you ever anywhere condemned the ruthless manner in which Russia has destroyed human life; the millions who have starved, the ones who have been purged?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Mr. Chairman, we are an American organization interested in matters that affect the American scene.

The CHAIRMAN. You have condemned fascism, have you not?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Because it very greatly affects the American scene. We are opposed to anti-Semitism. Communism—

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think communism affects the American scene?

Mr. LAMBERTON. We are opposed to racial discriminations; to anti-Semitism; to infringing on the rights of labor; all those things, and they are all listed here.

The CHAIRMAN. And you condemn fascism, do you not?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Because it infringes on those rights?

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think communism infringes on those rights?

Mr. LAMBERTON. The Communists in this country we have no proof conduct any anti-Semitic propaganda or any antilabor propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that the aim of communism is to destroy the Bill of Rights and to infringe upon those fundamental rights?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I am sorry, sir; I am not an authority on Communists or communism.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not regard the Government in Russia as a dictatorship, the same as in Germany?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I made no comment at all on that, Congressman. The league has never taken a position on that. I am testifying as chairman of the Washington branch of the league.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever advocated a boycott against Japan?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever advocated a boycott against Nazi Germany?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes, indeed.

Mr. STARNES. And against Fascist Italy?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever advocated a boycott against Soviet Russia?

Mr. LAMBERTON. No; we never have.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever condemned Germany for its rapacity, its ruthless rape of Czechoslovakia. When I say "you," I meant you as an organization. I do not mean you personally.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I think undoubtedly we must have.

Mr. STARNES. And the partition of Poland, the destruction of Poland, have you condemned that?

Mr. LAMBERTON. We are having—

Mr. STARNES. Just answer my question please, sir.

Mr. LAMBERTON. No. I think Dr. Ward went into the reasons for that very fully.

Mr. STARNES. Did you condemn Germany for its actions in Austria, which they took over?

Mr. LAMBERTON. We have always condemned aggression by the Fascist powers.

Mr. STARNES. You have posed as an organization, according to your own platform, that is absolutely opposed to interference with the rights of nations to govern themselves, by outside forces, is that correct?

Mr. LAMBERTON. You will have to repeat that question.

Mr. STARNES. You are opposed, as an organization, to the interference with the rights of nations to govern themselves?

Mr. LAMBERTON. By outside forces?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; by outside forces.

Mr. LAMBERTON. What do you mean by that?

Mr. STARNES. What I mean is this. You are opposed to the United States of America telling Mexico how it should govern itself?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I mean. You are opposed to the United States of America going down to take over Guatemala or Honduras or some other smaller country.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I would be; yes.

Mr. STARNES. What is your attitude toward the partition of Poland—I am talking about your organization now, not yourself—with reference to the rape of Poland?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Well, I think I can best answer that by reading from a recent statement of policy that the national office got out.

Mr. STARNES. Do you condemn it?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I will read this statement of policy:

Naturally the national office and the executive board have been deluged with questions concerning the actions of the Soviet Union in the war crisis—the renewal of the trade pact with Germany, the nonaggression pact, the march into Poland. From some of our members the board and the national office have received demands that we condemn these actions. A special meeting of the board and the national committee appointed a committee of 7 to draft a statement. In the committee and in the board there were two points of view. Some desired the passing of judgment on the Soviet Union on the grounds that the trade pact and nonaggression pact were aiding the aggressor and the march into Poland was itself an act of aggression. Some held the opposite opinion.

Others took the position that our program did not require us to express ourselves one way or the other on the two pacts. They held, concerning the march into Poland, that it was not yet clear what either the purpose or the consequences of this action were. The day following the first discussion by the board, the British Ministry of Information took the same position. The next day some of the leading spokesmen of the British Government were proclaiming "the Russian intervention" in Poland a check to Hitler. The day following, Chamberlain told the House of Commons that it is "too early to pronounce any final verdict on the motives or consequences of the Russian action." The day after that, Lord Halifax told the House of Lords "it would be wise to hold judgment in suspense at the present time."

If it later becomes clear that any act of aggression, under the definition of our statement of program and purpose, has been committed, then, of course, it is the duty of the board to so proclaim and to call for the same embargo on the Soviet Union that we have previously asked for on Japan, Germany, and Italy. The alternative is to call a meeting of the national committee and raise the question of a change of policy. This, in turn, would need to be submitted to a congress similar to that which made the present policy.

Meanwhile, the decision of the board is that at this time, we neither condemn or approve the action of the Soviet Union. Our members will have their own opinions on those matters and will express and implement them in their political organizations outside the league. By the time the emergency conference meets, the situation will be much clearer, and the question of its relation to our policy can then be more adequately settled, or, if necessary, referred to a congress.

Mr. STARNES. What about Latvia?

Mr. LAMBERTON. I think that all comes under the same head.

Mr. STARNES. And the same with reference to Estonia?

Mr. LAMBERTON. The same with reference to Estonia.

Mr. STARNES. And Lithuania?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Oh, yes.

Mr. STARNES. And, of course, it would apply to Finland?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Well, what has happened to Finland?

Mr. STARNES. It is just about to happen, I think.

Mr. LAMBERTON. It is?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. Now, you have condemned what has happened to Austria and to Czechoslovakia and Poland by Nazi Germany. You neither condemn nor approve—that is the way you get around the situation officially, and I am not speaking in a personal sense now—

Mr. LAMBERTON. I understand.

Mr. STARNES. I want you to get that very clear. I am referring to you only in the organizational sense. You have neither condemned nor approved that, and you take no position publicly on the question of the destruction of the present Governments of Poland and Latvia and Estonia and Lithuania by Soviet Russia.

Mr. LAMBERTON. You see, Mr. Congressman, we are a democratic organization. We cannot reach a decision like that without consulting the members. There is a special meeting of the American League called for the next week end. All those subjects will then be discussed, and the members will decide what position to take.

Mr. STARNES. But they did discuss these other things and—

Mr. LAMBERTON. They were discussed at the last congress.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know of, in the whole history of this movement of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and you have never seen any condemnation of any policy of the Soviet Government, have you?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Well, I have been associated with the American League in Washington for a year and a half, and during that time I know of no action by the Washington branch condemning it.

Mr. STARNES. But you do know that the national league congress in January of this year refused to consider a resolution offered by the Maryland delegation, according to the press, to condemn all forms of dictatorship, including communism.

Mr. LAMBERTON. I do not know that, but Dr. Ward has answered that question, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that give you an opportunity to answer?

Mr. LAMBERTON. It does.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman, may I make one usual, formal, request of the committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I just wanted Dr. Ward to identify some of the documents which had been referred to as exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that letter that you have there written to Dr. Ward?

Mr. WHITLEY. That was written from one secretary of the American League to another secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barker, do you want to make a statement on this?

Mr. WARD. Mr. Chairman, it is simply a question again of the veracity of the person who signed that affidavit and Mr. Barker. So far as I am informed, he says himself that he was a person who happened to be in the office at the time on business. I do not know anything else about him. That question can be taken up later.

Mr. VOORHIS. There is one thing I would like to ask. Is it the position of the American League that the committee exceeded its authority in this matter?

Mr. WARD. It is the position of the American League that if the statements of Mr. Lowenstein and the person who signed this affidavit are correct—that remains to be proved, in relation to Mr. Barker and the others—in that case the agents of the committee have exceeded the authority and have gone contrary to the desires of the chairman and the statements of the chairman, and the desires and statements of the chief counsel. That is the question at issue. And it is a question of veracity between these persons. If we cannot settle it here, it can probably be settled in court, and we can find out who is telling the truth and who is not. That is the only thing at issue.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I do not see any issue about this. I think it is a bunch of rot, and we ought to proceed with the investigation of alleged un-American activities. If these gentlemen have any information along that line, let us have it. If they have not, the rest of this stuff has no place in this committee. It is a waste of time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you wish to present?

Mr. WARD. May I make one formal request that is usual in a case of this kind? Of course, the committee will be glad, as they do in all such cases, to furnish me with a copy of the transcript of this record before it is printed in order that I may have a chance to look it over?

The CHAIRMAN. You may come here and read it, but we do not have any extra copies. If you want to come here after the stenog-

rapher has transcribed it, and go over it, you are at perfect liberty to do so.

Mr. WARD. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you gentlemen want to do anything about this matter?

Mr. VOORHIS. It seems to me that if we are going to do anything about this Chicago matter, now would be the time to do it rather than some other time.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we decide that, I should like to have a letter identified here. Mr. Barker, how did you secure that letter [indicating document]?

Mr. BARKER. This letter was secured by a subpoena duces tecum.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you secure it?

Mr. BARKER. At 3929 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill., headquarters of the group known as New America.

The CHAIRMAN. You got it from the headquarters of New America?

Mr. BARKER. From Dr. Thomas H. Wright.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you kindly read the letter?

Mr. BARKER. The letter is as follows:

[Letterhead of National Relations Board]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 29, 1938.*

Mr. THOMAS H. WRIGHT,
3929 *Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.*

DEAR MR. WRIGHT: I am sending you enclosed, as I agreed to do when we met at luncheon, some material on proposed amendments to the National Labor Relations Act, as follows:

(1) Copy of a speech which I gave before the International Juridical Association dealing with the problem of amendment rather broadly; (2) text of Vandenberg amendments; (3) copy of a letter from the secretary of the Board to Senator Black, dealing specifically with the Vandenberg amendments. The Vandenberg amendments are those, of course, which have received the most attention. You may feel perfectly free to make use of the arguments made by Mr. Witt, but I would be careful not to give any publicity to their source. I hope these things will be helpful to you.

I shall be interested to hear from you as to how your teaching projects on the act are progressing.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) EDWIN S. SMITH.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now stand adjourned.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned to meet on Tuesday, October 24, 1939, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Starnes, Voorhis, Casey, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wants to announce that he conferred with the Department of Justice this morning, and Attorney General Murphy is assigning a staff of attorneys to especially work on the questions raised by the committee—that is, our urgent request that immediate action be taken against the Communist Party and the German-American Bund and their officials for failure to register under the Registration Act; and, also, that action be taken immediately against all other organizations controlled or dominated by the Communist Party and the German-American Bund.

The Department of Justice is anxious to cooperate in every possible way with the committee. The committee is going to supply the Department of Justice with all the evidence that it has in its possession, which the Chair feels will conclusively show that these organizations are violating the laws of the United States, and that the officials of the organizations are subject to penitentiary sentences. The Chair wants to commend the Department of Justice for its cooperative attitude and on its determination to join with this committee in ridding this country of violators of the penal laws and the Constitution of the United States. The Chair also wishes to announce that we have other evidence that we believe will warrant indictments against practically every leader in the various Communist movements in the United States; that is, that under different statutes or under different penal statutes, every one of them, in the opinion of the Chair, could be indicted and successfully prosecuted in the courts. The Chair is very happy that the Department of Justice and the other agencies have adopted this attitude of full cooperation in the administrative branches of the Government. With that cooperation, the Chair feels certain that we can accomplish a great deal in the way of ridding this country of these subversive groups and elements.

The points the Chair wants to make are, first, that the Department of Justice is to be commended because of the vigorous attitude it has

adopted with reference to these organizations and for the spirit of cooperation which they have manifested. The second point the Chair wants to make clear is that where the leader of any Fascist or Communist organization has not violated some penal law, of course, he cannot be prosecuted successfully in the court; but the Chair believes that we have the evidence, and we will cooperate with the Department of Justice 100 percent in putting a stop to this racketeering that is going on in the name of patriotism, on one hand, and in the name of liberalism, on the other hand. We will see if we cannot bring them to a show-down in the United States.

Of course, you gentlemen understand that facts will be submitted to the Department of Justice by our committee forthwith, and the Department of Justice is going to study those facts. They have agreed with us with reference to our premise, and if they agreed that we are correct in our statement that the law has been violated, they will act promptly. I do not want to quote the Department of Justice unequivocally, because they must act carefully, and, of course, they must go by the law of the land. I am certain, however, when they peruse this evidence and testimony we have, there will be only one course for them to pursue, and that is to ask for immediate indictments.

All right, Mr. Matthews, let us proceed.

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS ADAMS HENSON, CONSULTANT ON PUBLIC RELATIONS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your name?

Mr. HENSON. Francis Adams Henson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your place of residence?

Mr. HENSON. My residence is now in Washington, at 1723 G Street NW.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. HENSON. I was born between Berryville, Va., and Hagerstown, Md., technically, in Hagerstown, Md.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state briefly your professional training?

Mr. HENSON. I went to high school partly in Hagerstown, Md., and partly in Berryville, Va. I went to college at Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Va. I graduated from college in 1927. Then, in 1929-30, I studied at Yale University, and in 1930-32 at Columbia University.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please outline your professional experience?

Mr. HENSON. As for my professional experience, when I left college I spent 3 months as field representative of Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Va. Then, in September 1927, I was asked by Dr. John R. Mott to become a secretary of the national council of the Y. M. C. A., with particular responsibility for interpreting to students economic, political, and social problems. I remained with the national council of the Y. M. C. A. on and off through 1932. The reason I say "on and off" is because I did graduate work at Yale University, and did part-time graduate work at Columbia Univer-

sity. In 1932 I helped Bishop McConnell, Jerome Davis, and Father Ryan, of the Catholic Church, to organize the National Religion and Labor Foundation, at New Haven, Conn., and became the first executive secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation. The purpose of the foundation was to work among ministers, priests, and rabbis (because it was interdenominational and inter-religious) to help them to become more socially minded.

At the end of that period, I differed some with Dr. Davis on the question of the functions of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, and resigned in 1933. In 1933, I suppose about October 1933, I resigned, and then began lecturing, and about that time, while on a lecture tour, I became associated with the American League Against War and Fascism as cosecretary with Donald Henderson. That was the time when Dr. J. B. Matthews was chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism. I resigned from the American League Against War and Fascism while on a lecture tour, I think, in Oklahoma, just after the Madison Square Garden meeting which broke up in a riot because of the activities of Communist Party members. I resigned on account of that meeting. It was a meeting, if I remember correctly, that was held with some Socialists in connection with their fight against fascism. I continued lecturing, and returned to New York in the summer of 1934, when I was called to become executive secretary of International Student Service. That service was doing work aiding refugees from Germany, particularly intellectual refugees. I became secretary of that service, and was sent to Geneva, Switzerland, where I worked closely with Dr. James G. McDonald, who was High Commissioner of the League of Nations to aid refugees coming from Germany.

That organization brought over quite a number of refugees, or refugee students, during the next 2 or 3 years. It was in 1935 that I became also executive secretary of the Committee for the Aid of Political Refugees from Germany. It was dealing with political refugees in general—not only students. It was an organization primarily for raising money, consulting with refugees, and placing them. In connection with my work for German refugees (and at the same time), I was treasurer of the Committee on Fair Play and Sports, which opposed American participation in the Nazi olympics. Judge Jeremiah Mahoney was chairman of the committee. I mentioned this because this is why I happened to be in Barcelona, Spain, in July 1936, when the insurrection broke out against the Loyalist government. There was to be a counter-olympics to be held there, when this insurrection broke out. I was there as treasurer of the committee, of which Jeremiah Mahoney was chairman, but because of the insurrection the counter-olympics could not be held. There were a number of athletes from the trade-union movement in our delegation. There were a good many from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, of which David Dubinsky is president.

I came back to this country in 1936, and along with Roger Baldwin and others, I helped to organize the Medical Bureau in Aid of Spanish Democracy. The Medical Bureau in Aid of Spanish Democracy was later merged with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. That was in the fall of 1936. In the summer of 1937, to be exact, about June 1, 1937, I was called to Detroit and

became administrative assistant to the president of the United Automobile Workers, Homer Martin. I met Martin in connection with my work for the National Religion and Labor Foundation when he was a preacher in Kansas City, Mo. It was largely through that meeting that I became his administrative assistant. I served in the auto workers' union until late in the year 1938, when I became a victim of the factional fight out there. There was a majority against Homer Martin in the factional fight and this majority dismissed me. Since that time I have been in Washington as a free-lance writer and consultant in public-relations work, and for a part of the time I have been working with Jett Lauck, economist of the United Mine Workers, and his association, the American Association for Economic Freedom. I am now a free-lance writer and consultant on public relations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask you a few questions about your connection with the American League Against War and Fascism, during the period when you were a cosecretary of the organization. When did you become cosecretary of the American League Against War and Fascism, with Donald Henderson?

Mr. HENSON. If I remember correctly, it was about November or December 1933. I was on a lecture tour at that time, and I remember getting a call back to New York. The exact time, I do not know, but it was about that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yesterday, Dr. Harry Ward identified this document of the American League Against War and Fascism, from which I wish to read an excerpt, and will ask you if this is your recollection of the situation when you were connected with the organization. I read from section 2, page 2, of the Organization Handbook of the American League Against War and Fascism, as follows:

The American Committee for Struggle Against War supports the manifesto of the Amsterdam congress and undertakes to build a broad powerful movement against war preparations and military maneuvers and displays, and carry through protest struggles in war-producing industries, through the organization of local committees in all trade unions, fraternal organizations, cultural organizations, women's clubs, war veterans' organizations, professional groups, student groups—

And so forth. [Reading further:]

It was this American Committee for Struggle Against War, with offices at 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City, which formed the National Organizing Committee for the First United States Congress Against War.

The following officers directed the formation and work of the first congress: J. B. Matthews, chairman; Annie E. Grey, treasurer; and Donald Henderson, secretary. The first call for this congress was issued by Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, and Upton Sinclair.

Now, are the facts set forth in that statement in accord with your recollection of the set-up when you first became acquainted and identified with that organization?

Mr. HENSON. They are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know A. A. Heller, who is listed here as treasurer of the American Committee for Struggle Against War?

Mr. HENDERSON. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state briefly your knowledge of Mr. Heller?

Mr. HENSON. Mr. Heller was always very active on the financial side of various movements of that sort. He was very active, for instance, in the medical bureau, and particularly in the North American Committee in Aid of Spanish Democracy, of which he was the purchasing agent. He was quite active in the American League in the way of financial aid and participation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this Mr. Heller, who was treasurer of the American Committee for Struggle Against War, financially active for the American League Against War and Fascism, and president of the Friends of the Soviet Union, and, also, treasurer of the Medical Bureau in Aid of Spanish Democracy?

Mr. HENSON. So far as I know, he was not treasurer, but he was purchasing agent in charge of purchases and shipments for the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. He is the same Mr. Heller.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Heller is the man who was identified here in previous testimony as the man who had received a very large concession from Lenin.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the millionaire who has been a financial angel to them?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I might interject here that the evidence we have shows this to be the fact that there are as many well-to-do people in proportion to the number of well-to-do people in the United States interested in communism as there are workers. If there are 100,000 members of the Communist Party, and if you take the number of workers in the Communist Party and the relationship they bear to the total number of workers in the country, you will see that there are as many people of wealth, in proportion to numbers, interested in communism as there are workers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Heller has been identified as one of the financiers of International Publications.

The CHAIRMAN. We have evidence that this man Heller has financed them, and we know Corliss Lamont's money has been used in financing them. When you take into consideration all of those people of wealth, in proportion to the total number of people in the United States who have large wealth, you can see that the Communist Party is encouraged and financed by as large a proportion of wealthy people as any other movement. In fact, they have a larger proportion of wealthy people than of workers, in proportion to the total number of workers in the country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say you became cosecretary with Donald Henderson of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify some early issues of the magazine of the League Against War and Fascism known as Fight?

Mr. HENSON. These [indicating] are issues of that magazine, so far as I can see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were published during your own cosecretaryship.

Mr. HENSON. I would like the exact dates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are issues of November 1933 and January 1934.

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, these issues of the magazine Fight are offered as exhibits in the committee's records.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Henson, will you please outline briefly the incident of the Madison Square Garden meeting about which you spoke?

Mr. HENSON. The only basis on which I can do that is from indirect previous experience and from investigation made afterward. I was in Kansas City speaking at that time and heard over the radio a report of the catastrophic meeting; one that was catastrophic for the liberal and progressive movement, a movement in which some of us were seeking to build a united effort by all forces against what we thought were economic abuses and injustices. I investigated to ascertain how the breaking up of the meeting came about. The meeting broke up in a terrific fight. As I understand it, it was a united front meeting, called at the time when Dollfuss, as Chancellor of Austria, began to dissolve the organizations of workers and destroy their Socialist-constructed homes in the suburbs of Vienna. The meeting was to be a very broad one, with representatives from labor groups. I understand that the reason that finally caused the Communist Party to break up the meeting, to try to get it under their control, was because it was to be largely run by some Social Democrats in New York, and Matthew Woll had been invited to speak for labor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Mayor LaGuardia.

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir; if he was mayor at that time. I do not know whether he was mayor at that time. I think it was because of that fact that the Communist Party, which, as you may remember, was against any of the Socialist factions, wanted to break up the meeting. At that time, rather than work with them, they wanted to fight them and malign them. They thought it was absolutely impossible for them to participate in the meeting if it was headed by such reactionary figures, to them. So, when the meeting was held, they sought to take control of the meeting away from the groups that were running it. Out of that grew the fight. As I have said, this information is from secondary sources, but I ascertained its truth to my own satisfaction, and I decided that any group that would do such a thing was not using tactics that would encourage united progressive action. Therefore, I resigned from the American League Against War and Fascism then, and now the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you instructed by the Socialist Party to resign from the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. HENSON. At that time, I do not remember that I was instructed by the Socialist Party to withdraw. As a matter of fact I do not think I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you resign on your own initiative?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir; on my own initiative.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Entirely on account of the upsetting of the Madison Square meeting?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir. I understand that a good many Socialists resigned from the American League Against War and Fascism, and I judge they resigned on the basis of instructions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the Socialist Party a participant with the American League Against War and Fascism at that time?

Mr. HENSON. No, sir; it was a section of the Socialist Party led by Mary Fox and Norman Thomas that was a part of the league.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you an article which appeared in the Daily Worker on March 28, 1934, page 1, headed "Ward, Lovett, Steffens Head League Against War, Fascism, Replacing Deserting Socialists." Can you identify that?

Mr. HENSON. Yes; I remember seeing that article. It was generally understood in the liberal movement at that time, represented by the Nation and New Republic, that the Socialists who had withdrawn from the group were being branded because they were not willing to work with the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was this Madison Square Garden meeting held?

Mr. MATTHEWS. February 16, 1934.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the occasion for it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The occasion was to protest the civil war in Austria. Mr. Henson referred to the attack of the Dollfuss regime on the Social Democratic Party in Austria.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do I understand that the meeting was broken up by Communists?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. As a result of that experience, and you and many other people who had been connected with the American League for Peace and Democracy, then the American League Against War and Fascism withdrew from it?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir. It was only that section of the Socialist Party headed by Mary Fox and Norman Thomas that was working with the league.

The CHAIRMAN. At that point, may I ask whether, after these people withdrew, was anyone left in the American League Against War and Fascism except Communist Party members and fellow travelers?

Mr. HENSON. Very few others, I would say. I do not think any great number of people except Communists and fellow travelers remained in the league.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only way I can interpret what Dr. Ward said yesterday in reference to the league's membership. He said that a small percent of the people were Communists, and that the others were fellow travelers. They do believe in Soviet Russia, and for that reason they have never condemned communism. I think he was very definite in that respect. Were there any other members left in the league?

Mr. HENSON. I would say there were. I think it is much more complex than that. There are a great many liberals who fall for that type of thing, and I would not say that everybody in the league is either a Communist or a fellow traveler.

Mr. VOORHIS. As a matter of fact, are there probably not a great many people who are nominally members, but who have very little idea of what goes on in it, because they seldom attend meetings and do not have much information about the activities of the league at all?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. If that were not the case, there would not be much to bind them to it.

Mr. HENSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I went through the Ku Klux Klan days. When they started, through the South and West, a great many good people got in the Klan. There were a great many law-abiding Americans in the Klan who were deceived as to the real purposes of the Klan, but those good people got out when they found out what it was. So the point here, as I see it, is that if any loyal American people are in this organization, they will get out of the American League, and these other communistic organizations, because they have certainly had enough information about them. Their continuance in such an organization, after all this abundant proof has been given, can only be interpreted as indicating that they are either fellow travelers or members of the Communist Party. That is the only way I can interpret their continuance in these organizations. That was the situation with reference to the Klan. The people who remained in the Klan after its purposes were disclosed were those who were deeply prejudiced and intolerant.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have identified this article in the Daily Worker, and I will ask you if it does not establish this point, that the American League Against War and Fascism was not, as such, involved in the Madison Square Garden matter?

Mr. HENSON. So far as I know, that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The persons who withdrew from the American League Against War and Fascism on account of what the Communist Party members did at the Madison Square Garden meeting were proceeding on the assumption that to all practical intents and purposes, if they were severing their connection with the Communist Party, they would also withdraw from the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How would you identify Communist Party members? As a practical matter, did you feel that it was necessary to set up certain criteria for yourself in order to be able to know who was or who was not a Communist Party member, or a person claiming to be a Communist Party member?

Mr. HENSON. I think that is a very important point, Dr. Matthews. The question of classifying a person, or determining if he is a fellow traveler or a Communist Party member, generally does not amount to anything. It does not signify much to say that somebody is a "red" and tag him as a Communist Party member. Those who are Communist Party members frequently have certain jobs to do, and the Communist Party member with a certain job to do may conduct himself unlike a Communist Party member in order not to reveal the fact that he is a Communist Party member. So it is not in any certain particular way that you could answer that question. The real question is what political convictions are involved. For a long period of time there was constant confusion as to the general party line. It is quite difficult to determine whether they are party members, or not. I know there are fellow travelers who are better followers of the Communist Party than some of the members, because they are more steadily and with greater sincerity following the gen-

eral line of the Communist Party than many members seem to follow it.

By that I mean this; any one examining the records of the Communist International, the Comintern, or reading Communist literature in this country, recognizes that there have been certain landmarks in the history of the Communist movement since its beginning. Let us say since 1929, there have been—or 1927, when I first became acquainted with liberal or radical movements in the sense of being actively interested in them, there have been so-called ultra-left periods and ultra-right periods, and in between they have adopted different tactics.

In other words, for instance, when I first began to know the Communist Party in any sense, consciously know of their activities, they were working through the Trade-Union Unity League, the T. U. U. L., which, of course, was fighting the organized labor movement in this country because it was seeking to create a revolutionary labor movement on the side of the general labor movement. Anybody who did not favor that, if he was in any sense honest, an honest liberal, probably was not a Communist Party member, although he read the Daily Worker and a lot of other things. But if on that, just like the Soviet-German pact, he says, "This is a thing I am going to defend," and defends it, even crudely, well, the suspicion may well be that he was rather close to the party if he defended that particular tactic.

If, especially along with that, he defended other tactics, such as calling liberals and socialists "social fascists;" or favored a united front from below, which was a tactic then, calling on the Socialist Party members to revolt against Norman Thomas, and so forth, which was another way of recruiting for the Communist Party, that would be another proof.

Then, when in 1935, another Comintern congress was held and a very basic shift was taken to bore from within, the Trojan horse theory of Dimitroff, and if this same person shifted quickly at that time, that would be another proof in my mind over a period that he was rather close to the Communist Party.

And then again, in September of this year, he shifts back to being in favor of the armies of Soviet liberation in Poland and the German-Soviet pact, that would be almost conclusive proof.

But my point would be, in answer to that question, that the committee in the beginning, if not recently—I have not noticed many of these mistakes recently; but last year it evidently made considerable mistakes, perhaps like any committee learning would make, in asking a man, "Are you a 'red' card holder?" Or that type of thing. In other words, I think it is very important, not only if one is interested in exposing the nature of the Communist Party in this country, which I consider a reactionary force now, but in protecting liberals who are in no sense Communists—it is important to make this distinction, I think, and to recognize that it is not an easy thing ever to say that this fellow is or was a Communist.

The important point is how he acts over a long period of time and to what extent he is following the Comintern political line.

Mr. MASON. Your statement, boiled down, would mean that the best way to judge whether a person is a Communist or a fellow

traveler is by his deeds over a period of time rather than by his words or protestations.

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or by the question whether or not they hold a card.

Mr. HENSON. Yes; that does not signify anything. It is foolish, really, to ask that question, because most of them would say that they do not, even if they did. And most of them do not, of course, purposely do not. It would be stupid for them to have cards.

Mr. CASEY. Do you find a great deal of reluctance on the part of Communists to divulge that they are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. I think your point is well taken, that there are a great many men who advocate certain liberal measures that the Communist Party also advocates and merely because they find themselves in accord does not make them Communists. You must be very careful about that.

Mr. HENSON. That is right. I think that is a very important point. I do not know whether the committee has read this or not, this editorial on "Fellow Travelers" in the Washington Post. I think it is well almost to have it in the record, just bringing out that point, that it is very unfortunate, with the work that this committee is doing, if it would label everybody who worked in organizations with which the Communists cooperated; organizations in which the Communists were fellow travelers, you might say. Have you seen this, Mr. Dies?

Mr. VOORHIS. Just because the wrong people are for something that you think is right, that does not mean that you should not try to work for that thing.

Mr. HENSON. That is right. In other words, I think a distinction can be made, and I think it is important for this committee to make it.

The CHAIRMAN. What has guided the Chair, I may say for myself, has been the experience that the chairman had during the Ku Klux Klan days. Klansmen denied under oath that they were members of the Klan. I recall, for instance, when we had lawsuits, criminal prosecutions, that the Klan was interested in, we would ask jurors if they were members of the Klan and they denied it, because they had a provision that the minute they were asked that question they were automatically suspended. Now, the whole point is this: Unquestionably there have been many, good, sincere people drawn into these organizations. There is no question about that. We have a lady here who is going to testify, Mrs. Barr, who was on the national committee of the American League. Certainly nobody in the world can accuse her of not being a patriotic, loyal American citizen.

The point that I am making is that if in the face of overwhelming evidence given day in and day out these people persist in continuing in these organizations, then we can reach no other conclusion than that they are either Communists or definitely fellow travelers of the Communist Party. That is the point I want to make. As to the past, we take the position that we know there are many, many good people in these organizations. We have said time and time again that the great majority of the labor organizations are patriotic Americans, and of

all these organizations. But we certainly are justified now in laying down and in saying definitely that if they continue in these organizations, the country can reach but one conclusion, namely, that they are Communists or fellow travelers. And I can see very little difference between a fellow traveler and a Communist. In fact, I think I think more of the Communist, because he at least has the honesty to say that "I am a Communist."

Very well, gentlemen, let us proceed.

Mr. CASEY. I would like to understand the witness thoroughly. You say that in order to determine who is a Communist or a fellow traveler and who is not, you should take his actions over a long period of time and his stand upon several important questions. I noticed you mentioned the approval of the—

Mr. HENSON. The German-Soviet pact.

Mr. CASEY. The Soviet-German pact. I think that is a very important yardstick by which to measure a man.

Mr. HENSON. Especially since they have made it such.

Mr. CASEY. And then you said, approval of the Russian invasion of Poland. Now, how are you going to determine who approves that and who disapproves that? Have they had any meetings; have they been on record on that?

Mr. HENSON. They definitely are on record. If you read their literature, you can tell that that is an accepted line. Granville Hicks' letter to the New Republic resigning from the party made this whole configuration, whatever you may want to call it, that grew out of the signing of the Russian-German pact a matter of principle in the party; that is, that they must agree with it. He said in this letter that he wanted to stay in, but it was because they said that you must ardently or vigorously advocate this position, that this is good for the peace of the world, that he resigned.

Mr. CASEY. What other yardstick is there that can be used?

Mr. HENSON. Frankly, what I tried to say in answer to Dr. Matthews' question was that it is a very complex thing to say. That is what I was trying to emphasize by this discourse. For a person who got interested in the Communist Party, let us say, last summer, it would be very difficult, if he is really a fellow traveler and is ardently backing them, to prove that he is, if he says he is not, and you have no basis of judgment over a period of years by which to go.

In other words, if this same person, now a party member, in 1933 was fighting J. B. Matthews and the American League Against War and Fascism, you might say that he is not sympathetic with the party. So I would say that it is a very difficult thing to prove. But I do not think in a case like that that it is important to find out whether that individual is or is not, if he has just gotten interested in the party last summer. The persons you are concerned about, I judge, as a congressional committee, are not so much those recent converts but the persons representing the movement, the leaders of the movement.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. HENSON. So I would just let that poor gentleman go. He may become enlightened in time.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Mr. Henson, we have got to be very careful that we do not start condemning everybody.

Mr. HENSON. That is a very important thing, not to have a "red" witch hunt.

The CHAIRMAN. For we know that there are selfish employers who would be only too happy to use this issue for the purpose of hurting honest laboring people who are not Communists.

We know further that simply because some people have the same views, or have certain views and the Communists coincide with them, does not mean that they are Communists.

For instance, take this neutrality fight. The Communists say they are for keeping the embargo on, or whatever their position is. But there are many people who have the same view.

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, the argument is made that Lindbergh is a Fascist because he appears to have certain ideas. That, in my judgment, is absolutely unjustified, just as it is to say that some of the group who wants to revise the neutrality law are pro-English, or anything of that sort. We have got to be careful about that. The committee recognizes that.

Let us proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By way of review of some of these points, Mr. Henson, I believe your first point was that anyone who favored the Trade Union Unity League was properly a suspect as a party member, or being close to the party.

Mr. HENSON. Favoring it as a tactic in radicalizing workers; in other words, I would want to make it clear that it would be the way in which they favored it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not going to let it hinge on any single issue here, but a succession of issues, as you pointed out, over a period of years. But that would be the beginning point. Then, if he suddenly shifted when the Communist Party itself shifted against the tactic involved in the Trade Union Unity League to the tactic of boring from within the large labor organizations—

Mr. HENSON. The American Federation of Labor at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The large labor organizations, that would be a criterion.

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then on the subject of collective security; if you took that in isolation without any regard to any other questions, it is well known, is it not, that thousands of people, millions of people, favor the proposition of collective security? But if a man was all for collective security and then suddenly abandoned the idea of collective security at the moment that the Communist Party did, that would become a criterion?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Particularly if he is similarly shifting his position on these other questions prior to this late shift.

Then, bringing it down to the question of the Soviet-Nazi pact, if a man was always standing up against Hitler and fascism for years and cooperated in united front organizations with the Communist Party on that question, you would not know from that single fact alone whether he was or was not a fellow traveler. But if, when the Communist Party began to tone down its attacks on Hitler

and fascism, this man would likewise, then you would have pretty clear evidence that he was following the party line; is that correct?

Mr. HENSON. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that the shifts, more than the specific positions, are to be taken into account in determining the main line. If his zigzags correspond to the zigzags of the Communist Party, that is more important evidence than actually seeing the man's party membership card.

Mr. HENSON. Much more.

Mr. CASEY. Of course, there are a great many things that Communists do advocate within the framework of the Constitution. It seems to me when he owes an allegiance to Stalin, evidenced by the fact that he follows blindly the Soviet-German pact, that is pretty important evidence. I want to ask the witness if there has been any real cleavage to amount to anything, because of that German-Soviet pact.

Mr. HENSON. Probably you know as much about that as I do. There has been considerable among certain of the intellectuals. I do not know. It is reported there has been quite a bit of it, but I do not know. Of course, among the rank and file, the Communist Party denies that the membership is resigning. But that has not been proved yet. But in terms of people like Granville Hicks and others who were very outstanding leaders of the Communist Party there certainly has been much falling away.

Mr. CASEY. Do you think that their belief was that the Communist Party was solely an American organization, that owed allegiance to nobody else, until this pact?

Mr. HENSON. You are asking whether these people thought that?

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

Mr. HENSON. I do not think so. I do not think Granville Hicks thought that.

Mr. CASEY. You think it was a matter—

Mr. HENSON. Of difference on this particular question.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you not think, as time has passed through the years, the most important influence causing people to desert the Communist Party has been the discovery from time to time that its policies were not determined in accordance with the American needs or American conditions?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. But rather on the basis of the support of the Soviet Union; is that right?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. CASEY. In other words, they objected to being vassals of Stalin.

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. CASEY. And when they discovered that, they wanted to get out. I wanted to find out if quite a large number of them have gotten out.

Mr. HENSON. I do not think it can be said yet. Time will tell—this fall.

Mr. STARNES. There is one thing that I think should be clarified for the record, and that is this very loose term or designation of

liberals. If by being a liberal a man must believe in State socialism or be opposed to capitalism in any form or against the profit motive, and must be against everything except certain of what I call a species of intellectual idiocy in the form of certain movements, then I think some line ought to be drawn by people who are genuinely liberal against the use of that term.

In other words, this morning I noticed one statement of yours which impressed me very much. You spoke of the gullibility of liberals. I think that is one of the outstanding characteristics of a lot of people who call themselves liberal; that is, their gullibility.

Mr. HENSON. Of course, many of these terms are likely to be re-defined and misused.

Mr. STARNES. Why, certainly.

Mr. HENSON. Stuart Chase has written a book, *The Tyranny of Words*, which shows how words are inadequate weapons and tools to make ourselves understood. But "liberals," of course, is an unusually flexible term.

Mr. STARNES. I am finding that out in these hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact, Mr. Henson, for years that the word "liberal," being derived from the word "liberty," was taken simply to mean those who are in favor of the fundamental principles of liberty? That could include both the conservative and the progressive or anyone else.

If this committee were to define that term in its report, as I think it should; that is, what a liberal is, it would be the greatest service that could be performed in this country; because the idea of dividing people along economic lines is a folly.

Mr. HENSON. But I doubt if you can adequately define it.

Mr. STARNES. I would not want to undertake the job, as a member of the committee, I will say that much.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out, apropos of what Mr. Starnes said, that conversely neither is it necessary, in my opinion, if a person is completely sincere in his belief in democracy—it does not necessarily follow that he has to be opposed to any modification of the full expression of finance capitalism. What I mean is, I believe a person can be the most earnest adherent of American constitutional democracy and still believe in the T. V. A. and believe that progressive measures, bringing about a greater real democracy among the people, are not only consistent with that but are a necessary part of the preservation of the basic structure of constitutional democracy.

You do not need to answer that, Mr. Henson.

Mr. HENSON. I do not want to settle intra-Democratic Party political difficulties.

Mr. STARNES. It is nothing like that, Mr. Henson. I was just trying to get a definition of the term, "liberal." I have been listening here for a period of 15 months and most of those who denominate themselves as liberals, as they have impressed me, are this kind of people. I admit that they are very liberal. They are liberal in several ways. They are liberal in the use of the English language. They are liberal in the use of refined invective. They are liberal in the use of other people's money. They are very liberal in taking care of themselves at the expense of somebody else. But they do

not seem to be so liberal in according to other people a right to a conscientious opinion about a matter and place some sort of a stigmatizing label upon a man if they do not agree with him.

I have been very much impressed with this term, "liberal." I am just trying to get a real definition of it.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that we are just degenerating into giving our own opinions, instead of getting a statement from the witness.

Mr. STARNES. I think so, myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed, gentlemen. We have clarified this issue, something that has been vexing the people for many generations. Having decided that, let us proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say that an additional criterion to be used in conjunction with these other criteria, before identifying one who follows the Communist Party line, would be refraining from any criticism over a period of years of the Soviet Union or actually approving everything that occurs in the Soviet Union?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, I would say that. That would also be one of the planks of the platform, so to speak.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you have had a very considerable first-hand experience in one of the hottest trade-union spots in the United States in recent years in your work as administrative assistant to Homer Martin in the Automobile Workers Union. Did you find it necessary in that work to establish for yourself these and other criteria in order to understand the movements taking place in the trade-union field?

Mr. HENSON. It is absolutely essential, I should say, to understand these.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, this was not just an academic proposition.

Mr. HENSON. Not a bit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was getting down to the basic understanding of what was going on in the trade-union movement.

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Henson, have you for a long time been a student of Leninism?

Mr. HENSON. Yes. I have, I should say, since my college days, been interested in Marxism and Leninism—the writings of the radical movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the question of identifying, not individuals but organizations, do you or do you not know as a student of Leninism that the Communist Party has held as one of its first principles in running a united front that the united front must never adopt the full Communist Party position on a question?

Mr. HENSON. Yes; that would be obviously rather true, it seems to me. They naturally do not want these front organizations to be identical with the Communist Party, because it would not attract people who would not join the party. So they always have a slightly different program for the united-front group. They encourage it, in other words. Of course, it is not difficult to encourage, because the liberals or the progressives, or whatever you want to call them, who come into the united-front organizations, naturally do not want to

go the whole way; they have differences with the Communist Party, so the party encourages slight differences in the program of united-front organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Communist Party literature, have you found the theory that if the united-front organization had the exact position of the Communist Party it would be simply a duplicate and therefore superfluous?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that the party makes a point of having the united front adopt only a 50-, 60-, or 70-percent Communist position.

Mr. HENSON. Depending on the organization; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Depending on the organization rather than the full Communist Party position.

Mr. HENSON. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And now, have you found that in turn that fact has been used by Communists to cover up Communist control of the United front? Have you found that in your experience?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They point to the absence of the full Communist Party position in the United front as proof that the Communist Party is not in control.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, is the theory of the Communist Party and of Leninism, in having the united-front organization take only a partial Communist Party position to attract much larger numbers than the party could attract in its full position, and therefore bring these larger numbers into contact with the party?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, of course. That is not only the attitude of the Communist Party but it would be the attitude of any other group if they had a similar situation; in other words, to use this as a feeder. I think Mr. Browder, when he was here, spoke of them as transmission belts. It is a very graphic and vivid term; he spoke of them as transmission belts for the party. And that is what they seek to make them, of course.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is it not also true that as a matter of tactics almost everything is claimed as a transmission belt?

Mr. HENSON. That is another point rather good to bring out, Mr. Voorhis, that frequently, if they were testifying here—and I suppose this was done when Mr. Browder testified—they might well claim certain other organizations, in which they work, as their organizations, when they are not; partly to confuse the issue and partly just to expand their membership. Any organization tends to do that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Also, as a matter of practical working in the trade-union and liberal movements, have you discovered any useful criteria in identifying a Communist Party controlled organization? Have you any useful criteria in that respect?

Mr. HENSON. Yes. Well, usually, of course, they seek as much control as is compatible with it being a nonparty organization and yet close to the party. By that I mean this: That where possible they have as many of their people on the office staff; either fellow travelers or members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me outline some of these criteria. You have named one now, the presence of known Communists or known fellow

travelers as officers of the organization. And would you say in that connection that it is particularly important from the party standpoint to have the secretary of an organization a Communist rather than the chairman?

Mr. HENSON. Oh, always, because the secretary runs organizations and chairmen usually do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, you found in your experience that as between the chairman and the secretary, the Communist Party prefers to have the secretary?

Mr. HENSON. Oh, always, that is rather obviously true, because there are very few active chairmen of any kind of organizations—Red Cross, Community Chest, Boy Scouts, or what not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would another criterion be the participation of an organization in Communist Party parades; for example, the May Day parade, organized by a committee of the Communist Party? Would that be a criterion?

Mr. HENSON. It would be a criterion, but it might be a criterion of a specific case and might well depend upon the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; just as we have in the case of individuals; it is necessary not to accept a single criterion but a number in conjunction.

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you would say in a series of criteria, participating in Communist Party parades would be one factor?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the adoption of resolutions in line with the direction in which the Communist Party itself is moving?

Mr. HENSON. That would always be a criterion subject, of course, subject to the qualification that I made that it would differ slightly from the formulations of the Communist Party itself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just the same, if you find a dozen or a score of organizations adopting pretty identical resolutions which at least tend in the direction of the Communist Party's line at a given moment, you think that is an additional criterion?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about joint activities with other united-front organizations? Is that a criterion? For example, when a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden is staged and you have a dozen or more organizations sponsoring that meeting, is there some significance to be found in the fact that this, and this, and this organization was found cooperating?

Mr. HENSON. It would be a criterion; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about advertising in Communist Party publications? Suppose, for example, to make it concrete, you find that organizations like the International Workers Order and the International Labor Defense, which have been identified here as Communist-controlled organizations, and others, are found pretty consistently advertising in the Communist Party press, would you say that that is a criterion to be taken in conjunction with others?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the location of offices and headquarters of an organization; do you consider that one of the important criteria? For example take the address 799 Broadway, which is one

entrance and there is an entrance to the same building on another street, and in that building there are 15 or 20 organizations, and you know that half of them are under the direct control of the Communist Party. Is there any significance to be attached to that?

Mr. HENSON. I think it would be a criteria to keep in mind but with popular-front manifestations, my experience was that they tended to get away from that with the people who are in—

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). For the purpose of concealing them?

Mr. HENSON. Making them less obvious.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. What about the North American Committee to Aid Spain?

Mr. HENSON. 381 Fourth Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; the headquarters of the Communist Party is situated in New York at the same address, is it not?

Mr. HENSON. I think so. I think there would be some significance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now what about the space given the organizational activities in the columns of, let us say, the Daily Worker? Is that a criteria to be taken into consideration in conjunction with others?

Mr. HENSON. I should say so; yes. That would have to be taken with other criteria. If you read the Daily Worker, and I do not suppose you do—I do not read it regularly but I do like to keep up with what they are doing; I read it once in a while—you will see the type of program emphasized in the paper. Organizations played up as well as the proportion of the space given to a discussion of their program are criteria of Communist Party favored causes.

The fact that they gave publicity to the Roosevelt campaign for instance, does not mean that Roosevelt is a part of their set-up. I make that important qualification. But I would say that publicity in the Daily Worker is one of the criteria of a Communist-controlled movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For example, we have had here 8 or 10 criteria which Mr. Henson has agreed may be used to identify an organization, and he has pointed out that no single one of them would be sufficient evidence, but if you find that there are 8 or 10 applying to any one organization you have pretty good proof, and that, he says, is fundamentally necessary, and as a matter of fact, practical, in the progressive movement to be able to set up some criteria in order to determine political relations.

Mr. CASEY. Take an organization where the secretary is a Communist; that is pretty nearly *prima facie*, is it not, that the organization is Communist completely?

Mr. HENSON. I doubt if they would have a Communist secretary in a "front" organization—

Mr. CASEY. You doubt it?

Mr. HENSON. Yes. In other words, if the secretary is Communist it is a completely controlled organization. I would say that would be evident to most anybody.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Nevertheless, we have had witnesses deny that that is a sufficient criterion to show that it is Communist controlled.

Now, Mr. Henson, will you please outline your connections with the Medical Bureau and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy?

Mr. HENSON. Well, in stating my experience I covered that point, but I will repeat it very briefly. Because of my work with and my connections with anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi movements. I was treasurer of the Committee on Fair Play in Sports. It carried on a rather big campaign in 1935 and 1936 to keep America from participating in the Berlin Olympics because they were Nazi sponsored and were being utilized by the Nazi Government to propagandize nazi-ism.

Therefore, I was asked by the chairman of that committee to go to the Olympic games in 1936 and help sports writers to see the political implications of the Olympics, which I tried to do.

In going there, however, there was a committee on the Olympics working for a counter-Olympics in Barcelona, Spain, in behalf of the peoples-front organizations there. And I took a group of athletes along with me, or rather, I went along to Barcelona with them to participate in this program about a month before the Berlin Olympics. They arranged, or rather the committee arranged the program, which, because of the war breaking out in Spain, did not materialize; but as a result I was in Spain about 2 weeks during the first part of the civil war there.

Now, many in Spain believed in the cause for which we were fighting, against fascism, and after I had gone on to the Olympics I came back convinced of the necessity of raising money and of asking help of the American people, and I concluded that I would go on a lecture tour and speak about the Spanish situation and the situation in Germany. Before going, however, I had talked to Roger Baldwin.

The Communist Party naturally had very close contact with Spain, and they were very much interested in raising money to support their efforts.

Mr. CASEY. Will you elaborate on why the Communist Party had taken such interest in the Spanish situation?

Mr. HENSON. Well, I do not feel so capable of doing that. I only have my own ideas as to the political reasons which involved them in Spain. They developed very vigorously their popular-front organizations to popularize the work of the Communist Party not only in Spain but in other working-class movements. They were determined to take control of the situation in Spain. They utilized this situation to build up the Communist Party. In the light of what happened, it is clear that they choked the Spanish Loyalist cause.

So when this committee went to work to help the Spanish refugees the Communist Party was very active and had been from the very beginning.

I was asked by Roger Baldwin to assist the committee, which was first called the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Refugees, located at 20 Vesey Street, and I helped conduct the campaign in behalf of the committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. You were asked by the North American Committee for the Aid of Spain?

Mr. HENSON. The North American Committee was a parallel to this committee, the Medical Bureau, at 20 Vesey Street. The North American Committee was an organization created about the same time and was a federation of organizations.

Mr. CASEY. And you were asked to assist them?

Mr. HENSON. I was asked by the Medical Bureau in the fall of 1936 and about March 1937, I began a campaign in behalf of the North American Committee—when the two merged.

Mr. CASEY. With reference to the situation in Spain: Do I understand you believe the Russian Communist Party was interested, at least, in part, not only in preventing Franco but also to prevent the possibility of domination of Spain by any other left-wing group?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the effect of the Stalin program on the fortunes of Franco?

Mr. HENSON. Naturally the Communist tactics assisted Hitler's Germany to that extent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Communist Party did support the Hitler plebescite in Prussia against the Social Democrats.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just prior to the advent of Hitler in 1932?

Mr. CASEY. I do not know that there is any question that there was no cooperation between Stalin and Franco.

Mr. HENSON. That is what I was trying to make clear.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did not ask you whether there was cooperation.

Mr. HENSON. No.

Mr. STARNES. Do you propose to show by Mr. Henson, Mr. Matthews, the amount of money raised by the North American Committee to Aid Spain?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Whatever information Mr. Henson has upon that.

Were the Communists in complete control of the medical bureau of the North American Committee to Aid Spain?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So far as your observation of it goes?

Mr. HENSON. Yes. It is rather paradoxical but an accurate statement of the situation was that the North American Committee to Aid Spain was a federation of organizations and because the Socialist Party and other left-wing groups were a part of it, the Communists did not completely control it.

The medical bureau, on the other hand, was one of the constituent bodies of the organization that made up the North American Committee. It was made up of innocent individuals who had become interested in the fight against fascism. It was almost completely controlled by the Communist Party. While the one was controlled by the Communist Party, the other—the North American Committee—had non-Communists in it, and there began a fight to merge the two. The Communist top rankers finally were convinced that it would be a good idea to merge the two, and after a time Browder, who had opposed the merger, finally was convinced by discussion, I judge, that the organizations should be merged and he voted for the merger and the merger took place at 381 Fourth Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now I understand your testimony is to the effect that the Medical Bureau was completely dominated by the Communist Party?

Mr. HENSON. In terms of official office set-up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the North American Committee prior to merger was not completely controlled by the Communist Party but the Communist Party was the dominant political party.

Mr. HENSON. Yes; largely because of their activities.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Miss Stella Carmen?

Mr. HENSON. Miss Carmen was the office manager in the Medical Bureau and later became the office manager when it merged with the North American Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HENSON. She was; she did not deny it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. She made no dispute about it?

Mr. HENSON. No bones about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did not keep secret her membership in the party?

Mr. HENSON. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. She was the original office manager of the Medical Bureau and when that Bureau was merged with the committee—

Mr. HENSON. When the merger took place with the North American Committee she became its manager.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was A. A. Heller connected with it?

Mr. HENSON. He was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Heller was identified as the purchasing agent?

Mr. HENSON. Purchasing agent, in charge of shipments to Spain; and there was a Mr. Racoli.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he supposed to be a non-Communist?

Mr. HENSON. He was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no information to the contrary?

Mr. HENSON. Well, I just do not know about Mr. Racoli.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there a man by the name of Louis Gibardi connected with your committee, seemingly?

Mr. HENSON. He was a very active representative of the Communist Party in all anti-Fascist and Spanish work; he was assigned to that task.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you elaborate, please, on the duties and activities of Mr. Heller as purchasing agent for the committee?

Mr. HENSON. Well, Mr. Heller, because of his extensive business experience seemed to be the logical person, at least, it was explained to me, to make purchases for the committee and the shipments to Spain and he is supposed to have made some very good deals in making purchases, such as buying flour and other merchandise going to Spain because of his extensive connections in shipping, and so forth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has Mr. Heller attempted to hide his close connections with the Communist Party?

Mr. HENSON. Never to my knowledge did he attempt to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Will this witness deal with it, Mr. Matthews, or will you show later how the funds were used and the proportion of the funds collected that actually reached the purposes for which they were intended?

Mr. HENSON. You want me to go into that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. HENSON. Well, of course, I have no way of knowing that. My own guess is that a good part of that which was collected for humanitarian purposes was spent in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HENSON. A very considerable amount was spent for administrative purposes in raising the money. It was largely spent on a very large office staff and office set-up.

The CHAIRMAN. The records I have seen, I might say indicate that you are correct. With many of these organizations engaged in raising money it is evident there were many great irregularities.

Mr. HENSON. Yes; but I cannot give you factual information on this point.

The CHAIRMAN. And that the entire matter is going to be and ought to be turned over to the local agencies to deal with them and prosecute these parties where crimes have been committed.

The point, of course, is that people who were misappropriating funds raised for such purposes deserve no consideration whatsoever.

Mr. HENSON. I would like to make one further qualification in that regard, and that is with regard to the money collected by the Communist Party. The Communist Party was very anxious to make a showing in Spain, and I know of one or two cases, particularly, where they sent supplies to Spain indicating that it came from La Passionaria. She was a very prominent, energetic woman, leader of the Communist Party in Spain. Because of their efforts in Spain and to show that the Communist Party was in a dominant position to assist the Loyalist Government, I am inclined to think that a considerable percentage of the money collected was used for their purposes in Spain. But I know of some other instances where the situation was otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. The city of New York, of course, is keeping a record and is supposed to keep a record of funds raised by different organizations.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is absolutely amazing to look over the records and see what has been done in the past few years in the way of raising money.

I think that a most thorough audit of the books of many of these organizations for relief purposes throughout the country is going to disclose a shocking situation of the misappropriation of the funds and of the use of funds by certain people, and I think those people ought to be brought to the bar of justice. That is one of the committee's efforts, to bring to light cases where such practice has been carried on.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether any of it was used for Communist Party propaganda?

Mr. HENSON. I have no way of knowing that. Naturally, they would not tell me about it.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether the reports indicate an unusually large amount of money was spent in this country?

Mr. HENSON. Well, what I tried to say I did not say in justification of any such a set-up. For instance, at 381 Fourth Avenue there was a large staff, so much so that they were criticized for spending so much money for that purpose, for having too many people on the pay roll, that it looked like a W. P. A. office or Community Chest campaign headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. There was one organization—I do not recall what organization it was—which raised money for some cause; I do not know whether it was for Spain or not, but every bit of it was spent by the staff.

Mr. MASON. On the question of administrative expenses, what was your reason for doubting the diversion of funds taken for relief for propaganda and for furthering the cause of communism?

Mr. HENSON. Of course, I have no way of knowing but I would doubt a rather large percentage of it was used otherwise because of the Communist desire to popularize this movement in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated that some of the food sent by the North American Committee to Spain arrived in cartons labled differently from the cartons in which they were sent?

Mr. HENSON. Yes. I have no further personal observations on this situation but I got that from a good friend of mine in Spain who was a Loyalist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Henson, can you identify Dr. William Crookston?

Mr. HENSON. Dr. William Crookston was called to be director—I do not know the exact term—of the Medical Bureau when the merger became effective.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was he from?

Mr. HENSON. From Harrisburg, Pa. He is deceased now; just when he died I do not recall, but sometime last year, I believe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the connection between Louis Gibardi and Mr. Crookston?

Mr. HENSON. I know I was secretary of the committee when the committee obtained Crookston, and he was put over my head, and I was naturally interested in the person who took over the job. I recommended having a doctor because I felt that proper.

I also recall that Gibardi said that they had met, I think, in Europe after the war. Crookston was a member of the Reserve—I think a Reserve officer, if they have medical Reserve officers, Reserve for medical men. He was in the Reserve Officers Medical Corps. I judge maybe he had been in Russia after the war, I don't know, but anyway I understand Gibardi and he met after the war and Gibardi went down to Harrisburg to get him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please indicate——

Mr. HENSON (continuing). Gibardi was the official representative of the Communist International of the Communist Party here for refugees, German refugees and Spanish aid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was working in the Medical Bureau?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Gibardi got Dr. Crookston?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To come to aid him in the Medical Bureau?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To develop and to associate with them in the program they were carrying on.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was chairman of the Medical Bureau?

Mr. HENSON. Dr. Cannon, of Harvard, a famous physician and professor of medical science. He was a friend of Negrin, the premier of Loyalist Spain. So far as I know he was a very able defender of the Loyalist cause. He was not a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were your connections with Bishop F. J. McConnell?

Mr. HENSON. Bishop McConnell was a very socially minded individual, with the North American Committee, and when the committee merged with the Medical Bureau I was associated with him in dealing with the matters.

He was not very active as the chairman. He was a kind of person the Communists would pick out as a fellow traveler. I think, however, it would be very unfortunate if this committee or anyone else should imply that Bishop McConnell, because he was socially minded, did anything to aid or abet the Communist Party cause.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see Bishop McConnell at the headquarters?

Mr. HENSON. No; I never did. He was very sympathetic to such work but busy with other duties.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the situation, of course, that we are trying to find out about—how a great many prominent people, whose names are prominent, are being used by these so-called front organizations.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They are asked to act as chairman, or secretary of the board or chairman of the board.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And many of these organizations where we have found there has been a misappropriation of funds are going to make it very embarrassing for some people who have permitted their names to be used in such a manner—that is, to head organizations of that kind.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There are many such cases as that. Of course, these are upright men who are asked to head organizations or to act as chairman of boards when they do not know what is going on or what becomes of the funds that are raised by the use of their names.

Mr. HENSON. Of course, that is an unfortunate fact that perhaps did not exist sometime ago. Men of that kind have always been picked out to head organizations like the Red Cross. They trusted the group which asked them to permit their names to be used. Bishop McConnell himself was taken to task for permitting his name to be used too freely in indorsing all kinds of causes.

What I am trying to say is I think it is very unfortunate for a man like Bishop McConnell, who is very vitally interested in social-service work, to have someone take advantage of the use of his name, which indicates that many of these men are going to have to be more careful, perhaps, than they have.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the very point I am bringing out. It is prominent men like Bishop McConnell who are asked to be chairmen of such organizations.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Which are going to raise money, and the people who misappropriate money raised for such purpose do not deserve any consideration whatsoever.

How can they supervise it? As a rule the chairman never knows the purpose for which the money is spent.

Mr. HENSON. Congressman Dies, in my experience, and I have worked with numerous organizations since 1927, it is this type of people in public life that they get as chairmen of committees, or

boards, or whether it is a Y. M. C. A. or some other movement or organization. Some people will say, "I will serve on a committee, or act as chairman of a committee, but I have no time to devote to it." They will be told it is no discredit to them but will be asked to lend their names, and where they cannot give time, many of them do that.

I suppose that such people will have to be more careful in the way they cooperate with such movements, due to certain things which have happened and which did not exist in the past.

Mr. MASON. In other words, you would say that Bishop McConnell and Secretary Ickes should be more cautious in the future than they have been in the past?

Mr. HENSON. Yes; they certainly should be more cautious.

Mr. STARNES. Do you not think that these people take advantage, this unscrupulous element, take advantage of the Saviour complex that seems to exist in many Americans—

Mr. HENSON. Well, let us say the humanitarian tendency.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; and the unscrupulous element takes advantage of it and uses the names of some very prominent people to set up an organization and go out and collect funds.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a list somewhere—I do not recall what it is called—including a government agency apparently where they were going forth to raise funds through different organizations.

I mean the point is that no telling how many innocent people are victimized by this.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Henson, I would like to read you a statement from the Labor Defender, which is the official organ of the International Labor Defense. This issue of the Labor Defender was dated June 19, 1937.

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this statement appears in that issue:

At the outbreak of the Fascist rebellion in Spain, the I. L. D. (International Labor Defense) in the United States swung into action, and it was this action which became the basis for the great solidarity movement organized in the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical Bureau.

The I. L. D. (International Labor Defense) began to collect medical aid, and to accomplish this, it set up committees involving doctors, nurses, professionals, and all sorts of people friendly to the Spanish cause, whom we had never reached before.

Do you have any comment to make on that?

Mr. HENSON. I think it is rather self-explanatory, but it is a rather indiscreet statement from within the Communist Party about these organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Henson, I show you a piece of publicity literature of the Medical Bureau of the North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy, which lists its affiliated organizations. On the basis of your criteria, which we have discussed already, I wonder if you would be able to identify, or if you would care to identify which of these organizations are properly to be classed as controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. HENSON. Well, do you want me to check it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I would like you to check it.

Mr. HENSON. Well, I am not sure of this—Anti-Fascist Literature Society.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, the ones you are not sure of, just omit.

Mr. HENSON. This committee is a liberal group—the American League for Peace and Democracy is Communist Party controlled.

Ben Leider Memorial Fund: I am not sure about the Book and Magazine Guild; Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

I am not sure of that. The Church League for Industrial Democracy is liberal but its secretary plays with the Communist Party.

Of course, that is clear—Communist Party branches.

I am not sure of this—Federation of Faculty Committees for Aid to the Spanish People.

The CHAIRMAN. Read them out, when you say you are sure of them.

Mr. HENSON. Yes; I am sure of this—Communist Party branches. Well, now, I did not realize how this list has been expanded since I was with the committee. You see, I left in June 1937 and this suggests to me a lot I am not sure of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Name the ones you are not sure of.

Mr. HENSON. The tactics of the Communist Party is to have very indefinite names of committees, that are organized quickly, which the Communist Party can control—all kinds of names. For instance, the Federal Employees' Ambulance Committee—I don't know what it is. I suppose it is a specializing committee to raise money from Federal employees; but if they affiliate, however, under it, that meant it was a method of control, you see. In other words, they would have a lot of innocent-looking organizations which they controlled and in this way have extra votes in the North American committee.

Finnish Workers' Federation—I am not sure of that.

Foster Parents' Plan for Children in Spain. I am not sure of that. Some of these, by the way—Foster Parents' Plan for Children in Spain is a committee almost comparable to the North American Committee itself. I mean it really is not a bona fide constituent organization.

German-American Committee for Spanish Relief: No.

Italian Committee to Aid Children of Spain: Question mark.

International Labor Defense would be one.

International Workers' Order would be one.

Lawyers' Committee on American Relations with Spain: Question mark.

League for Industrial Democracy is, of course not.

Lettish Workers Unity—I should guess so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; don't guess.

Mr. HENSON. All right; question mark.

A lot of these I am just not sure of.

Lithuanian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy: Question mark.

Motion Picture Artists' Committee: I am not sure.

Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Children: Question mark.

Negro Peoples' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy: Question mark.

Portuguese Anti-Fascist Group: Question mark.

Progressive Women's Council: Yes.

Samuel Levinger Memorial Committee: I don't know.

Social Workers' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy: I don't know.

Socialist Party locals: No.

Teachers' Union, Local No. 5: Of course that is wholly a question of Communist Party control in this case.

MR. MATTHEWS. That is, of the local?

MR. HENSON. Generally they can be counted as Communist Party controlled.

Teachers' Union, Local No. 453: I don't know.

Theater Arts Committee: Yes.

Young Communist League: Yes.

As I read those, I see a lot of these committees are specializing committees, organized to raise funds, like the Lawyers' Committee, obviously, and it just depends upon who becomes active in that, as to who controls it.

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes. Mr. Henson has marked eight of the affiliated organizations as definitely controlled by the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if I might interrupt you. Yesterday we had, as you know, testimony from Dr. Ward about the American League, and the question of the Soviet-Nazi pact came up, and his statement was that the board had voted overwhelmingly not to take any position now; they were going to submit it to the membership later. Here is a letter sent out by the Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy, dated August 25, 1939, of which Mr. Lamberton, who testified here yesterday, is the head of the branch, which I think is very enlightening. I am going to read it and have your comment on it:

DEAR MEMBERS: The present crisis of world peace cannot be understood by reading the daily press. As the daily press distorted and lied about the issues and events in Czecho-Slovakia last year, in Spain and in China, it has distorted and lied about the issues involving world peace today.

Your executive committee has voted to submit the following statement to you, in the hope that it will help to clarify our understanding of the issues and the forces involved in today's threats to the peace and security of Europe, the world, and the United States.

The issues in the crisis of Nazi aggression are clear. The demands of Hitler for the possession of Danzig and the Polish Corridor involve the destruction of Poland and the consequent strengthening of the war plans of German fascism. Nazi Germany is following the same tactics it pursued in the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia. German fascism raises a demand for its "historic rights" in Danzig. From that follows a demand for the Polish Corridor. Once these demands are granted, the destruction of Poland follows as inevitably as the destruction of Czecho-Slovakia followed the surrender of the Sudetenland.

While Nazi aggression threatens Poland and the peace of the world, the ruling class of England and France prepare the same betrayal that they carried out at Munich in 1938. They plan again to "appease" aggression by surrendering Poland as they surrendered Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Spain, as they are attempting to surrender China today.

In the midst of plans of aggression and appeasement, the Soviet Union has signed a treaty of nonaggression with Germany.

This has been greeted in the daily press as an alliance of the Soviet Union and Germany against the democratic powers and for the partition of Poland.

This is exactly contrary to the real meaning of this step by the U. S. S. R.

This pact is a real contribution to world peace and to the peace and security of the United States.

For five months Chamberlain and Daladier, representing the pro-Fascist ruling class of England and France, have used every subterfuge and stalling tactic in the negotiations for an effective alliance against Fascist aggression with the Soviet Union.

It is clear that Chamberlain and Daladier have never had any real intention of concluding such an alliance. It is equally clear that Chamberlain and Daladier have been preparing for a second Munich with Poland in the role

of sacrifice to the war plans of Germany in the hope that German aggression would continue eastward to the U. S. S. R.

The signing of the nonaggression pact between the U. S. S. R. and Germany is not a war alliance between the two powers. It is not an agreement for the partition of Poland.

On the contrary, this action places a stumbling block in the way of the plans of Chamberlain and Daladier for a second Munich. The action of the Soviet Union in spiking a second Munich has cut away the ground on which the sell-out of Czecho-Slovakia was prepared and consummated a year ago. It has served notice on British imperialism that the scheme of turning Fascist aggression to the east is no longer feasible.

In this same sense the pact between U. S. S. R. and Germany is the only real contribution to the security of Poland that has been made to date.

[Laughter.]

It shows so clearly that even the British ruling class must understand that Nazi aggression will not aim to the east, but will rather turn to the west—against the national interests of England and France. It shows them that their own national interest lies in the defense of Poland against Nazi aggression.

This is part of the contribution to world peace effected by the nonaggression pact.

The pact states very clearly that neither party will join with any power in aggression against the other. This clause ends the so-called anti-Comintern axis. It isolates Japan. It helps China. It means that the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis no longer can operate as a unit against the peace and security of countries toward which one member of the axis has aggressive designs. By doing this the Soviet-German pact makes a very real contribution to the struggle of the Chinese people for liberation, makes a very real contribution to peace in Asia, and protects the national interests and the security of the United States.

The daily press here has distorted and misinterpreted the present situation. The press of Europe has been somewhat more clear. Dispatches quoting Polish newspapers indicate that Poland does not regard the Soviet-German pact as a threat to its safety. It has strengthened, not weakened the will of Poland to resist.

Now, this is the executive board that sends this out to the members here of the Washington League for Peace and Democracy:

It has also strengthened the opposition of the people of England to the second Munich schemes of Chamberlain. It has shown them that fascism can be met by a clear and forceful statement of policy in opposition to aggression.

In doing this, the Soviet Union has made a real contribution to an understanding of the present crisis in Europe. It has made a real contribution to the peace and security of Europe, the world, and the United States.

Now, this was taken from the files of the Washington League for Peace and Democracy and is a copy of a letter sent out to the members, or purports to be. It is the decision of the executive board here of the local league. Now, in the very face of that, these two men, Dr. Ward and Mr. Lamberton, came before this committee yesterday and testified—I mean when you consider their testimony, and here is the action to speak for itself, it would seem to the Chair that if it were an out-and-out Communist organization, its position could not have been any different.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Henson, I would like to ask this question: If I showed you that letter and told you I had written it, and also showed you the Communist Party membership card bearing my signature, which of the two would you consider better evidence of my Communist affiliation?

Mr. HENSON. That is a rather difficult question to answer. [Laughter.] They are equivalent; I mean anyone who reads the Daily

Worker knows that this letter contains the political line of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would say the evidence was they are equivalent?

Mr. HENSON. They are equivalent. I mean that is equivalent to the line of the Communist Party, which is expressed in there. There should not be any reason to doubt that. It is very well stated. I do not know Mr. Lamberton at all, but it is very well stated, and that is their political line today.

Mr. MASON. And that is in line, exactly, with Earl Browder's explanation of this pact.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, do you have that program which the American League proposes to use as pressure on Members of Congress—the tactics that they use?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not here; no. I thought you were going to adjourn shortly.

Mr. CASEY. Was that put out by the local?

The CHAIRMAN. By the Washington branch here of the American League for Peace and Democracy. It is taken out of their files. They wrote that to the members of their organization.

Mr. CASEY. I wonder whether they wrote it, or whether it was sent to them by the national?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the one which corresponds, showing whether that came from the national office?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was the local.

Mr. VOORHIS. Prepared by them?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

Mr. CASEY. Who signed it?

The CHAIRMAN. It is a statement of the executive board, to all members—a statement issued by the executive board.

Mr. CASEY. I wonder whether Lamberton signed it.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know.

Mr. MASON. Well, the executive board would be presided over by Lamberton, the president, and practically three-fourths of the members are Government employees in this local branch.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes—800.

Mr. CASEY. The point I make is it is conceivable that they did not write it; that it is from the national headquarters.

Mr. MASON. Whether they wrote it, or whether they did not, if they get this out as their executive action, that is enough.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course.

The CHAIRMAN. When you talk about the pressure group sitting here in the city of Washington, with the majority of its members Government employees, they prepare this "techniques of education and action on legislation," July 1939. I am not going to read this; we do not have the time, but am going to read just some of the phrases right here:

We must also be ready at the right moment to use our pressure, through our local groups, in order to take advantage of Americans' confusion and help to crystallize their thinking in our direction. The President has frequently expressed himself as believing in the principles for which we stand * * *.

Now, they are going out with this sort of stuff and using the President's name as standing for their principles when, of course, the

President has not issued any such statement. The President, of course, is in favor of peace and democracy, like everybody else; but this is what they use over the country to increase their prestige:

The President has frequently expressed himself as believing in the principles for which we stand and which we, like thousands, want enacted into law. Therefore we can rely on the administration to introduce a bill at the most strategic time, particularly on foreign affairs. This would be preferable, but our support is anonymous. We are also anonymous in the fight for progressivism.

Now, this is from their files, and the significance of it is that many of these members hold key positions in this Government. We have a list of them. We will not make it public; nevertheless, many of them draw high salaries in the Government and occupy key positions, and here they are forming a pressure group to exert influence in this matter upon Members of Congress and using the President's name and saying over the country that they control the administration.

Mr. MASON. And to clear up the confusion in the minds of Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to go a little further while I am on this. Here is a letter found in the Communist Party files—I mean that the thing just became so open that they worked together and celebrated different events, and they picketed and paraded together, and they worked in cooperation. Here is a letter of October 29, 1938. This is on the letterhead of the Communist Party, District of Columbia, District 34:

DEAR FRIENDS: The Communist Party of the District of Columbia is arranging a meeting celebrating the twenty-first anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Sunday, November 27, at the Press Club Auditorium.

We will appreciate your cooperation in not scheduling any meeting for that date.

I mean, as you go through the file, both here and in Chicago, it tells a very simple story about this thing; that is, what you have said, and what Mr. Matthews testified and others testified, is absolutely true, that this is no more nor less than a Communist organization.

Mr. CASEY. I think another and more important point is Dr. Ward testified—I think I asked him the question that he did not care to answer—What is your personal attitude with regard to the Soviet-Nazi pact? and he said the American League for Peace and Democracy had not taken a stand on that and they were waiting to take a position, and here is a letter sent out to the members which definitely propagandized them in favor of the Soviet-Nazi pact.

The CHAIRMAN. More than that, you have somewhere in these files a letter from the national office showing the way in which this thing changed right along with the Comintern's line—just following it almost as obediently as if they were official members of the Communist Party. Now here is an organization here in Washington putting out this kind of circular:

1. Write to Hon. Sol Bloom, acting chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee.

2. Write to your own Congressman.

3. Get any organizations to which you belong to take action.

4. Telephone five friends to ask them to do these three things.

Remember: The overwhelming majority of Americans are anti-Fascist. We must persuade them to be articulate so that Congress will know what the people want.

So that, of course, the whole proposition is an organized pressure group here in the District composed largely of Government employees to engage in these activities.

Here is a telegram. I will just read a few of them, because I have so many of them. This is dated New York, April 12. This is to Thomas L. Harris, executive secretary of the national office:

Please arrange sending letter to Ward inviting conference on neutrality. This request not reversal orders before, but tactically necessary for concrete discussion.

I mean, as you go through it, you will see the manner in which they reverse their position.

Here is a letter of Louisa Hancock——

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, it is now 12:25.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will sort this out.

Mr. STARNES. Some of this ought to go in the record, by all means.

Mr. MASON. Shall we adjourn to 1:30, Mr. Chairman, and have this sorted in the meantime?

The CHAIRMAN. Before we adjourn, talking about this pressure group, here is something from the files of the American League for Peace and Democracy; here is what they send out—questions to their members:

Please send your answers immediately to Mildred Riemer, 804 Seventeenth Street.

What is your voting residence?

The answer in this case is "Maryland."

Are you free to lobby during the day?

The answer is "Cannot lobby."

Are you free to lobby during your lunch hour?

On which subjects are you most interested in lobbying?

Which Senators and Congressmen do you know?

What do you know about any Senator or Congressman which will be of help in approaching him?

[Laughter.]

Mr. MASON. What is the answer?

The CHAIRMAN. The answer here is "No information about any known to me." [Laughter.]

Mr. CASEY. Does that help in approaching or intimidating?

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this is what they send out, and then we have the names of all of them, and then have the record here. We will have more from their files.

Mr. HENSON. Mr. Chairman, does that end my testimony?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no.

Mr. HENSON. I am to come back?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; at 2 o'clock.

(The committee thereupon took a recess until 2 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened at 2 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Before we go into further testimony, to illustrate how the American League for Peace and Democracy here in Washington proposes

to work, I will read from the minutes of the executive committee meeting held on Friday evening, January 23, 1939, at the home of Mrs. Fowler. In connection with the legislative program, it says:

Get list of friendly Congressmen, and have teas and luncheons for them.

That is one method of lobbying.

Then, in the minutes of November 4, 1938, of the local branch of the league, one item of the program set forth here is—

To set up league committees in the various Government agencies with our present membership in those agencies as a nucleus.

That is where they outline a program of setting up nuclei throughout the Government service, and we will show what they do within the Government later on.

A further idea of how they proceed is shown in the minutes of January 13, 1939, of a meeting held at the home of Mrs. Fowler, as follows:

It was suggested that we make an attempt to get Congressmen to join the league. Mr. Smith will arrange for a luncheon meeting with Marcantonio and Jerry O'Connell to get their advice on how to proceed. The idea is to make Congressmen part of an impressive list of sponsors.

Reading further from the same minutes:

Mr. Berrall announced that a legislative office will be established in Washington over the week end with Jerry O'Connell doing the congressional work, and two assistants at the office.

Interesting also is the correspondence between the American League here, dated October 18, 1938, to Hon. Cordell Hull, with reference to the *Strecher case* and the question of communism, which is discussed therein.

Here is an official sheet which was published by them and taken in their files (reading):

This sheet is the suggestion of a group of active league workers in Government-agency committees who met last Thursday afternoon. Its purpose is to give a brief summary of the important events of the next few weeks so that key people will know about them and be able to plan work on them. It will be prepared every 2 weeks and sent to leading people in league committees in Government agencies and other organizations. If you want more than the number of copies sent you please let the office know.

May 6: 2:30-4:00 p. m. Picketing at the People's Drug Store, 14th and U Streets NW., in support of the New Negro Alliance campaign to force People's to hire Negro clerks. *Important to have a real crowd.*

May 6: 9:00 p. m. Party under the auspices of the Modern Forum Committee of the league at the Michaelson's, 4319 15th Street NW., Admission 50 cents. Big house—dancing—games—enough room—and hosts and hostesses to see that people meet people.

May 13: Spanish Committee picnic at Greenacres at 3 p. m. (Get details from the Spanish Committee.)

May 13 and 14: National Emergency Conference on Civil Rights Legislation at the Raleigh Hotel. Plans for action to defeat various Fascist bills now before Congress such as the Dempsey and Hobbs bills.

May 17: League membership meeting. Place to be announced. David Lasser, of the Workers Alliance and member of the national committee of the league, will probably speak, and a panel of experts will discuss problems of W. P. A. workers and pending legislation.

The program includes nuclei of league members who are connected with Government agencies, and the committee has evidence of one nucleus that it located in the navy yard.

Here is a circular issued by the league entitled "Techniques of Education and Action on Legislation, Report by Washington, D. C. Branch," from which I read as follows:

One of the most important activities of the American League for Peace and Democracy is its legislative work. Congress does respond to pressure. Through a vital, well-organized program of pressure on legislation, we are in a position to do a great deal to carry out our program. We can change the neutrality law to distinguish between aggressor and victim of aggression. We can defeat the vicious anti-alien bills. We can protect the Wagner Act, the wages-and-hours law and the social security laws from emasculation. We can do all these things if we, and other groups with similar objectives, understand and put into effect real campaigns on legislation. * * *

Emergency legislative action, in general, should be twofold, direct pressure on Congress and mobilization of the community.

Under the heading of direct pressure on Congress come the letters and telegrams which you ask your members to write. It is important that letters be well informed, that they give, if possible, concrete illustrations of what passage of the legislation will mean to the Congressman's own community, and that they ask the Congressman's position on the bill. * * *

The press should be used in any possible way. The easiest access is, of course, through the correspondence columns and the papers should be flooded with letters to the editor. The legislative committee should organize a letter writing subcommittee for this purpose. In addition, editors should be approached—if at all friendly—and asked to write editorials. It is also helpful to telephone to the papers to ask what has happened in Congress on certain bills if the paper does not publish full reports. A number of such calls will impress them with the interest of the community in the bills and may cause them to print more news.

Mass meetings are another way of mobilizing the community for action on legislation. Publicity on the meeting, its purpose, and the resolutions passed will reach many more people than those who attend.

What I have read from the minutes show a systematic attempt to build up nuclei throughout the Government service.

Mr. MASON. Are through with that statement, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. I have here a list of the members of the local chapter of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The list shows the names, addresses, positions, and salaries of these members. I see many salaries in the \$5,000 and \$6,000 class. There are quite a few at \$7,000. There are two or three at \$8,000 and \$9,000, and there are two \$10,000 jobs. These are members of the organization who are doing just what you have been indicating, and I see no reason on earth why this committee should not have these names published and given newspaper publicity. If they belong to this organization, and are doing the things that this statement shows, there is no reason why we should protect them and keep their names sub rosa.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to say that there are things which should be reached through publicity, such as the program of the American league, but it does not necessarily follow that all the membership of the league is either cognizant of it or is taking any part in it.

The CHAIRMAN. We have, in addition to that—and it will be developed—pamphlets issued by one of the nuclei in the Government service, which is raising funds for the Spanish Aid Committee, of which Secretary Ickes is chairman. We will have other evidence of the activities of these nuclei within the Government here in Washington. Whether or not the committee wants to release this for publication is for the committee to determine.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, if necessary I will wait for an executive meeting of the committee, and then I shall demand that this list be given publicity in the newspapers. I will be glad to offer a motion in executive session to that effect.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to discuss that in executive session. I would like also to say that I believe if the committee discloses the program, it will speak for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the thing that this correspondence reveals is a systematic effort to penetrate the Government itself by an organization which is under the control of Communists. It seems to me there is a serious threat in that.

Mr. MASON. They are supported generously by the taxpayers' money.

Mr. CASEY. But there is no question but that a great many members of this league are led into it by the high-sounding purposes given to them.

Mr. MASON. Then they should get out as soon as they know that they are doing this type of work.

Mr. CASEY. But they do not know it until we expose it.

Mr. MASON. It seems to me that we have been exposing this for more than a year now.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take this up in executive session. Mr. Voorhis, do you have some questions for Mr. Henson?

Mr. VOORHIS. I have one question, Mr. Chairman. I just want to ask you, Mr. Henson, if you will state to the committee what you think are things that are most important to be done in order to reduce and possibly eliminate the kind of real un-American activities that this committee is supposed to be concerned with?

Mr. HENSON. Of course, that is a matter of opinion, and, if I may express my opinion on it, I would say that it is very important that the committee make more known to the public its real objectives.

Mr. VOORHIS. The reason I have asked that question is on account of your experience with these matters.

Mr. HENSON. I was going to say that the first thing that I think is very important is that you make known to the general public the real objectives of the committee. I think that some mistakes have been made by the committee in the past, but, whether through radio hook-ups, or otherwise, I think it should be made clear that the committee is not engaged in any witch hunt or "red" hunt, or in the general persecution of individuals because of a difference of opinion as to the New Deal, the Democratic Party, the Old Deal, the Republican Party, or whatever the difference of opinion may be as to what are sometimes called radical activities.

There is the question of foreign control, with people acting as agents of foreign powers, and I think that should be publicized more. I think that should be an important part of the work of the committee, to publicize such activities. In the second place, I do not know whether this has been considered by the committee, but it is rumored by some columnists that the committee will ask for the outlawing of the Communist Party. I do not know whether that has been decided or not, but the fact that columnists are beginning to say that, I think is unfortunate. I think it is unfortunate that that has gotten abroad, because I think that would be the best way

to publicize the Communist Party to their own advantage. There are other ways of dealing with foreign agents under the law. The third point is that I have always felt that a movement toward economic and social security in this country, with liberty, will be the best answer to any attempt by a foreign group or subversive group to engage in subversive activities.

The CHAIRMAN. If the committee is continued next year, as I assume it will be, it will be my purpose to recommend that we go into the question of the causes of communism and nazi-ism. We have dealt heretofore with the manifestations of it, more or less as a disease. We have dealt with the symptoms, but we have not gotten into what is really behind it. What I would like for the committee to do, if it is supplied with ample funds, is to go into the fundamental question or the fundamental causes of communism and nazi-ism. I think if we could give the country a complete picture of what causes people to join these movements, and what is back of them, whether it is poverty, degradation, lack of proper environment, slums, tenement houses, and so forth, we will have done an important work. Do you not think that is a very important question that has to be determined in connection with these matters?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir. Not only that, but if we can secure a just and democratic economic system, you will have a new birth of freedom, which will go far to eliminate the Communist and Nazi groups in America. In other words, there should be an indigenous form of social reconstruction in America. I would say that the more publicity that is given to foreign subversive activities, the better it will be. I do not know whether you have permanent committees of Congress to make that effective, but I take it for granted that the Federal Government would check up through its regular agencies on general spying and espionage activities. My answer, however, would be largely summed up, off hand, by that one point about social security and economic freedom here. That would be reaching the real cause or the fundamental cause of much of this difficulty, and I suppose that the committee is investigating that angle of the question.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; and I want to say that the suggestion the chairman has made is an important and constructive one.

The CHAIRMAN. We have given the American people a very graphic picture of the situation, but we have not by any means completed the investigation of a number of organizations that should be exposed. We have not gotten around to them, but our jurisdiction extends to all un-American activities, which would include people and organizations that preach racial hatred, religious hatred, and so forth, as well as the question of foreign control. I think it is important, if the committee is to be continued, that the cause of all these things should be investigated, because here is Earl Browder who denies that poverty is the cause of it. In fact, he says that a large number of the members of the Communist Party are regularly employed. He says that a large number of them are skilled workers, and that they are well employed, and that the appeal is intellectual. If he is right about that, then poverty and unemployment have nothing to do with it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I also remember other testimony to the effect that the most effective appeal was to unemployed people, and that their

most effective work was among white-collar workers. I remember that distinctly.

Mr. HENSON. I think that is an important point—that is, that the white-collar people are unemployed, and they are people with strong humanitarian instincts.

Mr. VOORHIS. And they are the people among the unemployed for whom there appears less substantial hope than for almost any other group. I think that point was made at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. As illustrative of what you have said in connection with the Soviet-Nazi pact, here is a letter asking for guidance on this new policy. I will read it, because it illustrates pretty well what has been said:

DEAR MISS HANCOCK: I received your letter a few moments ago. I have tried to get Tom Harris on the phone without success. Therefore, I can give only my personal opinion. But with events as they are it does seem to me that it would be wise, if it can be done, for you to put your meeting off for a few days. A notice has gone out for a meeting of the national committee of the American League next Friday. Until then I certainly do not see how anyone can speak with any authority whatever—certainly I cannot. Dr. Ward is on a fishing trip in Canada and does not know what has happened in this world for the past 2 weeks apparently. We are now trying to contact him.

The whole state of affairs here in New York with the national office are at sixes and sevens. People of importance are resigning. And all I can do as acting chairman is to tell people to reserve judgment. I think we must work out a new position and I have hopes that we will do that next Friday at our meeting. Meanwhile I am telling people to keep quiet and not join those who rush into print and to the radios. Certainly I have to take my own advice.

If your meeting could be put off a week I think I might have something authoritative to say. In any case it would be after the national committee had met.

If you do go ahead with your meeting for next Wednesday I will be there—or if I have nothing whatever that I can possibly say I will see that Tom Harris or some other person from here comes. But if I do come to address your meeting I certainly do not want to go on any radio hookup. There is no possibility, in my judgment, of speaking today without making a fool of oneself, at least I cannot.

I can be reached in Middletown, N. J., Saturday, Sunday, and Monday and will be in the office on Tuesday.

This letter is dated September 1, 1939.

Then, here is a letter back which shows the necessity of changing their position, and it shows the ease with which they are juggling these things. Does not that illustrate what you have said?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir; the line comes down naturally from the headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any doubt in your mind that the League for Peace and Democracy is controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. HENSON. There is no doubt about it in my mind.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that statement based on just a casual observation, or on a long experience?

Mr. HENSON. On long experience with it. There is a study made by someone in New York—Professor Bishop, I believe—which goes into great documentation of it. I think he is a professor in New York University.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for your testimony, Mr. Henson.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. INEZ BARR

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Mrs. Barr?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your first name?

Mrs. BARR. Inez. On the national committee my name is given as Mrs. Clinton M. Barr.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the name on the national committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a member of the national committee?

Mrs. BARR. I was a member of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in Milwaukee, do you not?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your address?

Mrs. BARR. 3705 North Marietta Avenue, Milwaukee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your occupation?

Mrs. BARR. Mother and housewife.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you at any time in the past been an officer in the Wisconsin Women's Clubs?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What position did you hold?

Mrs. BARR. I was one of the vice presidents. I am honorary president of the Milwaukee Woman's Club, which is the largest civic organization in the State.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been active in what is usually called the peace movement?

Mrs. BARR. About 20 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state the occasion on which you first became connected with the peace movement?

Mrs. BARR. After the last war, when my husband returned from France, I realized that we had not fought a war for democracy. I had been a very diligent worker during the last war; so I looked around for a peace organization to try to see if through law we might outlaw war. I was interested in the League of Nations, and I joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That organization was founded by Jane Addams?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir. I am now the State president for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in Wisconsin. So I have been following that all these years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you first become associated with the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mrs. BARR. In May 1934 the national convention of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was held in Milwaukee. That was when Senator Nye gave his report, or the first official report, on the munitions investigation. Then the American League for Peace and Freedom, or the American League for Peace and Democracy was formed. I knew nothing about it, but after that convention, I received an invitation from a woman whom I did not know at that time, Mrs. Helen Cooper, to give a report to their meeting on this convention.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To whose meeting?

Mrs. BARR. The American League Against War and Fascism. That was the first I knew about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was that meeting held?

Mrs. BARR. At the library in Milwaukee. So I reported on this meeting, and considerable discussion came up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you next have association with the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mrs. BARR. Immediately following that, I received a request from Mrs. Cooper to have her come to see me. She told me there was to be a meeting of the International Congress, or the Women's International Congress Against War and Fascism in Paris.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that to be held?

Mrs. BARR. In July, in Paris.

Mr. MATTHEWS. July 1934?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir. She knew I had planned to attend the meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in Zurich, Switzerland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During the same summer?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir. So she asked me if I would be willing to be a delegate from Wisconsin for this American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Paris?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir. I told her that I was for anything that was against war.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go to the Paris congress?

Mrs. BARR. I went to the Paris congress. I attended the entire congress, and I was very much interested in it. It had women present from all over the world. One thing that impressed me was the fact that there were about 600 people representing religious organizations, principally from France and other European countries. It was a very broad congress against war and fascism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know that the League Against War and Fascism was running the Paris gathering?

Mrs. BARR. I cannot say. They went under the title of the "Women's Congress Against War and Fascism."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that held in July 1934?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did you subsequently travel to other parts of Europe in the interests of your peace work?

Mrs. BARR. I did. I went into Germany to discover, if we could, what had happened to some persons who had been placed in concentration camps, and to other people who learned that we were going to Germany to try to get in contact with these people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you return to the United States?

Mrs. BARR. I went on to Zurich. I went to Russia, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you in Russia?

Mrs. BARR. About 3 weeks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then you went to—

Mrs. BARR. To Zurich, Switzerland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To the congress of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. And then did you return to the United States?

MRS. BARR. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. When did you reach this country?

MRS. BARR. I imagine about the 5th or 6th of September; I am not sure—early September.

MR. MATTHEWS. During September of 1934 there was held in Chicago the Second Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism. Did you attend that congress?

MRS. BARR. Yes, sir. I received an invitation to be one of the speakers, in telling of this congress, and also of what I had learned in Germany.

MR. MATTHEWS. And did you accept that invitation and speak at the Chicago congress?

MRS. BARR. I did.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Barr's speech is in the proceedings of the congress identified yesterday by Dr. Ward.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you at that time become a member of the national committee of the American League Against War and Fascism?

MRS. BARR. Well, it was a considerable time after that; they asked me if I would become a member.

MR. MATTHEWS. What do you mean by "a considerable time"; a few months or years?

MRS. BARR. I would say months.

MR. MATTHEWS. A few months?

MRS. BARR. During the middle of that winter.

MR. MATTHEWS. That is, you became a member during the winter of 1934-35?

MRS. BARR. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. So that you have been a member of the national committee for almost 5 years?

MRS. BARR. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Barr, I want to ask you a question, and if you feel that it is too difficult a question to answer, just say so. During those 5 years of your membership on the national committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, subsequently the American League for Peace and Democracy, were you aware of Communist control of the organization?

MRS. BARR. Well, that is a difficult question to answer, because I had a meeting in the spring of 1935 with Dr. Ward and some members of the committee, objecting. Even as long ago as 1935 I came down to New York in order to object. I had never attended any of their meetings, nor have I ever attended a further congress; but the secretary and his wife—Gene Dennis and Peggy Dennis—of the Communist Party, seemed to be directing the affair.

MR. MATTHEWS. That was in Wisconsin?

MRS. BARR. That was in Wisconsin, in Milwaukee. I objected, and I thought they were overzealous, and that was corrected. But I never became very active again.

MR. MATTHEWS. When did you resign; or have you resigned from the national committee?

Mrs. BARR. I have not; but I am—I mean it is understood that I have resigned, but I have not officially sent in my resignation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In answer to a question by the chairman, you stated that you had been a member, and I did not know whether you meant that you had already resigned or not.

Mrs. BARR. I have not written that official letter. I have said that I am no longer a member.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mrs. Barr, were you invited to deliver a radio address over station WTMJ on Sunday, September 24, 1939?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under whose auspices were you to deliver that radio address?

Mrs. BARR. Under the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who owns station WTMJ?

Mrs. BARR. The Milwaukee Journal.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a newspaper of Milwaukee?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you in the past spoken frequently over station WTMJ?

Mrs. BARR. Many times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity?

Mrs. BARR. Representing—for 2 years I was chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, that put a program on every Saturday afternoon, and I have given speeches for the women's clubs, for community-fund drives, for urban-league drives, and all sorts of civic things.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that you were well known both to the officials of station WTMJ and to the Milwaukee Journal?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By virtue of your participation in civic affairs and in the peace movement in your State?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mrs. Barr, is this a copy of the speech which you prepared for delivery over station WTMJ on Sunday, September 24? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this in your handwriting?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you completed this draft of your speech, what did you do with it?

Mrs. BARR. I sent it down in order that three copies might be made, one for myself, one for the office, and one for the radio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say you sent it down, what do you mean?

Mrs. BARR. I beg your pardon—to the office of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who received it down there?

Mrs. BARR. The secretary, Miss Margaret La Budde.

Mr. MATTHEWS. L-a B-u-d-d-e?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you known Miss La Budde for some time?

Mrs. BARR. Since she was a little girl.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And she is secretary of the Milwaukee branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What day, if you recall, was it that you sent this draft of your speech to her?

Mrs. BARR. On Thursday evening preceding the speech.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On Thursday, the 21st of September?

Mrs. BARR. I presume so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you have word next from Miss La Budde about the speech?

Mrs. BARR. On Friday afternoon, about half past 5.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On Friday the 22d, about 5:30; and what did Miss La Budde tell you?

Mrs. BARR. I am like the kindergarten; I have got to change your question in order to answer it. I called Miss La Budde. My speech had been sent late; the messenger was late that took it down; so I did not hear from her again until the messenger brought it at 5:30 the following afternoon, Friday.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The messenger brought it back to you?

Mrs. BARR. To me—this other copy. When I opened the copy I found a note in it, at the top, saying that the Journal would not accept my manuscript.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this the typewritten copy of your speech which you received by messenger from the offices of the American League for Peace and Democracy? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this the note that was attached to it? [Handing a paper to the witness.]

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

After reading the copy, I discovered that it was not my speech.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just a moment. I would like to ask a few questions about this note first.

Mr. MASON. I would like to have the note read.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am going to.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the note she got back from the American League after she sent her speech on Thursday evening?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; this is the note she received on Friday.

Mrs. BARR. May I make a statement? I had written a note attached to my manuscript saying that if there were any changes to be made in the manuscript, outside of sentence construction, I was to be notified.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And so, in response to that request of yours, you received this note?

Mrs. BARR. Yes; that is the answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The note reads:

DEAR MRS. BARR: Enclosed is the speech as I took it to the station today. The reference to Coughlin in the first part is essential for two reasons: (1) The station told us they would not let us have the program time at all unless we mentioned Coughlin specifically; (2) from the point of view of the people who are the main supporters of the program, it is essential. Other than that, I tried to emphasize a little more the importance of staying out of war, as it is becoming increasingly apparent that we are in danger on all sides. I think what we have in the speech now will be something we can stand by, no matter what the situation becomes. Hope you find it all O. K. Let me know.

MARGARET.

Do you understand that Margaret is Miss La Budde?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what did you do when you received this note?

Mrs. BARR. I read the speech, and after I had read the speech I called Miss La Budde and told her that I was not going to deliver that speech; it was not mine. She said she was very sorry, but that the Journal would not accept my speech, that she had taken it down there at 8:30 in the morning, and that the Journal refused to accept it. I said, "Then I shall call the Journal and find out why"; and she said, "Oh, please don't. I will come right up and see you."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then did you call the Journal immediately?

Mrs. BARR. Immediately.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what did the Journal tell you?

Mrs. BARR. I got the head of the radio department, whom I know very well, and he told me—I asked him why my speech had not been accepted, and he said, "But it has; it is right here." "But," I said, "that is not mine. I mean the one that was submitted to you this morning at 8:30." He said, "There was no speech submitted here at 8:30. The only one that was submitted is the one that we have accepted."

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that was this typewritten copy?

Mrs. BARR. That was this typewritten copy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the station manager make any comment to you about the rejecting of a speech of yours?

Mrs. BARR. He said, "I thought it was a pretty poor speech for you to make."

Mr. VOORHIS. They were talking about the revised draft, were they not?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir. They never saw mine.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I get a little more clearly that reference to Father Coughlin?

Mr. MATTHEWS. We are going to elaborate that a little further by illustrations from the two drafts of the speech, Mr. Voorhis.

Did the station manager express any surprise that there should be a report that they had rejected one of your speeches?

Mrs. BARR. Very much. They called in a Mr. Herzog, who reads the manuscripts, and we had a three-way conversation on the telephone, and they assured me that the only speech that they had was the one that was received "just under the wire," as they put it, on Friday noon. Then I notified them that it was not mine; that I was not going to give it; and that I did not wish my name to be used in any way whatsoever on Sunday night, when the speech was to be given by someone else.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there anything further in the conversation with the station manager?

Mrs. BARR. Well, we talked about half an hour, so I suppose there was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was the station agent that you called on?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the same as the Milwaukee Journal, or was there another conversatidon with the Milwaukee Journal?

Mrs. BARR. I talked only at that time with the head of the radio department of the Milwaukee Journal.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then did you go home and meet Miss La Budde?

Mrs. BARR. I was at home. I was talking over the phone, and a very few minutes after I hung up the receiver Miss La Budde arrived

at my home, and when I greeted her at the door she was in tears; she was crying, and she said: "Mrs. Barr, I am ashamed to see you; I am ashamed to meet you, because I have lied to you." And I said: "Yes; I know you have"—and so she came in—"but we won't discuss it."

It is very difficult for me to go on from here, because you still didn't ask me one question.

MR. MATTHEWS. All right; will you please tell us what that is?

MRS. BARR. When I was asked to make this speech I objected very much, and really had to be coaxed into it, surprising as it may seem, because I had felt that the whole policy of what the league had been standing for was changed, unless we immediately condemned Russia for its—it became an aggressor, as far as I was concerned, when it went into Poland and when it made its treaty with Germany. I felt that they were twins, and I said, "I will not speak unless I can say this." Well, we went into a huddle over that, and she said: "Well, the national has not acted upon it, and there is still so much on the neutrality that you can discuss, and can you leave it out?" Well, I did my best to leave it out, not wanting to. So when she came in that evening, I said, "Who revised my speech?" because I had read it to her over the telephone before I had sent it down, and she had agreed to every item in it with the exception that she thought I had not, as she said, "gone to town" on Father Coughlin sufficiently. But she did accept the speech over the phone. Then later on, when I asked her who changed this speech, I said, "You accepted it, and why change it?" "Well," she said, "I am not very familiar—it sounded all right to me, but I am not very familiar with the things as they are happening today. They are just too confusing." And I said, "To whom did you take this speech? Who revised it?" And after much discussion, she said, "Ned Sparks"—who is the secretary of the Communist Party for the State of Wisconsin.

MR. CASEY. He is not to be confused with the moving picture Ned Sparks?

MRS. BARR. He is the secretary for the Communist Party.

MR. MATTHEWS. One is a comedian and another is a Communist?

MRS. BARR. One is a comedian. And in the course of the discussion this is the story as she told it: That the manuscript came down too late for the stenographer; she was going to a meeting; so she took my speech with her, and at this meeting she met Ned Sparks and his wife and told him about the speech, and he invited her to go up to his home, and in his house they worked over the speech until 3 o'clock in the morning, and then it was too late for her to go home, so she slept on the davenport in the Sparks home; and she said, "In the morning I was too rushed and hurried, and we felt that you were a pacifist and not a revolutionist, and so I didn't notify you of the changes in the speech."

MR. MATTHEWS. What did she mean by your being a pacifist and not a revolutionist, with reference to not notifying you?

MRS. BARR. My assumption was that she knew that at all times I would be emphasizing the calling of a conference to settle things by peaceful means, and that I never would be willing to see a revolution fomented.

MR. MATTHEWS. So they did not notify because there had been changes made with reference to positions that might be called

pacifist and revolutionist; is that what you understood her to mean?

Mrs. BARR. Well, I understood her after I had read that, that it might seem as though it would be a good idea to have a revolution in Germany; but that is my own assumption. I can't prove that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I wonder if she meant, or if you had any reason to suppose that she meant, that you would not object to what had been done because you were a pacifist?

Mrs. BARR. No; I don't think I have ever impressed anyone as being that sort of a pacifist. I think she was quite sure I would object.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what did you tell Miss La Budde you intended to do after she explained to you that your speech had been rewritten or revised considerably by the secretary of the Wisconsin Communist Party?

Mrs. BARR. I told her that of course I would not deliver it, and I also said that if he had not changed even one word of the speech, that I still would not deliver it. The very fact of its having been submitted to the secretary of the Communist Party was sufficient evidence to me that I should have nothing to do with it, one way or the other.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that the first clear instance, decisive in character, that you had encountered in your 5 years of experience in the American League, that Communists exercised a role of undue prominence in it?

Mrs. BARR. I had not been sufficiently active. Of course, I had not attended a meeting for 3 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, your name was just being used during this period?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir; because I was known to be an active pacifist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were also known to be an active club woman in the State of Wisconsin and in Milwaukee?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And your name is being carried on the letterhead and the literature of the American League, not only the local but the national league?

Mrs. BARR. The national; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, let us compare the two drafts of the speech, in some respects, at least. The first marked difference between your draft and the Sparks draft, as we might call it, is a very extended elaboration of portions dealing with Father Coughlin; is that correct?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, in the draft prepared by the secretary of the Communist Party, they dealt more at length with Father Coughlin?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. Almost the entire first page of the revised draft is on Father Coughlin, and that is all added to Mrs. Barr's speech. [To the witness:] Toward the end you had a sentence or two on Father Coughlin?

Mrs. BARR. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Miss La Budde informed you that the radio station insisted on this extended reference to Father Coughlin; is that correct?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say, Mrs. Barr, having studied both drafts very carefully, that the difference between them, in part, lies in the fact that "Hitler" is deleted in many portions and "Coughlin" is substituted?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Referring to this radio station, you said the radio station insisted upon "going to town" against Father Coughlin?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. As I understand it, when you talked to this radio-station representative, he said that he had never seen anything of this letter?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Barr's testimony is that they never made any such demand.

Mrs. BARR. They never did. And, what is more, it was paid time; it was bought time; and outside of two things, something that is libelous or something that is obscene, they make no corrections in the manuscript.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the policy of the station?

Mrs. BARR. That is the policy of the station, as I understand it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was any speech of yours ever revised by the station?

Mrs. BARR. Never.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or any suggestions made as to alterations?

Mrs. BARR. Never, except as to time that was given us, not paid for.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mrs. Barr, in your draft you had a reference to the calling of a world congress of nations. I will read you what you have on page 4 of your draft:

We believe there are no problems of territory, no controversies as to national resources, no confusion as to racial minorities, no ill will over unfulfilled obligations or aspirations which cannot be composed by such a world congress of nations.

That was in your original draft?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it entirely deleted from this draft?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you now some sections from your draft which have to do, I take it, with Hitler. I will ask you if they have to do with Hitler.

On page 5 you state:

Responsible governments of great and small nations begged him to consider his sacred pledges.

By "him" you meant Hitler?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir. I had mentioned the four pledges that he had made.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing):

Pledged with him to wait for a few days' conference with other nations; pledged their word to him that they would consider with him any matter which he thought essential to German peace and rights.

Was that section entirely deleted from your speech in the draft gone over by Mr. Sparks?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Again, on page 6, you wrote:

To all of which the aggressor, in a fury of words, replied that if not given all he asked, and even more than he had previously asked, he would destroy those who stood in his way.

Is that cut out? Is that one of the passages deleted by the revisers of your speech?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was deleted?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was every reference to Hitler deleted?

Mrs. BARR. Not all of it, but he became a very nice person. [Laughter.]

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the draft made by the Communist Party secretary of Wisconsin, which was the typewritten draft, Mrs. Barr says that he was made into a nice person. In other words, you had been rather severe in your criticism of the aggression of Hitler in Poland—particularly in Poland?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 8 you wrote:

It is our definite belief that such an aggressor, who openly breaks a voluntarily made treaty, should be denied access to such resources as will enable him to continue in his irresponsible leadership, to make it impossible for him to get one item of aid or an atom of comfort for his invasion and conquest of harmless, peace-loving small nations.

Was that deleted from your speech?

Mrs. BARR. I think that was one; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is marked "out" by the revisers.

Mrs. BARR. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mrs. Barr, you had several references in your draft here to President Roosevelt's views on neutrality legislation, did you not?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you made categorical statements about neutrality legislation in your own draft?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you find in the draft as revised by the Communist Party secretary, that instead of making references to neutrality and the President's views on neutrality, reference was made to the determination to keep America out of war?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read the differences in the drafts, Mr. Chairman. Mrs. Barr wrote in one place—and there are several references of the same sort:

We support President Roosevelt in his request for change on this vital neutrality legislation.

Now, in the draft, as revised by the Communist Party secretary, we find the following words:

We support President Roosevelt in his expressed determination to keep America out of war.

And that is characteristic of the revisions in your references to President Roosevelt, is it?

Mrs. BARR. You see, we had, through the league, taken the position of not supporting an aggressor, but supporting the victim of aggres-

sion, and the Neutrality Act, we felt, should be changed with that end in view. In the speech they evidently are now trying to keep the Neutrality Act as is, after 2 or 3 years of fighting it desperately. So the assumption one would have is that they want to keep the Neutrality Act, and, as Margaret said in her discussion—Miss La Budde—

We do not want to offer any aid to England and France; they are carrying on an imperialistic war.

Mr. CASEY. They were fighting to keep the Neutrality Act from being changed for 2 or 3 years. That was during the Spanish civil war?

Mrs. BARR. Yes, sir; and now they are in with Father Coughlin, and they have been paying money—I mean, they are standing on the same side of the question now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have already testified, I believe, that you had had a long discussion and a disagreement, but had finally conceded their point in not mentioning Russia by name as an aggressor in Poland?

Mrs. BARR. I made it plural, though. I said "aggressors."

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask Mrs. Barr if she knows whether or not the American League has not in the last 2 months begun a very concerted drive on Father Coughlin which, in part at least, takes the place of the agitation which they had formerly directed toward Hitler?

Mrs. BARR. Well, I had the feeling that they were in a very tight place; that these Father Coughlin speeches had been given successfully in other parts of the country; that they had gotten people who were representatives of the church, like this minister who was to follow me, Dr. John Lapp, and some of the finest people in the country, to give those programs; and we were to give them, not, as I understood it, to just lambast Father Coughlin but to answer the questions that Father Coughlin raised, and my part was to be on the Neutrality Act.

And I was to try to bring out that the Neutrality Act was too frail a piece of legislation to promise mothers and fathers in the world that it would keep us out of war. It, itself, cannot either keep us out or put us in.

The CHAIRMAN. You are right about that.

Mr. VOORHIS. You certainly are.

Mrs. BARR. And I was speaking to Father Coughlin's emphasis, and that was cut out, you see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Barr, is it true that prior to August of this year the American League generally bracketed Father Coughlin and Hitler together?

Mrs. BARR. Oh, absolutely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But in this particular speech of yours they singled out Father Coughlin and slurred over any references to Hitler.

Mr. CASEY. The inconsistency in the revised draft by the Communist secretary there is shown, where he criticizes Father Coughlin in the revised draft, as I understand it, and agrees with Father Coughlin's contention on the matter of the embargo elsewhere.

Mrs. BARR. This is a month afterward. You see at that time Russia was just invading Poland. It was at the height of that thing, and they were just in the process of turning from against neutrality to pronutrality, and, of course, in that transition period it is pretty hard to find a target.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, out in Wisconsin they had not had word from New York, probably, had they?

Mrs. BARR. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a matter of fact, did they not tell you definitely that they had not had word from New York?

Mrs. BARR. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And New York, perhaps, had not had word from other quarters on the matter.

Mr. Chairman, would you like to have both the drafts of this in the record [indicating documents]?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I think it is a good illustration of the way in which they work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They can be prepared and published in parallel columns to show the alterations.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be very interesting.

Mr. MASON. I think we ought to have it in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They will be marked in evidence, then.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Barr, we thank you very much indeed.

Mrs. BARR. You are welcome.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any documents, Mr. Matthews, you want to put in this afternoon?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not in this particular connection.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further to present?

Mr. VORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I have a short statement I would like to make. It is along the same line as a brief remark that you dropped this morning.

The morning press for October 20 carried an account of a speech delivered to the National Association of Manufacturers by Mr. Howard Coonley, its president, in which he advised members of the association to "weed" all the "reds" out of their plants as a measure of national defense. Mr. Coonley is reported to have suggested this course of action on account of the findings of the Dies committee.

Had Mr. Coonley advised that there should be renewed vigilance against acts of sabotage or possible espionage and had he pointed out that seasoned Communists and Russian agents were not the only ones to watch in this respect, no one certainly would disagree with him. But there is every reason to be fearful of the consequences of a wholesale campaign, by industry, to "weed out" people who may be regarded as "reds" by their employers.

I say this for the following reasons: First, because the employers of the Nation cannot possibly be sure who the real "reds" are. If the Dies committee has shown anything it is the great difficulty that there is in determining who the real Communists of the country are.

Wholesale firing of workers on the ground that they are alleged "reds" would unquestionably lead to injustice in 9 cases out of 10. In the second place the more definite the case becomes that the Communist Party of the United States of America is substantially controlled by the Communist International and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that its hierarchy acts in the United States in accordance with Soviet policy rather than American policy, the more evident it is that it would be the height of folly for the newer rank and file members of the Communist Party to be initiated into its underlying aims and purposes. Finally, the real Soviet agents—and there no doubt are Soviet, Nazi, and other foreign agents work-

ing in American industry—would no doubt welcome a blundering campaign of dismissal from jobs based on inconclusive evidence.

The people who would be fired would, in most cases, be men who were effective labor leaders or honest advocates of economic change. And if there is one thing certain about Communist agents of the Soviet Government it is that they do not make any noise about it and are even ready to sell labor's cause down the river to accomplish their aims. The cry of persecution would be raised and in many cases justifiably so. The persons actually guilty of sabotage or espionage would thus, in many cases, escape.

The job of eliminating Communist, Nazi, or other secret agents in industry is one that can only be handled properly by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The job of eliminating Communist influence among American labor is one which only labor itself can do. As the full facts in the situation become clear and the detrimental results from any attempt at "united front" action with Communists become more and more apparent, I am sure the rank and file of American labor can be depended upon to act in this matter in a fair but very definite manner.

Mr. Chairman, I want to make it clear that I am making this statement myself. The committee is not necessarily involved. It is something that I felt needed to be said.

Mr. STARNES. I am glad the gentleman made that statement because I want it distinctly understood, so far as I am concerned, as a member of this committee, that the free expression of views of anybody of this committee on any matter here is not an expression of the committee officially unless and until we have acted upon it. And I hope that that will be kept clear in the minds of the press as well as the country; an individual expression of any member of this committee at any time in these hearings is not an expression of the committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. This is so marked.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, right along that line, I am interested in getting rid of the "reds" in the Government departments. I have listed here 136 jobs, the salaries of which run up to \$10,000 a year.

I insist upon an executive committee meeting in order to go into this matter and decide whether we shall make this public or not. These jobs run from \$3,500 up to \$10,000. Those are the only ones that I have checked.

There are 800 or 900 employees of the Federal Government that are active in this organization that has been carrying on these things that you have been hearing about. Of those eight or nine hundred I have just checked 136, the salaries of which run from \$3,500 up to \$10,000. I have omitted all of those below \$3,500. There are hundreds of them which are listed at from \$2,000 to \$3,000, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will go into executive session to consider this matter, and will meet tomorrow, at 10:30 o'clock a. m.

(Whereupon, the committee went into executive session, following which it adjourned, to meet on Wednesday, October 25, 1939, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Present: Messrs. Starnes, Mason, Voorhis; also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I make a motion that the Chair carry out the instructions given him in executive session yesterday, and that this statement and list be made a part of the record; so that it is a privileged matter.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, other members of the committee would like to be here, I am sure, before that action is taken.

Mr. MASON. We waited until 10:30.

(The question was put and the motion was agreed to.)

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I cannot vote for that.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, has the motion carried?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the motion has carried. Give the statement out.

(The statement and list above referred to are as follows:)

As a result of testimony which has been presented to our committee at intervals for more than a year it has been established conclusively that the American League for Peace and Democracy was organized and is controlled by the Communist Party. More than a year ago the committee pointed this fact out in connection with the Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which is largely composed of Government employees. On January 3, 1939, the committee unanimously adopted a report in which the American League for Peace and Democracy was branded as a Communist front organization. With few exceptions, the Government employees, who are members of the local branch of the league, continued their affiliation with the league insofar as this committee is informed. The committee, therefore, feels that these Government employees have been fully apprised of the true nature and purpose of the league and have been given ample opportunity to sever their connections with it.

From the files of the local branch of the league it is made clear that nucleuses have been established in different Government agencies. The committee is not charging that the Government employees affiliated with the league are members of the Communist Party. There is no evidence to this effect. But the fact that these Government employees are members of a Communist front organization, and apparently continued their membership long after this organization was exposed as being communistic, justifies in the opinion of the committee the

publication of this list. We feel that the country is entitled to this information since many of these employees hold key positions in the Government. The committee has not hesitated to make public the names of private citizens who have been charged with Communist or Fascist activities and we can see no justification for making an exception in the case of Government employees. In fact there is more reason for making public the names of Government employees than in the case of private citizens.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Botkin, Benj. A.	3515 28th St. NW		Doctor, editor	\$3,600
Bracken, Thomas E.	Falkland Manor, Silver Spring, Md.		Clerk, assistant attorney.	2,600
Brown, Malcolm	1731 N St. NW.; 1842 Park Rd. NW.		Associate social economist.	3,200
Butler, Tansel	1525 Church St., Apt. 3.	Federal Radio Project.		
Carter, Lucille	2134 Ward Pl. NW			
Collins, Hugh R.	1994 Naylor Rd. SE.	Federal Art Project.	Artist	
Crawford, Ruth	3125 Mount Pleasant NW.; 2139 R St. NW.	Federal Writers Project.	Senior editorial clerk.	2,300
Decker, Kenneth	1627 I St. NW.; 2 Kenilworth Dr. North, Chevy Chase; Fairfax, Va.		Resident assistant principal statistical clerk.	2,300
Eddlestone, Esta M.	1929 16th St. NW.; No. 42.			
Fairley, Lincoln	Forest Glen, Md.		Senior economist.	4,600
Ferguson, Dutton	1715 U St. NW		Special assistant senior clerk.	2,000
Fox, Carol	Strong Hall, 21st and G Sts. NW.	Federal Writers Project.		
Franklin, Charles A.	1414 Chapin St. NW., No. 48; 4832 Sherman Pl.			
Friedmann, Ernestine	1424 R St. NW	Works Project.	Asst. wrks, proj	3,800
Gaines, Janet	2120 H St. NW., No. 8; 2132 F St.	Federal Relief Administration.	Secretary	1,440
Ginsburg, Sarah	3 00 39th St. NW		Economist	3,000
Goldschmidt, Arthur	3036 P St. NW	Public Works	Architect	4,000
Holmes, Mr. or Mrs. Eugene (Margaret Cardozo).	3312 Sherman Ave.; 111 Columbia Rd. NW.	Federal Writers Project.		
Holmes, Marie	2302 6th St. NW		Interviewer	
Jenkinson, Bruce	2901 18th St. NW., No. 504		Associate social economist.	3,600
Jenkinson, Frieda	do.		Junior administrative assistant.	2,600
Ketchin, Ella	2700 2d St. NW	Works Project	Administrative assistant.	3,600
Kistin, Marcel S.	1837 Ingleside Terrace; 1835 Kalorama Rd. NW.		Clerk, principal statistician.	2,600
Landau, Ethel	1621 New Hampshire Ave. NW.; 1744 M St.	La Follette committee, W. P. A.		
Lowenstein, Fred	1210 12th St. NW	Writers Project	Senior editor assistant.	2,300
Newmark, Immanuel	2441 40th St. NW		Editor	1,860
November, Harold	Forest Glen, Md.; 1527 I St. NW.			1,620
Quinn, Mr. or Mrs. Walter.	4318 North Pershing Drive, Arlington, Va.			
Rapke, Eva	2906 Beech St., Mount Ranier, Md.		Clerk	1,740
Redisch, Dorothy	1440 Spring Rd. NW		Senior statistical clerk.	2,300
Richter, Irving	1835 Kalorama Rd. NW.; 1837 Ingleside Terrace NW.		Res. assistant	2,600
Roberts, Glauca B.	605 Gresham Pl. NW		Editorial assistant.	1,800
Rogg, N. H.	1832 I St. NW		Labor relations specialist.	3,200
Smith, Hilda	505 18th St. NW., Apt. 5	Works Ed.	Director	
Stein, Arthur	1201 Euclid St. NW		Associate statistician.	3,600
Taylor, L. M., Jr.	3804 Ingomar St. NW		Statistician	2,160
West, Harriet M.	924 M St. NW		Stenographer	1,800
Wright, Jean	5527 39th St. NW		Clerk and stenographer.	1,800

¹ Out.

*Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington,
D. C.—Continued*

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

Name	Address	Position	Salary
Adams, Chas. W.	5 K, Ridge Rd., Greenbelt, Md.	Clerk	\$1,740
Addicks, Allen	3317 Cleveland Ave. NW	Expert account examiner	3,400
Anderson, Edna O.	705 18th St. NW., Apt. 1120	Stenographer	1,880
Arner, D. Virginia	2124 Eye St. NW	Clerk	1,680
Blitman, Samuel	1262 New Hampshire Ave. NW	Clerk	1,440
Cohen, Milton	2633 15th St. NW., Apt. 5A	Attorney	4,600
Crystal, Daniel	2106 O St. NW.; 1422 Longfellow St.	Copy reader	1,500
Currie, Warren G.	2 Riggs Court, NW	Statistician	2,300
Drexler, Milton	66 New York Ave. NW	Clerk	1,620
* Gates, Charles C.	2517 K St. NW., Apt. 604; 4034 7th St. NW	Clerk	1,620
Gewirtz, Paul	1703 Rhode Island Ave. NW.; 5529 Kansas Ave. NW	Statistician	2,200
Gold, Mollie	1020 Monroe St. NW., Apt. 32	Statistician	2,100
Gorham, James	1424 K St. NW.; 6228 North Dakota Ave. NW., Apt. 305		3,600
Greenblatt, Ethel	2503 14th St. NE	Clerk	2,000
Johnson, Maj. Campbell	1125 Columbia Rd. NW.; 1816 12th, Y. M. C. A.		
Koenigsberg, Sam	1630 R St. NW.; 1440 Chapin St. NW	Attorney	2,600
Kennedy, E. D.	1133 13th St. NW	Assistant supervisor	5,000
* Lacy, Wm. S. B.	2556 Massachusetts Ave. NW	Economist	3,800
Loomis, Donald H.	218 East Thornapple St., Chevy Chase	Lawyer	3,000
Naigles, M. H.	2311 15th St. NW	Statistician	3,000
Pollack, Melvin	1900 F St., NW	Copy reader	1,500
Timberg, Sigmund	1916 G St. NW	Attorney	5,200
Vass, L. C.	800 Fern Pl. NW	Statistician expert	5,400
Wolpe, Joseph	816 17th St. NW	Examiner	2,200
Borrv, Russell H.	618 A St. SE., No. 13; 634 O St. SE	Clerk	1,740
Brotman, Oscar	1800 New Hampshire Ave. NW.; 1422 Massachusetts Ave. NW.	Clerk	1,500
Vibber, Alfred, Mrs.	3013 14th St. N., Arlington, Va.		1,680

SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

Allister, Becky	Vacation Lodge, Arlington, Va.		
Appelman, Adolph	1901 16th St. NW; 1749 Q St. NW	Statistics clerk	\$1,620
Assay, Ivan	1834 North Quintana St., Arlington, Va.	Administrative advisor	5,000
Auerbach, Esther	1305 Potomac St. NW	Analyst	2,800
Baynard, Sophie	5019 9th St. NW	Clerk	2,200
Berg, Ida V.	3000 Conn. Ave., No. 312	Confidential clerk	1,200
Bernstein, Arthur	3230 N St. NW	Analyst	2,100
Boyd, Helen M.	3337 18th St. NW	Attorney	2,800
Brotman, Herman	329 Rhode Island Ave. NE.; 1341 Saratoga Ave. NE.	Statistician	2,600
Carlstedt, Clifford	2031 F St. NW., apt. 3	File clerk	1,440
Cohen, Frieda	839 Decatur St. NW	Stenographer	1,680
Draisner, Abe M.	1310 New Hampshire Ave. NW	Mail clerk	1,500
* Farnum, Isabelle T.	705 18th St. NW	Chief Per. and Bib. Section	2,100
Federman, David	1704 Euclid St. NW	Statistician	2,000
Fichandler, Thos. C.	3408 13th St. NW.; 1020 Monroe St. NW	Statistician	2,100
Foncillar, Abe	1901 16th St. NW	Clerk	1,620
Fooner, Michael S.	1310 New Hampshire Ave. NW.; 1821 Jefferson St. NW	Analyst	2,100
Freedman, Nathan	940 Randolph St. NW	Clerk	1,620
Friedman, Mrs. Morton	1440 Chapin St. NW	File clerk	1,440
Gall, Alexander	1736 Columbia Rd. NW	Analyst	2,100
Garfield, Robert	2311 Randolph St. NE	Clerk	1,620
Goldberg, Clara	2331 15th St. NW., apt. 4; 2101 New Hampshire Ave. NW	Clerk	2,000
Gordon, Joel	1365 Kennedy St. NW., apt. 508	Chief, Financial R. S.	4,200
Greene, Frances	1910 N St. NW.; 353 G St. NW	Junior stenographer	1,700
Gruber, Herman	5408 13th St. NW	Statistician	2,000
Holstein, Elwood	632 Girard St. NE	Administrative assistant	2,600
Israeli, Oliva J.	1020 Monroe St. NW	Analyst	2,100
Johnson, Glenn	2446 Huidakoper St. NW.; 1944 9th St. NW.; 1004 Arlington, Va.	Advisor	3,300
Kaplan, Harry	2114 U St.; 2114 N St.	Proofreader	1,500
Ladimer, Irving	1262 21st St. NW	Analyst	2,000
Lobell, Nathan D.	1754 P St. NW.; 1712 Conn. Ave. NW	Attorney	2,000
Lope, Mr. Charles	1631 S St. NW	Bur. res. stat.	2,600
Malkin, Leon	15 Ridge Rd.	Auditing clerk	1,680
Medvin, Norman	1837 R St. NW	Statistical clerk	1,800
Mellman, Zelda	1629 Webster St. NW	Junior stenographer	1,440
Montalbano, Michael	611 22d St. NW.; 1424 Belmont St.	Messenger	1,080

* See page 6418.

* See page 1426.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD—Continued

Name	Address	Position	Salary
Murray, Merrill G.	6607 Delfield St., Chevy Chase, Md.	Director, Analysis Division.	\$7,000
Mushkin, Selma	1750 16th St. NW.; 2100 19th St. NW., No. 301.	Economist	2.60
Needleman, Rae L.	1509 16th St. NW.	Stenographer-clerk	1,800
O'Brien, Helen C.	3833 16th St. NW.	Attorney	3,800
Reid, Conrad	105 East Thornapple St., Chevy Chase, Md.		
Reno, Philip	1920 S St. NW., Apt. 404	Chief Ref. section	2,700
Rovin, Chas. B.	2737 Connecticut Ave., 1712 G St. NW.	Clerk-Junior plan revisor.	2,000
Russell, Stanley	1426 21st St. NW.	Clerk	1,320
Schmerler, Sam	1862 Ontario Pl. NW., Apt. 12	Representative labor relations.	2,600
Scolnick, Meyer	1814 G St. NW.	Junior clerk	1,440
Seitz, Mr. Peter	4920 Hampden Lane, Bethesda; 1309 Seneca Lane; 4920 Chapin St.	Attorney	4,800
Shereshofsky, Pauline	10 Parkside Rd., Silver Spring, Md.; 5321 R St. NW.		12,700
*Siegel, Nathan	1819 F St. NW.; 4707 Conn. Ave., No. 207; 2020 Naylor Rd. SE., No. 6.	Assistant messenger	1,080
*Siller, Harry	2020 Naylor Rd. SE.	Clerk	1,440
Tenney, Ruth J.	1440 Chapin St. NW.; 4025 7th St. NE.	Stenographer	1,440
Turk, Charlotte R.	1616 16th St. NW.	Technical advisor	2,000
Urman, Martin	2035 Park Rd. NW.	Analyst	2,600
Von Blassingame, Odis	1238 Fairmont St. NW.		
Wolfe, Ernest J.	1410 16th St. NW.	Instructor	3,300
Zeish, Leonard B.	2737 Devonshire Pl.		
Zibit, Samuel	2018 New Hampshire Ave. NW., Hampton Courts Apt.	Statistician	2,000
Charnow, John	1630 R. St. NW., Apt. 621; 1701 16th St. NW.	Research Committee	(¹)

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Billings, Elden E.	16 8th St. SE.	Assistant	\$1,260
Blossom, F. A.	400 Seward St. NW.		3,500
Cornelius, W. G.	130 B St. NE.	Assistant	1,260
Douglas, Henry H.	1622 18th St. NW.; 2019 O St. NW.		1,620
Fang, C. Y.	4424 Alabama Ave. SE.	(Pd. Rockefeller Institute).	1,870
Gauld, Charles A.	125 C St. SE.; 117 2d St. NW.	Assistant	1,440
Haykin, D. J.	4958 Brandywine St. NW.		4,600
Higgins, Dorothy I.	23 2d St. NE., No. 32	Assistant	3,100
Kelley, Oden	314 South Fairfield St., Alexandria, Va.		1,980
Lyons, Matt.	928 K St., SW.	Clerk	1,920
Mazique, Mrs. Jewell R.	654 Girard St. NW., Apt. 501	Assistant	1,260
Plumb, Milton M., Jr.	2830 R. St. SE.	Messenger	1,200
Renfrow, Alice Lee	901 Rhode Island Ave. NW.	Assistant	1,320
Van Casteel, Mary	3139 Dumbarton Ave.	Assistant	2,700
Boswell, Paul	1942 Calvert St.		1,260

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

Adams, Foster	2023 Belmont Rd. NW.	Chief Res. Statistician	\$5,400
Altkrug, Louis J.	5413 4th St. NW.	Attorney	4,400
Berg, Alfred S.	4700 Connecticut Ave. NW.	Lawyer	4,400
Bray, Joseph W.	1518 K St.	Attorney	2,500
Broderick, Raymond	1712 17th St. NW.	Attorney	2,600
*Carroll, Paul A.	1761 Massachusetts Ave. NW.	Mail clerk	1,320
Cohen, David	2411 14th St. NE., Apt. 373; 1300 Massachusetts Ave. NW.	Civil surveyor engineer	3,200
Crain, Elinor	1633 F St. NW.; 1923 S St. NW.	Clerk	2,200
Ereza, Laura Fanny	1761 Hobart St. NW.	Stenographer	1,680
Farage, David	1719 Q St. NW.	Junior stenographer	1,500
Foss, Kendall	2445 15th St. NW., Apt. 407	Division director	4,800
Freeman, Ward B.	P. O. Box 48, East Falls Church, Va.	Coordinator engineer	6,000
Gamer, S. R.	4013 47th St. NW.; 4615 Ch. St., Bethesda	Attorney	5,500
Gerber, Albert B.	1300 Massachusetts Ave. NW.; 2411 14th St. NE.		3,200
Gilman, Freda	1300 Ingraham St.	*Reviewer	2,100
Gorin, Louis	1728 New Hampshire Ave. NW.	Attorney	4,800
Hertz, Edith Weil	1923 S St. NW.; 4605 Hunt Ave., Chevy Chase.	Lawyer	2,400

¹ Out.

¹ *See p. 6417.

² *See p. 6420.

³ *See p. 6424.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION—Continued

Name	Address	Position	Salary
Herzog, Florence	950 25th St.	Stenographer	\$1,600
Hoyt, Austin	2008 Q St. NW	Assistant attorney	2,300
Johnson, Mercer	2015 Klingie Rd.	Division director	4,200
Judge, J. Emmet	2000 Connecticut Ave.	Assistant to engineering administrator.	2,600
Kirschenbaum, Francis	3517 14th St. NW	Legal secretary	1,680
Lamberton, Harry	1235 31st St.	Lawyer	6,000
Lett, Robin W.	1712 17th St. NW	Attorney	2,000
Moore, Allen	3817 Cathedral Ave. NW	Lawyer	6,000
O'Callahan, T. E.	6906 Connecticut Ave.	Public relations counsel	8,000
Plotka, Norman L.	5626 13th St. NW	Attorney	2,600
Potamkin, Lawrence	2331 15th St. NE	Attorney	4,000
Rosenberg, Erna	1711 Rhode Island Ave. NW	Clerk and stenographer	1,860
Skolnick, Myron	1728 New Hampshire Ave.	Stenographer	1,860
Walczak, Florence	1717 P St. NW	Clerk and typist	1,440
Walters, Allyn A.	4627 Chestnut St., Bethesda, Md.	Chief	3,400
Weiss, Edith	1701 15th St. NW., Chastleton Apts., No. 346.	Clerk and stenographer	1,500
Winokur, Arnold	1503 Hamilton St. NW	Attorney	3,200
Wood, Franklin	4801 Connecticut Ave., Apt. 918	Attorney	5,400

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Abbott, Minnie	318 N St. NW.; 474 Maryland Ave. SW.	Census	Statistical clerk	\$1,740
Abelson, Milton	908 20th St. NW	Foreign and Domestic Commerce.	Special agent	2,800
*Akers, Mrs. Helen (L.G.)	1113 Fairmont St. NW	Standards	Clerk	
Burstein, Max H.	1630 Park Rd. NW	Census	Clerk	*3.9
Eisinger, John	645 Park Rd. NW	Patent	Examiner	3,500
Endler, Abe S.	3100 Wisconsin Ave. NW	Standards	Engineer	2,000
Gurewitz, C.	3214 38th St. NW	Census	Special agent	
*Greenspan, Martin	2711 Connecticut Ave. NW; 3446 Connecticut Ave. NW	Standards	Physicist	2,100
Levy, Sam	3000 Connecticut Ave. NW	Standards	Physicist	2,100
Millison, Ingrid	1900 North Roosevelt St., Arlington, Va.; 3753 McKinley St. NW.	Census	Clerk	1,620
Nathan, Robt. R.	3420 16th St. NW	Foreign and Domestic Commerce.	Special agent	4,600
Projector, Ted	1503 Hamilton St. NW	Standards	Scientist aid	1,620
Rimel, Irving	1812 G St. NW	Patent	Examiners aid	1,200
Robertson, Jack	1815 Kenyon St. NW; 1802 G St. NW	Census	Social analyst	2,000
Sheffer, Abner	4910 3d St. NW	Patent	Junior patent examiner.	2,100
Silverman, Ruth	511 Irving St. NW	Census	Agent	
Vibber, Alfred W.	3013 4th St. N., Arlington, Va.	Patent	Patent examiner	3,200

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

Name	Address	Position	Salary
Butz, Mary	23 Hamilton St. NW	Clerk	\$1,920
*Cohen, Blanch V.	1267 New Hampshire Ave. NW	Stenographer	1,620
Frank, Marjorie	723 1 St. NW., Apt. 2; 1758 Q St. NW	Clerk	1,320
Heath, Florence B., Mrs.	1926 Albemarle St. NW.; 4426 Grant Rd. NW		1,980
Jacobs, Morton I.	3330 Rhode Island Ave. NE	Ex. clerk	1,260
Lockhart, Marvel L.	1028 Conn. Ave., Apt. 217, La Salle Apartments	Clerk	1,620
Osborn, Jerome B.	766 Fairmont St. NW	Clerk	1,740
Rosenthal, Aaron	2328 40th St. NW		1,800
Schoen, Hilding E.	903 23d St. NW.; 1630 P St. NW.; 1026 17th St. NW.	File clerk	1,260
Wolman, Bertha	Park Lane Apartments	Secretary	2,200

* See p. 6419. 2 Per day. 2* See p. 6422. 4 (Transferred to navy yard, Ordinance Bureau.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

Name	Address	Position	Salary
Kelley, Ogden (Mrs.).....	314 South Fairfax St., Alexandria, Va.....	Senate committee lawyer.	\$3,600
Kolin, Irene G.....	2301 15th St. NW., No. 201.....	Typist.....	1,440
Lifflander, Stanley W.....	1743 Q St. NW.....	Clerk.....	1,550
Ober, Sylvia.....	1717 R St. NW.; 1944 Calvert St. NW.....	Stenographer.....	1,500
Posner, Irving L.....	1575 Spring Place NW.....	Clerk.....	1,860
Rosenblum, Florence.....	1008 16th St. NW.....	Stenographer.....	1,440
Sack, Ethel L.....	2327 15th St. NE.....	Typist.....	1,440
Soloff, Sylvia.....	2301 15th St. NW., No. 201.....	Stenographer.....	1,680
Webner, Gordon W.....	4450 Reservoir Rd.....		
Weinstein, Bernard.....	1409 10th St. NW.; 1318 Rhode Island Ave. NW.....	Typist.....	1,440

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Barrows, Alice.....	2010 O St. NW.....	Office of Education.	Educationalist in school buildings.	\$3,800
Bauer, Catherine.....	Apt. 1201, 2150 Pennsylvania Ave. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Consultant.....	2 15
Beatty, Willard W.....	1852 Columbia Rd. NW., Apt. 402.....	Indian Affairs.....	Chief.....	7,500
Bricker, Mildred.....	1867 Mintwood Pl. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Junior stenographer.	1,440
Chapman, Oscar L.....	The Kennedy Warren, 3133 Connecticut Ave. NW.....		Assistant Secretary.	9,000
Cline, Dorothy I.....	1107 16th St. NW.; 2630 Adams Mill Rd. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Counselor.....	3,300
Duke, Charles.....	936 T St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Architectural engineer.	3,300
Fox, Leah R.....	2701 14th St.....	N. B. C. C.....	Compt. opp.....	1,500
Friedson, Ruth.....	1613 19th St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Director.....	2,000
Gelman, Sara.....	927 Farragut St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Secretary.....	1,500
Gerber, Lillian.....	914 Farragut St. NW.; 1728 19th St.....	U. S. H. A.....	Secretary.....	
Goldfein, Anne.....	1723 G St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Secretary.....	1,620
Goldwater, Mary.....	1017 16th St.....	U. S. H. A.....	Statistician.....	2,100
Hale, Elizabeth.....	1207 35th St.....	U. S. H. A.....	Statistician.....	2,600
Hamilton, Walter E.....	1834 Park Rd. NW.; 1916 Calvert St.....	National Park Service.	Laborer.....	1,200
Huberman, Edward.....	1714 Connecticut Ave. NW.; 1121 New Hampshire Ave. NW.....	U. S. H. A.; Indian Affairs.	Sup. of training. Educator.	1 3,300
Korchien, Jules.....	4113 N. Henderson Rd., Arlington, Va.....	U. S. H. A.....	Architect.....	4,000
Kury, Edna.....	1500 21st St., Apt. 3; 1233 30th St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Tenant selection supervisor.	2,600
Laub, Joseph J.....	1913 Key Blvd., Colonial Village, Arlington, Va.....	N. B. C. C.....	Attorney.....	4,200
McNickle, D'Arsey.....	4909 Western Ave.; 3217 Connecticut Ave., No. 32.....	Indian Affairs.....	Administrative assistant.	2,900
Orris, Beatrice.....	1824 Belmont Rd. NW.; 2100 19th St. NW., No. 706.....	U. S. H. A.....	Clerk.....	1,680
Padnick, Sadie.....	2301 15th St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Clerk and stenographer.	1,620
Pressman, Irving R.....	2828 Connecticut Ave.; 1869 Mintwood Pl.....	N. B. C. C.....	Attorney.....	3,000
Rich, Annette.....	1458 Meridian Pl.....	N. B. C. C.....	Stenographer.....	1 1,620
Richter, Alex.....	1835 Kalorama Rd.....	U. S. H. A.....	Tech. Div.....	3,200
Robinson, Corrienne.....	1111 Columbia Rd. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Secretary and res. assistant.	2,200
Rollins, Lena G.....	5809 14th St. NW.....	N. B. C. C.....	Clerk.....	1,806
Roseman, Stella M.....	1227 Shepherd St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Junior typist.....	1,200
Schlossberg, Leon G.....	2110 G St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Clerk.....	1,440
Sekaer, Elizabeth H.....	1618 17th St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Editorial clerk.....	2,300
Selove, Joseph.....	Park Ave., Hyattsville, Md., R. F. D.....	U. S. H. A.....	Statistician.....	2,200
Shively, Harriette.....	701 Shepherd St. NW.....	U. S. H. A.....	Research clerk.....	2,000
*Slechtla, Marie.....	1717 G St. NW., Apt. 203.....	Indian Affairs.....	Stenographer.....	1,740
Wiles, Harry.....	1407 S St. NW.....	N. B. C. C.....	File clerk.....	1,500
Wine, Sarah.....	1916 R St. NW.....		Stenographer.....	1,440

1 Out.

2 Per day.

* See p. 6425.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Achinstein, Betty.....	119 Glenbrook Rd., Bethesda, Md.	F. H. A.....	Assistant.....	
Knowlton, Alexander....	1722 N St. NW.....	-----	Consultant and architect.	\$3,800
Schmeling, William.....	1447 Rhode Island Ave. NW..	Division of Economics.	Statistician.....	1,440

STATE DEPARTMENT

Jaffee, Madelina.....	1305 Potomac St. NW.....	Passport Bureau..	Stenographer....	\$1,500
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UNITED STATES CAPITOL

Evans, Robert W.....	1163 6th St. NE.....	-----	Laborer.....	\$1,200
Taylor, Arnedo.....	509 Harvard St. NW.; 529 Harvard St. NW.	Architects office..	Charwoman.....	3 0.50

UNITED STATES CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD

Hincks, Ed.....	2121 Virginia Ave.; 909 20th St. NW.	-----	Economist.....	\$2,100
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RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Name	Address	Position	Salary
Lingenfelter, Helen.....	912 19th St. NW., Apt. 3.....	Mail clerk.....	\$1,800
Watman, Helen.....	1824 Belmont St. NW.; 2100 19th St. NW.; Apt. 706.	Law clerk.....	2,000
Michaelson, Lewis.....	4319 15th St. NW.....	Clerk.....	

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Anthony, Susan B.....	1742 P St. NW.; 1745 N St. NW.	-----	-----	-----
West, Harriet M.....	924 M St. NW.; 159 Adams St.	(Transferred from W.P.A. 7-31-39.)	Stenographer....	\$1,800

MARITIME LABOR BOARD

Bloch, Louis.....	2000 Connecticut Ave. NW..	-----	Member.....	\$10,000
Campbell, John H.....	2106 R St. NW.....	-----	Engineer, marine (piping).	3,800
Silvermaster, Gregory....	2620 Jocelyn St. NW.; 5515 30th St. NW.	-----	Economist.....	5,600

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION

Buchanan, Allan.....	6 Bradford Lane, Capitol View, Forest Glen, Md.	-----	Economist.....	\$4,400
Koltovsky, Lillian.....	1364 Girard St. NW.; 1760 Columbia Rd. NW.	-----	Clerk.....	1,620

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Burns, Charlotte.....	1445 N St. NW., Apt. 205; 1305 10th St. NW.	-----	Clerk.....	\$1,440
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* Per hour.

*Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington,
D. C.—Continued*

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT, HEALTH SERVICE

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Bloomfield, S. G.	1812 K St. NW.	-----	Analyst	-----
Evans, Gertrude	1750 16th St. NW., No. 402; 801 19th St. NW.	-----	Typist	\$1,620
McKenzie, Margery	1717 U St. NW.	Pub. Asst. Div.	Social worker	1,620
Nichols, Beatrice	2107 S St. NW.; 1011 Connecticut Ave.		Nurse	1,800
Williston, Carol	1122 Fairmont St.	Freedmen's Hospital. Gallinger Hospital	Social service worker.	1,800
Winik, Irving W.	4013 Georgia Ave. NW.		Intern	-----

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

*Cox, Charles S.	2728 13th St. NW.; 1225 L St., NW., No. 21.	-----	Attorney	\$3,800
Till, Florence	2121 Virginia Ave., No. 402.	-----	Examiner	2,000
*Trock, Lena	1916 17th St. NW.	-----	Clerk	1,680
Vatter, Harold	2707 Adams Mill Rd., No. 109.	-----	Analyst	2,000

MARKETING LAWS SURVEY

Goldstein, Lois	Cairo Hotel, Arlington, Va.	-----	-----	-----
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BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING

Name	Address	Position	Salary
*Goodman, Anna	2225 N St. NW.	Operator	*\$0.84
Kessler, Gertrude S.	1139 Connecticut Ave. NW.; 200 11th St. SW.	Operator	1,370

NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMISSION

Kneeland, Hildegard	530 River Rd., Bethesda, Md.	Economist	-----
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JUVENILE COURT, WASHINGTON

Kopelman, Max	3408 13th St. NE.	Adult department probation officer.	\$2,000
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FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

Lee, Andrew W.	1753 Kilbourne Pl. NW.	Examiner	\$2,100
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FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Levine, Samuel	4703 Kansas Ave.	Adm. clerk	\$1,800
Slaff, George	Dupont Circle Apartments, 1345 17th St. NW.	Attorney	5,200
Schiffer, Benj.	1440 Chapin St. NW.	Rate aide	1,800

N. Y. C.

Kennedy, E. D.	2145 C St. NW.	-----	-----
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FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

Rappaport, Pearl N.	2327 15th St. NW.	Secretary	\$1,500
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* Per hour.

*See pp. 6421 and 6457-8.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE

Name	Address	Position	Salary
Goodman, Anra.....	2225 N St. NW.....	Operator.....	
Robinson, Abraham.....	7019 Georgia Ave. NW.....	Auditor.....	\$3,000
Tooter, M.....	5417 Georgia Ave. NW.....	Press revisor.....	\$1.32

U. S. NATIONAL MUSEUM

Taylor, A. Langston.....	1960 2d St. NW.....	Elevator operator.....	\$1,260
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CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Wermiel, Benj.....	1426 21st St. NW.; 1616 18th St. NW.; 2000 H St. NW.	Clerk.....	
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WAR DEPARTMENT

Berman, Irving.....	1740 Hobart St. NW.....	Quartermaster civil engineer.	\$2,600
Glassman, N. S.....	4821 4th St. NW, No. 2; Franklin Park., Va.	Engineer and draftsman.	2,600
Koppelon, Ruth.....	3110 Wisconsin Ave. NW.; 220 Allison St. NW.	Stenographer.....	1,440
Myerson, Seymour.....	2010 Kalorama Rd., Apt. 24.....	Architect.....	3,200
Ostrov, Margaret.....	2316 F St. NW., No. 103; Forest Glenn, Md.	Clerk.....	1,440

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Abrams, Marcella.....	1907 Randolph St. NW.....	Forest Service.....	Clerk.....	\$2,200
Barasch, Arnold.....	2413 14th St. NE.....	A. A. A.....	Writer.....	2,600
Berrall, Joel.....	1620 P St. NW.; 423 Fairfax St.; 1624 29th St. NW.	Surplus Commodities.		
Brady, Dorothy S.....	1809 20th St. NW., Apt. 206; Cordova Apartments, 20th St. and Florida Ave.			3,200
Brinkman, Geo. L.....	704 Independence Ave. SW.; 1511 Colonial Terrace, Arlington, Va.	A. A. A.....	Typist.....	1,440
Brown, Phil.....	2009 I St. NW.....	Farm Sec.....	Clerk.....	1,980
Browne, Arthur E.....	Box 164, Forest Glen, Md.....	Fed. Sur. Comm. Corp.	Administrative assistant.	2,600
Booklan, Diana.....	4806 Illinois Ave. NW.....	A. A. A.....	Stenographer.....	1,560
Carliner, Lewis.....	3422 Prospect Ave.....		Editor.....	2,600
Chatfield, Charlotte.....	3032 Tilden St. NW., Apt. 303.	Home Econ.....		4,000
Cogan, Della.....	310 East Capitol St.....	Farm Security.....	Clerk.....	1,800
Cohen, Judith.....	634 Princeton St. NW.....	Farm Credit.....	Junior stenographer.	1,620
Cohen, Philip.....	503 16th St. SE.; 217 Jefferson St. NW.	A. A. A.....		1,320
Cotton, Albert H.....	London Hall Apartments, 653 East Capitol, Apt. 205.	Office of Solicitor..	Attorney.....	3,200
Coven, Milton.....	1733 Trinidad Ave. NE.....	Bureau of Agricultural Economics.	Economist.....	2,000
Chase, Agnes.....	5403 41st St. NW.....		Botanist.....	4,600
Deiss, Mrs. Jay (Katherine).	Fairfax, Va., R. F. D., Vienna, Va.	A. A. A.....	Stenographer.....	1,400
Ezekiel, Mordecai.....	530 River Rd., Bethesda, Md.; 1440 Chapman St. NW.	A. A. A.....	Director.....	8,000
Fine, Maurice E.....	1620 Buchanan St. NW.....		Assistant mechanical engineer.	\$1,260
Finkelstein, V. Rebecca..	1228 I St. NW., 969 Randolph St. NW.	Office of Solicitor..	Clerk and stenographer.	1,680
Finner, W. F.....	236 Thomas St., Arlington, Va.	A. A. A.....	Economist.....	2,600
Finsterwald, Maxine.....	1705 Lanier Pl. NW.; 1916 G St. NW.	A. A. A.....	Writer.....	3,200

¹ Out.² Per hour.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE—Continued

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Bernard, Frank.....	13 Whittier St. NW.; 104 Walnut St. NW.	-----	Silverculturst.....	\$4, 800
Frank, Rose L.....	1744 M St. NW.....	Forest Service.....	Clerk and stenographer.	1, 620
Gale, Magdalena E.....	809 13th St. NW.....	Soil Conservation.....	Stenographer-clerk	1, 620
Ginsburg, Frances.....	Park Central Apartments, No. 22, 19 F St. NW.	Biological Survey.....	Senior secretary.....	1, 620
Glimm, Mildred P.....	3222 Wisconsin Ave. NW.; 2138 Cal. St. NW.	A. A. A.....	Stenographer.....	1, 620
Goldberg, Ben.....	312 Concord Ave.....	-----	Clerk and typist.....	1, 440
Goldman, Marcus J.....	707 20th St. NW., No. 10.....	Geological Survey.....	Scientist.....	4, 000
Gross, Bertram.....	1121 New Hampshire Ave. NW.	-----	Editorial assistant.....	3, 200
Gubin, Sidney N.....	1610 16th St. NW.....	A. A. A.....	Economist.....	3, 200
Hadsell, R. S.....	Russell Rd., Alexandria, Va.	A. A. A.—F. R.....	Editor.....	3, 200
Harris, Edmond.....	4915 Ashby St. NW.; 4511 Conduit Rd. NW.	A. A. A.....	Economist.....	2, 600
Hoffman, A. C.....	605 South Buchanan St., Arlington, Va.	Agricultural Economics.	Economist.....	4, 000
Howard, Thomas E.....	Burlington Hotel, 1120 Vermont Ave. NW.	A. A. A.....	Senior administrative officer.	4, 600
Huberman, Morris.....	2500 14th St. NE.....	Forest Service.....	Silviculturist.....	3, 200
Jona, Marie.....	2500 K St. NW., Apt. 402; 2109 F St.	A. A. A.....	Operator.....	1, 440
Jung, Theo.....	1636 O St. NW.....	A. A. A.....	Editor.....	2, 600
Kleger, Nina.....	1916 R St. NW.....	A. A. A.....	Clerk and stenographer.	1, 440
Klein, Eva T.....	2210 Pennsylvania Ave. NW.	Forest Service.....	Clerk.....	1, 860
Korn, Bertha.....	1440 Chapin St. NW.....	Farm Research.....	Stenographer.....	1, 440
Lawsing, Margaret.....	1758 Q St., Apt. B6.....	-----	Clerk.....	1, 800
Levine, Sara R.....	2101 New Hampshire Ave. NW.	Agricultural Economics.	Clerk.....	1, 620
Liss, Samuel.....	1201 Clifton St. NW.....	-----	Asso. soc. science analyst.	3, 200
Love, Jane McKay.....	1923 S St. NW.....	-----	Clerk.....	? 4
Makower, B.....	1731 20th St. NW.....	-----	Chemist.....	2, 100
Marshall, Robt.....	Fairfax Hotel, 2100 Massachusetts Ave.; 2810 P St. NW.	Forest Service.....	Administrative officer.	5, 800
McDonald, Angus.....	4015 21st St. NE.....	Soil Conservation Service.	-----	2, 600
Mermin, Samuel.....	1277 New Hampshire Ave. NW.	A. A. A.....	Economist.....	2, 600
*Miller, Irving.....	1322 15th St. NW.; 6611 New Hampshire Ave. NW.	Bureau of Agricultural Engineering.	Architect.....	3, 800
Millman, Max.....	2146 F. St. NW.....	Food and Drug.....	-----	1, 020
Mullikin, Catherine.....	2114 N St., NW.; 1242 21 St. NW.	-----	Stenographer.....	1, 500
Norman, Theodore.....	2325 15th St. NW.....	A. A. A.....	Economist.....	3, 800
Padolsky, Sophia.....	1408 New Hampshire Ave.....	-----	Junior clerk.....	1, 500
Parmelee, Maurice (Mrs. Anna Saa). Pollin, Sallye.....	2520 41st St. NW..... 1503 Hamilton St. NW.....	Department of Agriculture. Department of Agriculture.	----- -----	----- -----
*Radabaugh, James H.....	1754 North Troy St., Arlington, Va.; 1100 South Barton St.	A. A. A.....	Associate agricultural economist.	3, 200
Ramirez, Gilbert.....	3832 Sherrier Pl. NW.....	-----	Clerk.....	1, 620
Rosenberg, Esther.....	2520 L St. NW.; 1431 Shepherd NW.	-----	Statistician.....	1, 620
Riley, Ruth (Mrs. Fishman). Salking, Isadore.....	2003 I St. NW..... 1922 N St. NW.; 1316 Rhode Island Ave. NW.	----- Farm Security.....	Assistant clerk and stenographer. Clerk.....	1, 620 1, 800
Scherr, Mary.....	Flagler Apartments, 22d and H Sts. NW.	Weather Bureau.....	Stenographer and clerk.	1, 440
Schricker, Celia L.....	1742 West Rhodes St., Colonial Village, Va.; 742 Hamilton NE, Apt. 2.	Agriculture.....	Clerk.....	1, 680
Shaffer, Nellie.....	2316 Y St. NW.; 2520 L St. NW.; Apt. 302.	Agriculture.....	Clerk and stenographer.	1, 680
Steck, Leon J.....	6000 13th St. NW.; Apt. 108.	A. A. A.....	Economist.....	3, 400
Stone, Gertrude.....	1826 Massachusetts Ave. NW.	Animal Industry.....	Clerk and stenographer.	1, 620

* 2 Per day.

* See p. 6418.

* See p. 6424.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE—Continued

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Sucher, Nettie.....	1409 15th St. NW.; Apt. 25; 1771 Lanier Pl. NW.		Clerk and stenog- rapher.	\$1, 620
Sugarman, Dorothy.....	2013 New Hampshire Ave.; 1301 15th St. NW., Apt. 410.			
Sullivan, Daniel.....	704 Independence Ave. SW.	Bureau of Plant Industry.	Scientific aide.....	1, 440
Trefon, Sophie.....	607 Irving St. NW.; 1309 Rhode Island Ave.	Farm Security.....	Clerk and stenog- rapher.	1, 800
Truesdell, Horace.....	1930 K St. NW.	Farm Security.....	Analyst.....	3, 800
Vaughn, Harvey.....	1894 G St. NW.	Farm Security.....	Adm. officer.....	3, 800
Wheeler, George.....	R. F. D. 1, Vienna, Va.; 5003 7th Pl. NW.	Agricultural Re- search.		
Young, R. A.....	219 Whittier St. NW.	Soil Conservation.	Economist.....	3, 200
Zuchovitz, Goldie.....	1812 Jefferson St. NW.	Farm Security.....	Assistant statisti- cian.	2, 000

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Name	Address	Position	Salary
Bassin, Beatrice.....	3206 Wisconsin Ave. NW.	Stenographer.....	\$1, 620
Burkowsky, Alice.....	4924 9th St. NE.; 2009 16th St. NW.	Stenographer.....	1, 620
Burstein, Robert.....	1630 Park Rd. NW., Apt. 405.	Lawyer.....	
Corkin, Louis.....	1511 Webster St. NW.	Junior attorney.....	2, 000
Colborn, Joan B.....	4043 Grant St. NE.	Stenographer.....	1, 800
Condon, Robert L.....	900 19th St. NW., Apt. 203; 2818 Connecti- cut Ave.		
Cooper, Harry.....	1230 New Hampshire Ave.	Lawyer.....	3, 000
Cooper, Lyle.....	1747 Irving St. NW.	Clerk and economist.	4, 600
Cutler, Arnold R.....	3206 Wisconsin Ave.; 3821 Cathedral Ave.; Apt. 53.	Lawyer.....	3, 400
Delin, Bertha M.....	Commodore Hotel.	Assistant attorney.....	2, 600
Eden, Rose (Mrs.).....	2512 Q St. NW.	Clerk.....	1, 620
Edises, Bertram.....	1916 G St. NW.	Attorney.....	4, 200
Forer, Joseph.....	1218 Brentwood Rd. NE.	Office attorney.....	3, 500
Freeling, Anne.....	2929 Connecticut Ave.	Lawyer.....	3, 000
Friedman, Joseph.....	2059 Park Rd. NW.	Senior office attorney.....	4, 200
Garrett, Sylvester.....	1731 20th St. NW.	Attorney.....	3, 000
Gewirtz, Paul (Mrs.) (Sylvia Golman).....	1703 Rhode Island Ave. NW.; 1409 15th St. NW.	Assistant clerk.....	1, 620
Kaminstein, Abr. L.....	1841 R St. NW.	Attorney.....	3, 200
Kaufman, Jack.....	2121 H St. NW.; 1900 F St. NW.		
Koplow, George A.....	1630 R St. NW., Apt. 8.	Lawyer.....	3, 200
*Krivonos, Fred.....	3725 Macomb St. NW., Apt. 412.		
Krug, J. H.....	1228 I St., Apt. 323; 2121 New York Ave.	Attorney.....	3, 200
Kudish, Sam.....	905 Emerson St. NW.	Union attorney.....	
Kurasch, Martin.....	1628 21st St. NW.; 2824 Wisconsin Ave.	Lawyer.....	
Landy, Ann.....	6313 16th St. NW.	Assistant attorney.....	2, 700
Law, Ben.....	1772 Massachusetts Ave.	Junior attorney.....	2, 000
Lehman, Henry W.....	1630 R St. NW.	Attorney, Div. Econ. Res.	3, 600
Levy, Stella.....	1758 I St. NW.; 1631 Euclid St. NW.	Stenographer.....	
Lippman, S. G.....	7701 Eastern Ave.	Attorney.....	
McCalmont, Jr., D. B.....	1617 Rhode Island Ave. NE.	Attorney.....	3, 900
Morris, Stanley.....	Shoreham Hotel, 2500 Calvert NW.	Attorney, Lawyer.....	4, 600
Paone, Frank.....	1503 30th St. NW.; Apt. 5 or 6.	Assistant attorney.....	1 2, 600
Porter, Mrs. John W.....	2919 Glover Driveway, 718 Wolfe St., Alexandria, Va.		
Prince, Marie.....	2100 19th St. NW., Apt. 304.	Stenographer.....	1, 620
Rabkin, Sol.....	812 17th St. NW.	Attorney.....	2, 600
¹ Rice, Selma (Mrs. Henry Rhine).....	1737 New Hampshire Ave. NW.; 1020 Monroe NW.; 1734 Pennsylvania NW.; 1713 H St. NW.	Analyst.....	2, 000
Rosenberg, Gilbert.....	2805 Ontario NW.	Lawyer.....	2, 600
Satz, Gertrude.....	1230 New Hampshire Ave. NW.; Apt. 311.	Stenographer.....	1, 620
Schaefer, Valerie.....	1703 21st St.		
*Sharfman, Warren L.....	211 Oglethorpe St. NW.	Attorney.....	3, 200
Smith, Edwin S.....	3129 N St. NW.	Member of the Board.	10, 000
Sprecher, Drexel A.....	1308 16th St. NW.	Lawyer.....	
Stern, Bernard.....	1428 Euclid St. NW.; 1498 Euclid St. NW.; 1203 Euclid St. NW.	Economist.....	2, 000
Witt, Nathan.....	253 Farragut St.		7, 500
Heald, Allen.....	4149 Henderson Rd., Arlington, Va.	Attorney.....	4, 200
Rostoff, Rhoda.....	1228 I St. NW., Apt. 211; 3806 Kansas Ave. NW.	Clerk.....	2, 000
Rein, David.....	1737 New Hampshire Ave. NW.	Lawyer.....	

¹ Out.¹ *See appendix.² *See p. 6422.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Name	Address	Division	Position	Salary
Arkin, Mae	17 6th St. NW	Comptroller of the Currency.	Clerk-stenographer.	\$1,740
Berg, Yetta R	969 Randolph NW., Apt. 4		Typist-clerk	1,440
Blankin, Sylvia	3406 Warder St. NW	Accounts and Deposits.	Stenographer	1,440
Bloom, David	4141 Henderson Rd., Arlington, Va.	Public Buildings	Structural engineer.	3,200
Brunswick, George	423 Mellon St. SE., Apt. 3		Clerk	1,440
Chaiken, Al	1346 Quincy St. NW.; 1027 Quebec St. NW.	Accounts and Deposits.	Clerk	1,620
Evans, Gertrude (Mrs)	1750 16th St. NW., No. 402; 801 19th St. NW.	Public Health	Clerk-typist	1,620
Feinberg, Benj.	2115 Eye St. NW		Clerk	1,620
Glaser, Sylvia	2800 13th St. NE		Operator, duplicograph	1,440
Gould, Harry	1749 Q. St. NW	Procurement	Architect (assistant).	2,600
Kaplan, Herbert	4141 North Henderson Rd., Arlington, Va.		Architect	3,300
Kaplan, Morris	1203 Euclid St. NW	Bureau of Customs.	Chemist	2,600
Kaufman, Harry	66 New York Ave., No. 201			1,440
Kaye, Sam	5746 Colorado Ave. NW., Apt. 309.	Procurement, Public Buildings.		2,600
Logue, Francis S.	1322 I St. NW	Procurement	Engineer and draftsman.	3,200
Schlesinger, Emanuel	3124 17 St. NW	Procurement	Architect	2,600
Spiegel, Ann B.	3110 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Apt. A.	Procurement	Clerk-stenographer.	1,620
Stanley, Joyce (Mrs)	1916 G St. NW., Apt. 1B	Research and Statistics.	Expert analyst	3,200
Stumpf, Harry G.	2121 New York Ave. NW.; 1509 16th St. NW.	Procurement	Engineer	3,200
Sturner, Wm.	4910 3d St. NW	Internal Revenue	Clerk	2,000
Walton, Dorothy or (Mrs. Stanley Survey)	2715 Cortland Pl. NW., Apt. 1.		Assistant legislative counsel.	6,500
Carney, Catherine T.	2801 28th St. NW.; 1819 G St. NW.	Internal Revenue	Junior operator	1,440
*Sherman, Evelyn (Mrs)	622 Quincy St. NW.; 4807 Georgia Ave. NW.	Accounts and Deposits.	Clerk	1,440
Vago, Oscar L.	6323 Luzon Ave. NW	Procurement	Engineer	3,200
Ward, Anna	518 9th St. NW.; 1223 Vermont Ave.	Internal Revenue	Clerk	2,300
Wheeler, D. N.	3435 R St. NW		Junior economic analyst.	2,400
Wolff, Ernest	3000 Connecticut Ave. NW., Apt. 126.	Tax Research	Analyst	2,600
Zalkin, Joseph	6323 Luzon Ave. NW	Procurement	Engineer	3,200

NAVY DEPARTMENT

Name	Address	Department	Position	Salary
Borass, Fidel	1610 Q St. SE	Navy yard	Machinist	\$7.04
Butkowski, J. E.	823 I St. SE	Navy yard	Draftsman engineer.	1,800
Cantor, Bernard R	4425 14th St. NW	Navy yard	Navy aid	1,800
Friedman, Geo. I.	1137 Allison St. NW	Navy Department	Clerk, Naval Committee.	1,500
Frisby, R. E.	1533 A St. NE	Navy Department	Naval architect	2,600
Gift, Charles T.	1227 Queen St. NE	Navy yard	Machinist	\$7.04
Hillman, Ed	1837 Ingleside Terrace; 2332 Hudekoper Pl. NW.	Navy Department	Engineer.	2,000
Issacs, Chas.	2013 New Hampshire Ave., No. 11; 1432 R St. NW.; 1476 Clifton St. NW.	Ordnance Bureau		2,000
Kirstein, Myron	2300 H St. NW.; 2323 Hudek Pl. NW.	Navy yard	Draftsman engineer.	2,600
Krenowitz, Leo	1614 P St. NW	Navy yard	Physical scientific aide.	1,440
Martin, Milton	1503 Hamilton St. NW	Navy yard	Junior mechanical engineer.	2,000

² Per day

*See p. 6421.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

NAVY DEPARTMENT—Continued

Name	Address	Division	Position	Salary
Meisel, Hannah	3537 Hartford St. NW	Navy yard	Clerk-typist	\$1,440
Sparer, Seno	2531 O St. NW., Apt. 303	Navy Department	Mechanical engineer	2,000
Vincent, Theo	1300 Jonquil St. NW	Navy yard	Draftsman	2,000
Weissbluth, Mitchel	1020 Monroe St. NW.; 3408 13th St. NW.	Navy yard	Senior engineer	2,000
Zwell, L. Wellington	1440 Chapin St. NW	Navy yard	Senior engineer	2,000

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Name	Address	Division	Position	Salary
Cooper, Reginald	2135 L St. NW		Laborer	\$1,320
Lobell, Griselda (Mrs.)	1712 Connecticut Ave. NW	Land Division	Junior stenographer	1,440
Margolies, Daniel	2633 15th St. NW		Attorney	3,800
Porter, John W	2919 Glover Driveway; 718 Wolfe St., Alexandria, Va.		Special attorney	4,200
First, Ed. J.	2328 40th St. NW	Alien Property Bureau	Attorney	3,800

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Adzigian, Ed. H.	3027 Cambridge Pl. NW	Labor Statistics	Clerk, assistant, statistical	\$1,620
Aller, Louis	2225 N St. NW; 316 Peabody St. NW.	Immigration and Naturalization Service	Clerk	1,500
Arnold, E. Frances	3125 38th St. NW	U. S. E. S.	Clerk	1,500
Bailey, Dorothy	4926 Butterworth St. NW	U. S. E. S.	Clerk	3,200
Brenner, Harry	2327 15th St. NW.; 2517 K St. NW.		Clerk	
Brown, Henry C.	1016 Park Rd. NW		Messenger	1,260
Califf, Jos. M.	1914 H St. NW	Wage and Hour Division	Economist	2,000
Cannon, Harry	1823 Delafield St. NW		Clerk	1,620
Callis, Myra C.	2306 E St. NE	U. S. E. S.	Interviewer	2,300
Cikovsky, Mrs. Nicolai	1623 H St. NW. (2822 Dumbarton Ave. NW.)			3,800
Cooper, Mrs. Helen (Mrs. Lyle)	1747 Irving St. NW.; 1893 Forest Glen, Md.			
Daugherty, Carroll	Falls Church, Va.; R. D. No. 2, Alexandria, Va.	Wage and Hour Division	Chief economist	7,000
Douglas, Lily	1760 Columbia Rd. NW.; 1916 17th St. NW.	Bureau of Labor Statistics	Clerk	1,680
Dunkle, Elva	The Ontario, 1712 Kenyon St. NW.		Clerk	1,860
Eden, Philip	2512 Q St. NW			1,860
Farnham, Rebecca	1620 P St. NW	Women's Bureau	Analyst	2,600
Foeste, Louise	309 South Vermillion St.	Women's Bureau	Investigator	2,100
Friedman, Muriel			Clerk	
Fruchtman, Ed. J.	3337 Tennessee Ave. NW		Attorney	3,800
Gershon, Lillian	1916 R St. NW		Stenographer	1,440
Greenberg, Robert	714 19th St.; 1262 21st St. NW.	Wage and Hour Division	Economist	2,000
Hainert, Elanor	1513 Van Buren St. NW	Wage and Hour Division	Stenographer	1,440
Hoad, Wm. M.	5516 Johnson Ave., Somerset, Md.		Analyst	4,600
Hornstein, Sophie	2126 R St. NW			
Hurwitz, Arnold P.	2515 13th St. NW	U. S. E. S.		2,000
Hurwitz, Clare	1100 South Barton St., Arlington Village; 1900 F St. NW., Apt. 732.	U. S. E. S.		1,500
Joiner, Fred	3726 Macomb St. NW	Bureau of Labor Statistics	Economist	2,000
Jones, Anna Louise	1312 18th St. NW.; 1721 Rhode Island Ave., apt. 5.	Wage and Hour Division	Stenographer	1,620
Kary, Reino A.	322 Aspen St. NW		Messenger	1,080

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—Continued

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Katz, Matilda	950 25th St. NW., apt. 202	Childrens Bureau	Stenographer	\$1,440
Levine, Morris	4513 Conduit Rd.; 5825 14th St.		Research clerk	1,800
McStroul, Shirley N.	1412 Chapin St. NW., apt. 48.		Typist	
Minkin, Sophie	1316 Belmont St. NW.	U. S. E. S.	Junior stenographer.	1,560
Maurer, C. Richard	2225 N St. NW.		Mail and file clerk	1,440
Olsson, Billie A.	2331 15th St. NW.; 1768 North Troy St., apt. 753, Arlington, Va.	Wage and Hour Division.	Stenographer	1,440
Penehansky, Ida E.	1224 M St. NW.	U. S. E. S.	Stenographer	1,440
Petrullo, John	1812 Jefferson Pl. NW.			
Quinn, Mr. or Mrs. Walter	4318 North Pershing Drive, Arlington, Va.			
Rapke, Sidney	2906 Beech St., Mount Rainier, Md.	Labor Statistics	Clerk	1,620
Riley, H. E.	205 North Piedmont St., Arlington, Va.		Associate economist.	3,500
Ross, Elaine	1124 10th St. NW.	Wage and Hour Division.		1,620
Schlesinger, Julius	2721 Adams Mill Rd.		Hearings attorney.	3,800
Sehnetzler, Helen	1734 P St. NW.	Labor Statistics	Economist	
Singer, Rhoda B.	1604 Q St. NW.; 1009 11th St. NW.	Wage and Hour Division.	Stenographer	1,620
Smythe, Dallas	Route 1, East Falls Church, Va., Kirby Rd.	Wage and Hour Division.	Economist	4,600
Surovelle, Sam	1712 Summit Pl. NW.	Labor Statistics	Illustrator	2,000
Sutherland, Arthur	1471 Irving St. NW.; 5125 7th St. NW.	Women's Bureau	Analyst	
Warburton, Mrs. Amber	3814 Newark St. NW.	Children's Bureau		
Warren, E. L.	103 George Mason Dr., Arlington, Va.	Wage and Hour Division.	Economist	4,600
Wechsler, Judith L.	1832 I St. NW.	Wage and Hour Division.	Stenographer	1,440
Weiss, Al.	1765 P St. NW.			
Wheeler, Geo. S.	R. F. D. 1, Vienna, Va.	Wage and Hour Division.	Economist	4,600
*Wood, Helen	1916 G St. NW.	Wage and Hour Division.	Director	4,600
Wyman, Arthur H.	1308 16th St. NW.	Wage and Hour Division.	Junior complaint analyst.	3,000
Wymer, John P.	2915 Ordway St. NW.	Lbr. Stat.	Clerk	1,620
Vincent, Craig	1026 16th St. NW.		Supervisor	4,000

SCHOOLS

Name	Address	School	Position	Salary
Bell, Minnie	2030 15th St. NW.	Margaret Washington Vocabulary.		
Bentley, Mrs. Josephine J.	391 Florida Ave. NW., 3322 New Hampshire Ave. NW.	Dunbar High	Teacher	\$2,800
Browne, Marcelle B.	1253 Girard St. NE.	Dunbar High	Teacher	2,800
Brown, Miss Fairfax N.	1330 13th St. NW.	Dunbar High	Teacher	3,200
Bullock, Miss Wilhelmina.	408 T St. NW.	Lovejoy	Teacher	2,200
Cook, Julian A.	654 Girard St. NW.	Howard University.	Act. Supt. Maintenance.	3,300
Curtis, Mrs. Merrill	1939 13th St. NW.; 654 Girard St. NW.	Dunbar High	Librarian	
Davidson, Eugene (Capt.).	1333 R St. NW.	Dunbar	Temporary teacher.	1,800
*Dixon, Russell A.	550 23d Pl. NE.	Howard University.	Dean of College of Dentistry (Dr.).	4,250
Davis, Miss Dorothy	933 S St. NW.	Brown Junior High.	Teacher	2,800
Duffey, Miss Ruby	1924 17th St. NW.	Howard University.	Teacher	2,200
Boulding-Ferebee, Dorothy C.	1809 2d St. NW.	Howard University.	Clinic	600

¹*See p. 6419.

²*See p. 6423.

Membership List of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.—Continued

SCHOOLS—Continued

Name	Address	School	Position	Salary
Finlayson, Mrs. Alice Bell	654 Girard St. NW., Apt. No. 503.	Twining School	Teacher	\$2, 200
Frazier, Daisy W	1112 Park Rd. NW	Shaw Junior High	Teacher	2, 400
Hoffman, Christopher P.	1332 R St. NW	Cordoza	Teacher	2, 200
Holmes, Eugene	3312 Sherman Ave. NW	Howard University	Instructor	
¹ *Lamberton, Mrs. B. P.	2435 Kalorama Rd			
Lovett, J. Louise (Mrs.)	21 53d St. SE	Cordoza High	Teacher	3, 100
² *Morris, Evelyn	1002 Rhode Island Ave.	Western High	Teacher	2, 800
Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth	924 M St. NW	Armstrong High	Teacher	
Walker, Jos. A.	1934 8th St. NW	Berret School	Teacher	2, 200
Arnaud, Elain P	1500 21st St. NW., Apt. 3	Ross	Teacher	2, 200
Boyd, Norma E.	1120 Girard St. NW	Banniker Junior High	Teacher	2, 800
Scott, Mr. James E.	1717 T St. NW., No. 20	Armstrong High	Teacher	3, 200
Auerbach, Rita	1305 Potomac St. NW	Van Buren	Teacher	1, 600
Lyman, Mrs. Helen	316 Roosevelt St., Bethesda, Md.	Wilson Teachers	Teacher	2, 500
Lovell, John, Jr.	534 Columbia Rd. NW	Howard University	Teacher	2, 300

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

Name	Address	Bureau	Position	Salary
Blair, Bertha	2636 Adams Mill Rd.; 1860 Clydesdale Pl. NW., No. 305.		Economist	\$3, 600
Elkin, Jack	2534 14th St. NE.; 933 L St. NW., Apt. 407.		Statistician	2, 600
Fishman, Bernard R.	1765 N St. NW.; 2327 15th St. NW.	Bureau of Unemployment Insurance.	Economist	2, 600
Karp, Samuel (Karro, Samuel)	2131 O St. NW., No. 310; 1506 R St. NW.		Clerk	3, 800
Keller, Marvel	1715 Riggs Pl. NW.; 2909 Olive Ave. NW.		Economist	2, 600
Kligman, Frieda	1364 Girard St. NW., 1760 Columbia Rd. NW.		Actuarial clerk	1, 980
Kramer, Milton	1916 R St. NW., Apt. 305		Principal attorney	5, 800
Miller, Anna L	3101 Northampton St. NW		Clerk	
Rosenthal, Minnie L	1425 Whittier St. NW		Operator	1, 440
Bragman, Charles	2412 Pennsylvania Ave., P. O. Box 236, Franklin Station.		State analyst	4, 400
Glanz, Sadie	4707 Connecticut Ave. NW., Dupont Circle Apartments.		Attorney	3, 200
Matosoff, Janet	3624 Connecticut Ave.		Clerk-typist	1, 260
Rhine, Mrs. Henry	532 17th St. NW			
Wubnig, Arthur	1816 Kalorama Rd	Bureau of Economics.	Economist	4, 600

¹*See p. 6422.²*See p. 6423.

The following communications were received by the committee following the publication of this list. It was the committee's decision that they be made part of the record.

OCTOBER 31, 1939.

The PUBLISHER, TIMES-HERALD,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Since I do not read any paper published directly or indirectly by Hearst I do not read any thing in your paper. However, a friend of mine called my attention to the fact that you carried my address opposite a name similar to mine in the list of names published in your paper on October 25th which you say was furnished you by the Dies Committee.

It would seem that you were uncertain where Nathan Siegel lived so you took from the City Directory every address of those by that name and included them. Certainly that is unfair to the several named Nathan Siegel whose addresses you show.

I would appreciate it very much if you would clear publish a correction in your paper that the name of Nathan Siegel, 4707 Connecticut Ave. Apartment #207 is not the Nathan Siegel listed as a messenger in the Social Security

Board. I have no connection with the Government and I am an American, first, last and always.

Please advise me in what issue this correction appears.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) N. SIEGEL.

cc

Congressman Dempsey

4034 7TH STREET, NE., WASHINGTON, D. C.,

October 28, 1939.

WASHINGTON BRANCH,

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY,

804 17th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

SIRS: If your membership list contains my name, I would appreciate it if you would immediately strike it therefrom, as I am certainly not in sympathy directly or indirectly with the purposes of your organization as recently revealed. I am not now and never have been a Communist, or a Communist sympathizer.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) CHARLES C. GATES.

ROOM 0721, SOUTH AGRICULTURE BLDG.,

HON. MARTIN DIES,

Washington, D. C.

House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. DIES: In a local Washington paper, there was published recently a list of members of the American League for Peace and Democracy as released by your Committee. Since my name was included on this list and since apparently many people have the impression that these members are either Communists or Communist sympathizers, I feel it to my personal interest to explain to you why my name was included in this list.

When I joined the League it was in the same manner that one would become a member of the American Red Cross, by making a contribution to that movement. The published objectives of the League, such as the promotion of world peace and the protection of civil liberties, are objectives in which I believe and I feel not contrary to American institutions. I was not aware, until your Committee recently published the fact, that the Communist Party had contributed financial assistance to the League. Although I have followed the activities of the League to some extent through its bulletins which have been sent to me, I have never attended a meeting and have seen no evidence of Communistic leanings.

I wish to take this opportunity of putting myself on record as being neither a member of the Communist Party nor a Communist sympathizer. Should you desire any additional information regarding my League membership, I will be glad to supply it either in writing or in person. I am sending a copy of this letter to my representative, Mr. Andrew Edmiston of West Virginia.

Sincerely,

(Signed) J. H. RADABAUGH.

OCTOBER 27, 1939.

The Honorable MARTIN DIES,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN DIES: The inclusion of my name upon a list, made public October 25, of individuals who are members, or who are on the mailing list of the American League for Peace and Democracy has left the widespread impression that I am either a member of the League or a Communist sympathizer. Inasmuch as I am neither a member of the League for Peace and Democracy nor a Communist sympathizer, this has caused me great embarrassment.

I presume that my name was included on the list because I receive the League's literature for which I paid the required price.

I am confident that your will grant my respectful request that the true facts as I have stated them be incorporated in the same public record of which the original list was made a part.

Sincerely,

(Signed) WILLIAM S. B. LACY.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION

OCTOBER 26, 1939.

Honorable MARTIN DIES

*Chairman, Committee for Investigation of Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DIES: I notice in the papers of last evening that my name is listed as being on the membership and mailing list of the Washington Chapter of the American League for Peace and Democracy. I would like to call your attention to the fact that I have only resided in Washington, D. C. since February, 1939; that I am not a member of the League; and, as far as I know, I am not on their mailing list inasmuch as I have never received any of their literature.

I demand that this erroneous publication be corrected in the official record and in the press and that you send me a letter apologizing for the error that has been made.

A copy of this is going to the Senators and Representatives from the State of Connecticut, my legal residence, with a letter advising them that they can use this in any manner they wish to prevent further activities of this nature by your Committee.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HELEN WOOD,
Acting Administrative Assistant.

OCT. 30, 1939.

Hon. JOHN J. DEMPSEY,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE DEMPSEY: My name appeared in the newspapers on the membership and mailing list of the American League for Peace and Democracy. I am not a member of this organization.

(Signed) MARTIN GREENSPAN,
Commerce—Standards.

5114 N. CAPITOL ST.,
Washington, D. C.

1267 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.,

October 26, 1939.

Honorable MARTIN J. DIES,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DIES: I wish to protest the publication of my name in the list you have given to the press of the members of the American League for Peace and Democracy. I resigned from the League on September 6, 1939, when it convinced me by its failure to denounce the Russo-German nonaggression pact that it was not as represented.

I telephoned the American League for Peace and Democracy last night to find out why my name was listed since I am no longer a member. I was told that your committee did not use the membership list they offered to give you but took your names from the files obtained by raiding their headquarters. The files contained the names of those who had formerly belonged to the League or were on the mailing list. I can't conceive of anything more unfair and UN-AMERICAN than the procedure you have used in publishing this list.

In your statement to the newspapers, you insinuate that the names published are communists. I wish you to know that I am a South Carolina Democrat opposed to anything smacking of communism. I strongly urge that you publish the fact that I am no longer a member of the above League.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) BLANCHE N. COHEN.

1761 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., NW., WASHINGTON, D. C.,

October 28, 1939.

Hon. MARTIN W. DIES,

*Chairman, House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: I am writing you in reference to your list of names of members and those on the mailing list of The League for Peace and Democracy as published in the Times-Herald on Wednesday afternoon, October 25.

My name was published with that list and, in my opinion, unjustly so. I was one of those who was only on the League's mailing list. I am not, in anyway, connected with the League, neither am I, in anyway, in sympathy with their beliefs or ideals, or whatever you choose to call them. I am an American. I was born and raised in this country. My father was a Yankee and my mother came to this country from England when she was 17. I believe wholly in our country and our form of government and would never think of joining or associating with an organization that I knew was connected with any foreign principle.

I believe, in view of the fact that my name has been published publicly by your committee, as having connection with an organization that is claimed by you to be a communistic front organization, that I am entitled to an opportunity to clear my name of all charges by you, and I hereby request that you take what ever steps are necessary to clear my name just as publicly as you published it.

Yours truly,

(Signed) PAUL A. CARROLL.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, October 30, 1939.

Congressman MARTIN DIES,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In order that I might further clarify the record, I wish to supplement my statement, made in person to your Committee on last Saturday, October 28, with the following:

I was absent from the city from October 12 to October 26, inclusive, engaged in the trial of cases for the Federal Trade Commission. On the morning of October 27 I was shocked to learn that my name was published as one of the five hundred in the Capital listed by your Committee, as published in the Times Herald of Wednesday, October 25, 1939, on page 6 of the same, as being an actual member or a non-member on the mailing list of the Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

This is to assure you that I am not and have not been at any time a member of any such organization and have not at any time contributed to said organization. Frankly, I did not know of the existence of such an organization and have not at any time received a communication, orally or in writing, from said organization. After the publication of the name of the organization, on October 27 I phoned the organization and talked with a person stating she was Mrs. Fowler, and I demanded an explanation as to how my name had appeared in the Dies Committee listing. I was informed that the address given for a Charles S. Cox, who is a member of the organization, was listed to the Committee as 1225 L Street, N. W. I wish to state that I did live at 2728 13th Street, N. W., which was an address listed for me in the Dies Committee listing, as published in the Times Herald for Wednesday, October 25, as aforesaid. At no time have I lived at 1225 L Street, N. W., and had never at any time prior to the night of October 27 even visited the said address.

If it is meant to imply thereby that I am a Communist or in sympathy with any form of Communist activities or government, such implication is entirely false and erroneous. For your information, I was born and reared in the State of Mississippi. I am a Democrat, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, a Thirty-Second Degree Mason in good standing and a Shriner.

I have at all times in the past been ready and willing to defend the government of the United States of America even to the cost of my own life. I am sure there was no desire on the part of the Committee to cast reflection upon the splendid agency of the Federal Government in which I am employed, and I trust that the above will correct the erroneous impression concerning me so far as your records are concerned. I shall greatly appreciate your entering this letter of record in order that the facts may be known.

I am filing a copy of this letter with the Secretary of the Federal Trade Commission for future reference.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) CHARLES S. COX,
Trial Attorney.

10/28/39.

To the Dies Committee:

On Oct 25th my name was listed under the Bureau Eng and Prtg as being a member of The Peace League I wish to have it corrected as I am not a member and never have been, and I cant under stand how they can list me as such. Hoping you will give this your full attention and thanking you kindly, I am

(Signed) MRS. ANNA GOODMAN,
5731-4# St NW.

Tel Ra 7656

622 QUINCY STREET, NW., WASHINGTON, D. C.,

October 25, 1939.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,

Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: There is reflected on Page 6 and continued on Page 11 of the Washington Times-Herald (City Edition) published October 25, 1939, a list of persons who are members of or receivers of publications of the Washington Branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The following notation is included in the above-mentioned list under the heading "Treasury Department":

"Mrs. Evelyn Sherman, 622 Quincy St., N. W. 4807 Ga. Ave. N. W., Accts. and Deposits, clerk, \$1,440."

You will note that the writer of this letter is MISS Evelyn Sherman, who resides at 622 Quincy Street, N. W., and is an employee of the Treasury Department, Accounts and Deposits.

As may readily be seen, the publication of the above-mentioned statement has created the impression that I am the person referred to. It is noted that two addresses are given. I have lived at 622 Quincy Street, NW. for a period of seven years. Apparently, you have confused me with a MRS. Evelyn Sherman (no relative or acquaintance of mine) who formerly lived at 4807 Georgia Avenue, N. W. for a short time and who, upon moving, left no forwarding address.

I have never belonged to nor will I become affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy in any way. I have never received, either directly or indirectly, any literature relative to this Organization or any other Organization which is considered "UN-AMERICAN."

The publication of this item has been the source of considerable humiliation to me during office hours today and, undoubtedly, I will suffer the brunt of this unfortunate misunderstanding for some time to come if immediate action is not taken to correct the situation. Since, I understand that you furnished the Times-Herald with the erroneous information, I should appreciate a published correction.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) (MISS) EVELYN SHERMAN,
622 Quincy St. NW.

1939, Oct 26, PM 12 54

WB77 77 2 Extra DL Washington, D. C., 26 1245P

Hon MARTIN DIES,

Chairman, House Committee on UnAmerican Activities:

My name was published in newspapers yesterday and today with list of members of Washington Branch of American League for Peace and Democracy. This is to advise you that I am not and never have been a member of that organization. If my name appears on mailing list I do not know how it got there. Please insert this telegram in official record of your Committee proceedings and release telegram to newspapers.

FRED G. KRIVONOS,
Special Examiner, National Labor Relations Board.

1939, Oct 26, AM 11 02

WB 12 98 DL Washington, D. C., 26 1054A

Hon MARTIN DIES,

United States House of Reps:

My name appeared on the list of members of the Washington Branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy which you released to the press

yesterday. I was a member of the League until June 1939. I did not renew my membership and am not now a member, although I receive some literature from the League. I wish to protest the publication of my name and salary because such publication is inaccurate and constitutes an infringement of my right of privacy. I desire that this telegram be included in the record of the Hearings before the Committee.

WARREN L. SHARFMAN.

4722 THIRD STREET, NW., WASHINGTON, D. C.,
October 31, 1939.

Representative JOHN J. DEMPSEY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: As you know, the name "Mrs. Helen Akers (L. G.), Bureau of Standards," appeared on the list published, in some of the local newspapers, of government employees alleged to be members of the American League for Peace and Democracy and since I am the only Helen Akers at the Bureau of Standards, it has been assumed that I am the person so designated on the list. Before proceeding I would like you to know that I am not an employee of the Government.

I wish hereby to inform you that until the publication of this list I had never heard of the "American League for Peace and Democracy" and further that I am not now and never have been in any way associated with, nor have I contributed to this or any "Un-American" or Communistic organization.

I feel that the embarrassment and humiliation that I have been subjected to since the publication of this list by the "Dies Committee" has been entirely shameful and I appeal to you in the hope that your Committee will see that this error is corrected.

Respectfully,

(Signed) HELEN (Mrs. W. A.) AKERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 26, 1939.

Honorable MARTIN DIES,
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I notice in a list purported by your Committee to be a membership roster of the Washington organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the name of Mrs. B. P. Lamberton, described as a teacher at the Eliot Junior High. In view of the fact that I am the only Mrs. Lamberton thus employed, I perforce must assume that I am the person so designated in the list.

For your information and so that the record may be straight, I take this occasion to advise you that I am not now, nor have I ever been, a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and further, I never have made any contribution to this organization nor have I ever had any contact with it. In a sense of fairness, I trust that your Committee will see that this erroneous publication is corrected.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) B. G. LAMBERTON.

1830 MARYLAND AVENUE, NE.,
Washington, D. C.

909 FARRAGUT STREET, NW., WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 4, 1939.

The Honorable MARTIN DIES,
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
909 FARRAGUT STREET, NW., WASHINGTON, D. C.,*

DEAR SIR: On the membership and mailing list of the American League for Peace and Democracy under the heading of Schools, as published in the Washington Evening Star of October 25, 1939, was my name, Evelyn Morris, Western High School.

I have been greatly embarrassed by this publication of my name. I am not a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy and never have been a member of it. I had never heard of this organization until I read of your

investigation in the daily papers. I have never received any literature from the League, and I have never been asked to join it. I have not at any time made a contribution to it, nor am I acquainted with any member of the League.

I shall greatly appreciate the correction of this error.

Respectfully,

(Signed) (Miss) EVELYN A. MORRIS.

College of Dentistry
Office of the Dean

HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
Washington, D. C., November 9, 1939.

The Honorable MARTIN DIES,

*Chairman, the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities,
The House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. DIES: I use this means of clarifying my position in relation to the American League for Peace and Democracy with the hope that, although you already have inflicted the injury, you likewise will be interested in vindicating my name.

I know nothing of the origin, principles, or objectives of this organization nor any of the work in which it is engaged. I have never attended a meeting nor do I know when or where meetings are held. I have never had any interest or connection whatsoever with the League, therefore, I am no more eligible to be identified as a supporter of the League than any one of you on The House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) RUSSELL A. DIXON, D. D. S.

RAD;J

IRVING C. MILLER
6611 Second Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 26th, 1939.

THE DIES COMMITTEE,

The Capitol, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: Your attention is respectfully invited to the following clipping from this morning's issue of the Washington Times-Herald which listed the name of Irving Miller as among those given out by your honorable body for publication as members and friends of the so-called American League for Peace and Democracy:

Irving Miller, 1322 Fifteenth St., NW., 6611 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Bur. Agr. Engr., architect, \$3,800.

The above clipping states that Irving Miller is an architect with the Bureau of Agricultural Engineering, Department of Agriculture, and receiving a salary of \$3,800.

Since the writer is the only person in the above-named Bureau, (renamed The Bureau of Agricultural Chemistry and Engineering since June 1st, 1939) with the name of Irving Miller, architect, salary, \$3,800, it is to be assumed that I am the party named by the above clipping. The addresses given in the above clipping is not my address nor have they been at any time.

Please be advised that I am not a member of the organization mentioned in the newspaper nor have I ever been a member of it or any similar organization; neither is my name on any of their mailing lists to my knowledge. I have never contributed one penny or more to any such organizations nor have I ever been approached by any person to do so or to become a member. Neither have I ever attended a meeting of any such organization.

I respectfully request that my name and its connection with the Department of Agriculture be removed from your list of members and friends of the organization in question for the reason that I am not one of their members or friends.

I also respectfully request that your honorable committee also publish the names of persons mistakenly listed in the newspapers as members of the League for Peace and Democracy. This request is made in the spirit of fair play and reasonable reparation of damage done to such persons.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) IRVING C. MILLER.

42 INDEPENDENCE AVE., SW., WASHINGTON, D. C.,
October 24, 1939.

HON. MARTIN DIES,
Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Office Building Post Office, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In view of the testimony given at your hearings during the last few days concerning the activities of the American League for Peace and Democracy and in view of the fact that my name unwarrantedly appears on the membership list which you subpoenaed from the League, I feel it necessary to advise you that I was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy from January 1st until August 28th of this year.

On the latter date, when the Nazi-Soviet alliance was confirmed, I tendered my resignation to the Secretary of the League. The reasons given in my letter of resignation were that the League was supporting Soviet policy as evidenced by a news item in the New York Times of the previous day and that its attitude toward the present European war was unneutral.

On October 10th I received a communication from the American League for Peace and Democracy stating that my name was one of those seized at its offices. I thereupon protested to the Secretary of the League against the abuse of my name, in view of the fact that I had severed all relations with the League on August 28th. From the enclosed copy of the letter which I received in reply to my protest you will note that the League denies all knowledge of ever having received my resignation.

I call this fact to your attention not only because I refuse to be involved in a controversy to which I am not a party, but also because I suspect that I am not the only one whose resignation during the last few trying months was so ignored. As you are probably well aware, the majority of the members of the American League for Peace and Democracy believed that the League stood for that which its name implies and only learned the true nature of the organization during the recent crisis.

Those members of the Washington branch who are Government employees are especially embarrassed by recent developments in that they find themselves affiliated with an organization which is suspected of being an agent of a foreign power while they themselves are serving their Government with complete loyalty.

I request, therefore, not only for my own sake but also for the sake of any persons in a similar situation, that you examine carefully the records which you subpoenaed in order to ascertain whether all the names appearing therein are those of *bona fide* members of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) HARRY SILLER.

(1 enclosure)

HS/sgs

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1717 G. St., NW., Apt. 203,
November 4, 1939.

HON. MARTIN DIES,
Chairman, Committee on un-American Activities,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. DIES: This is in reference to my name being made public as being on the "membership and mailing list" of the American League for Peace and Democracy, this city.

The first time I came in contact with this organization was when they put on a demonstration to "Save Czecho-Slovakia", which was held in the Rialto Theatre in the evening on or about the 28th of September, 1938, the day the Munich Pact was signed. Previous to this I had never heard of it. There were several speakers there that evening, as well as representatives from over fifty other organizations. When the program was over they took up a collection for the Czecho-Slovak refugees and I contributed to the fund, and they entered my name on their mailing list. The money was later turned over to the Czecho-Slovak Legation here.

I attended several other meetings which they put on to aid Czecho-Slovakia as I am of Czech descent and had relatives living there. I was interested in the League so far as they were working for Czecho-Slovakia. After Czecho-Slovakia

was absorbed by Germany they quit putting on programs to aid her and I quit attending the meetings. I have not been there for several months.

It was my understanding that the League was an American organization, and that it was non-political. I did not know it was in any way connected with Communism, as your Committee holds it is until your Committee began investigating it. I saw nothing un-American about the programs, and thought they were working for a good cause. Now since your Committee holds it is un-American and linked with Communism, I am going to stay away from it altogether.

During the past winter several different Members of Congress (Senators and Representatives) appeared on the programs as speakers. Now Mr. Dies I cannot understand if the American League for Peace and Democracy is an un-American and Communist-controlled organization, why it is all right for Senators and Representatives to appear on its programs and Government employees who went there to hear those speakers, became members, etc., should be branded as "Reds".

I also want you to know that I am *not* a Communist; I have never attended any such meeting; and know nothing about the Communist organization *whatever*, or whether there is one here. I belong to two patriotic organizations, the American Legion Auxiliary and the Veterans' of Foreign Wars, and am more or less active in both of them. I am also a member of the St. Matthew's Catholic Church (now Cathedral), which I attend regularly. I have contributed to the Red Cross every year since the World War, and to the Community Chest since it was organized, and contribute practically to everything that comes along in the Office.

If the American League for Peace and Democracy is an un-American organization, as your Committee insists, I think it should be dissolved. I also think that all un-American organizations should be wiped out so innocent people won't get into them.

I do not think we should be classed as Communists. If we had belonged to a "Communist Club" that would have been different.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) (Miss) MARIE SLECHTA.

705 18TH ST., NW., WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 2, 1939.

HON. MARTIN DIES.

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,

U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DIES: Let me assure you that I would never have joined the American League for Peace and Democracy had I thought it was a Communist or Communist-controlled organization. I still can't believe that the people I know to be League members are Communists, or in any way un-American.

I must admit, however, that I am in no position to judge the League, as I have been to only one open meeting and to one League party held in the home of a prominent Social Security Board official, whose name, incidentally, I did not see on your published list. I have never been to a so-called closed membership meeting of the League, not ever having had time for League activities.

As for my membership in the League, I had purposely allowed it to lapse, feeling that there was a reasonable doubt as to the character of the organization. I feel that it was unfortunate that you saw fit to publish the membership-mailing list, and especially to include information as to salaries. My own was earned through a competitive Civil Service library examination and repeated efficiency ratings of "Very Good." I suppose this to be true of the majority on the list, in the lower brackets, at least; and that most of the higher bracket people owe their appointments to congressional recommendations.

As for my Americanism, my belief in true American ideals of democracy and peace antedates my connection with the League. I am and have been a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution since 1930, and my Mother, Aunts, and Grandmother belonged before me. I have unusual reasons for being proud of my American background and ideals, as I have had Army and a few Navy officers in the direct line on both sides beginning with the French and Indian Wars, and coming straight down from the Revolution through the Great War

when I had an uncle, Col. Francis H. Farnum and four first cousins on my Mother's side with the A. E. F. in France.

Naturally, I resent being classified as un-American.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) ISABELLE T. FARNUM,
(D. A. R. number 267054).

N. B. I should appreciate it if you would print this letter in the Record, or otherwise publish it.

I. T. F.

(The Committee sent the following letter in reply to the above-named individuals:)

DECEMBER 5, 1939.

Dear :

With reference to your letter of October 30, 1939, concerning the membership list of the American League for Peace and Democracy, please be advised that the Committee has decided to have your letter placed in the official record of the Committee.

I shall be glad to mail you a copy of this as soon as it is printed.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) ROBERT E. STRIPLING,
Secretary.

RES/h/p.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW SMITH, MACHINIST

(The witness was duly sworn.)

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name?

Mr. SMITH. Andrew Smith.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your address?

Mr. SMITH. 2908 Fairfield Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of work are you engaged in, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Machinist.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are a machinist?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Hungary, that part after the World War that became Czechoslovakia.

Mr. WHITLEY. The portion of Hungary that after the war was Czechoslovakia?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. SMITH. 1884.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you come to the United States, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. 1907.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where have you lived in the United States; what cities?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, I came to Daisytown, Pa., and after I lived in Leechburg.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other places have you lived in?

Mr. SMITH. Cleveland, Ohio; Newark, N. J.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you naturalized and where?

Mr. SMITH. Cleveland, Ohio; 1917.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where did you become a member of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. In Cleveland, Ohio, 1921.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you are a charter member of the party in this country?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what political party were you active before you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Socialist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long were you a member of and active in the Socialist Party?

Mr. SMITH. I was a member of the Socialist Party in the United States from 1912 until 1919. The party was split, the right wing and left wing. The left wing organized a party under the name Workers Communist Party. In 1929 we wiped out the "Workers" and it was called just plain Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What official positions have you held in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. SMITH. I held the position in the Socialist Party as an organizer, but in the Communist Party I have a position in an affiliated organization, a beneficial organization, which is existing now under the name "International Workers Order." I was general secretary of that organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were the general secretary of the organization?

Mr. SMITH. Affiliated with the Communist Party. It was organized by the Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the name of that organization?

Mr. SMITH. Their name is now International Workers Order.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the name at the time you were secretary?

Mr. SMITH. At that time there were many different names, every nationality have a different name. The name of the organization I joined was Slovak Workers Society.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was a society organized by the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were the secretary?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; chosen by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And later on that was taken into and became a part of the International Workers Order?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you held any other official positions with the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. SMITH. No; I do not have any, only I was manager of the Slovak Workers Home.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been a candidate for office on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, yes. I have been a candidate for State representative in New Jersey.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were a candidate for State representative on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, how long have you been active in trade-union work in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. In the trade unions, I have been active since I came to the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. Since you came to the United States in 1907?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; because that was place was organized already, the United Mine Workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were active in the United Mine Workers?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you became a member of the Communist Party, did you continue your activity in trade unions for the party?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were always connected with, and active in, trade-union work?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other unions have you been active in besides the United Mine Workers?

Mr. SMITH. During the war, I learned a trade, the machinist trade. Then I joined the International Machinists Union. That was 1916.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you continued your activity in that union after you became a member?

Mr. SMITH. Until the Communists organized their own union—so-called the Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were active in behalf of the party in that organization?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. But at the same time I was a member of both organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, have you ever visited the Soviet Union?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I visited the Soviet Union first in 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you stay there on that occasion?

Mr. SMITH. For 1 month.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then when was your second visit?

Mr. SMITH. The second was 1932.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you stay that time?

Mr. SMITH. For 3 years; full 3 years and 1 day.

Mr. WHITLEY. You came back to this country then in 1935?

Mr. SMITH. 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you happen to make your first trip to the Soviet Union?

Mr. SMITH. The Soviet Union invited all the workers, through the Communist Party, to visit the Soviet Union, to celebrate with them the 12-year anniversary of the revolution in the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. To celebrate the anniversary?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Soviet Government invited Communists from all over the world to send delegations for that celebration?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you one of the delegates selected from the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. SMITH. Not direct from the Communists, but the Communists get orders to their affiliated organization, which organization is under the control of the Communist Party, and they elected delegates for this occasion. I was chosen by the Slovak Workers Society in which I was general secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time you were where, in Newark, N. J.?

Mr. SMITH. Newark, N. J.

MR. WHITLEY. How many members of the American Communist Party were in that delegation?

MR. SMITH. Forty-eight—I beg your pardon; not all of us were members, but sympathizers—all were sympathizers.

MR. WHITLEY. This was to be a visit to the Soviet Union at their invitation to see what progress was being made?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Who controlled this American delegation on that trip?

MR. SMITH. As all over in the United States, as all over the world, Communists have a nucleus in every organization. So we have a nucleus in this delegation, and the secretary, the leader of this nucleus, was Caroline Drew.

MR. WHITLEY. She was in charge of the delegation?

MR. SMITH. In charge.

MR. WHITLEY. And you said you had a nucleus or fraction in the delegation?

MR. SMITH. In the delegation.

MR. WHITLEY. And that Communist nuclei ran the delegation?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Did the Communist Party members in this delegation have to report to any of the officials in Russia?

MR. SMITH. We were under the leadership, when we arrived in Russia—a representative from the United States was waiting for us already. Then they take care of us when we came there. For instance, John Ballam was the representative in the Profintern, so-called trade union international, and he take care of us. He was our leader during the stay.

MR. WHITLEY. While you were over there?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, John Ballam was the representative from the Communist Party of the United States to the Profintern in Moscow?

MR. SMITH. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. And he took charge of your delegation when you arrived over there?

MR. SMITH. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. Who paid the expenses of this American delegation on this trip?

MR. SMITH. Every unit, they pay the expenses for the delegation.

MR. WHITLEY. Your expenses were paid by the Slovak organization?

MR. SMITH. Not exactly, because I refused—I was good situated, and I promised the organization that I am going to pay my own expenses; just fare.

MR. WHITLEY. Just the fare?

MR. SMITH. Just the fare.

MR. WHITLEY. All the expenses after you got over there were paid by whom?

MR. SMITH. By the Soviet Government.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, just the transportation or traveling expenses were paid by the local units.

MR. SMITH. Yes. And that was at a reduced price, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were there other delegations over there from other countries?

Mr. SMITH. At that time there were a delegation from all over the world.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were these delegations from other countries organized the same as yours?

Mr. SMITH. It was on the same principle organized as we were.

Mr. WHITLEY. How were these delegations made up from workers of various countries of the world treated in this month's visit over there?

Mr. SMITH. So far as that is concerned, we were treated very well. We have free everything; free hotel and free laundry, even shoeshine, barbers—everything we have free. And they take us on a special train, in a second-class train, all over, in different parts, that we visited.

Mr. WHITLEY. You visited different factories and different farms?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were those tours all conducted by Soviet officials?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were just taking the workers of the world around to see how the country was developing?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; they take us to see, for instance, the institutions, like the workers' rest home; to the parks, to the theater, to the movies, and so on. For instance, everything that you see in the World's Fair in the Soviet Building I see that thing already in 1929 over there; such things they show us, everything fixed up for all the visitors.

Mr. WHITLEY. After that delegation returned to the United States—that is, your delegation—did you make a report of what you had seen?

Mr. SMITH. I should make a report, because they wanted a report. I write articles for a whole month for the Slovak Communist paper, and also I write a long report for the Friends of the Soviet Union, which is also a Communist organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the delegations that went back to their respective countries all reported on what they had seen over there; conditions, and so forth?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, what made you decide to take your second trip to the Soviet Russia?

Mr. SMITH. That is a little bit long story so far as that is concerned. This, what I see in the Soviet Union, made a big impression on me, because I really believed that that is the workers' paradise, according to what I see. Another thing that make me go there was that I was sick and tired of the crookedness that was going on in the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. In the United States. I thought myself, I do not blame the individual for this racketeering business; I blame more the capitalist system for this racketeering than the Communists commit.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you saw racketeering going on in the Communist Party in this country, but you did not blame the party, you blamed the capitalist system?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you thought if you could go to Soviet Russia you could get away from that?

Mr. SMITH. I thought in the Soviet Union it cannot happen—such a racketeering business as in the United States, because I believed in communism at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Communist Party had always told you, as a worker, one of the working class in this country, that the Soviet Union was the workers' Utopia and after you went over there and went on this conducted tour you were convinced that that was true, that that was the workers' homeland?

Mr. SMITH. Homeland; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. So you wanted to go back over there to live?

Mr. SMITH. To live.

Mr. WHITLEY. What arrangements did you make for that second trip, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Since I came back in 1919, I was——

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean when you came back in 1929.

Mr. SMITH. I mean 1929, I was asking for a transfer from the Communist Party. They do not want to give me any transfer, and they do not want to let me go to the Soviet Union, because they all the time claim that we need the Communists here.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, before you could leave this country and go over there to live you had to have a transfer from the party in this country?

Mr. SMITH. Sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they would not give it to you?

Mr. SMITH. They would not give it to me because naturally they claim they need Communists here. Then I tried to sneak out through the Amtorg Corporation. I came to the Amtorg; at that time there were Mr. Bogdanoff in charge. I fill out the application, every question, and there was also a question how much I can donate for the Soviet Union, and I put on \$3,000 that I can donate for the machinery—\$3,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. That represented the money that you had been saving up all your life?

Mr. SMITH. Well, sure; I have a little more than that, but I promised them \$3,000; I put it in the application. The next day, after I fill out the application, I got a call from the Communist Party, from the New York district.

Mr. WHITLEY. The New York district?

Mr. SMITH. From Comrade Amter.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is I. Amter?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; Israel Amter. They call me up on the phone I should report myself immediately in his office. And they raise hell with me, what I am doing because Amtorg notified them right away what I am doing.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you made out this application immediately Amtorg notified the Communist Party in New York?

Mr. SMITH. The Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they called you up and wanted an explanation from you?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; Mr. Amter told me that why, don't I know that the Communist Party is the chief even over Amtorg?

Mr. WHITLEY. He told you what?

Mr. SMITH. Amter told me that the Communist Party is the leader even over Amtorg.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Amter told you that the Communist Party was——

Mr. SMITH. Is the main one.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, that even Amtorg was under the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. Then after a long talk they advised me, "If you want to go, and if you want to give some money, then you could not go through Amtorg, but you are going through the Communist Party. We are going to present you credentials if you give your life savings for the Communist Party. Then we let you go."

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Amter told you that if you would give your life savings to the Communist Party in New York, they would let you go to Russia to live.

Mr. SMITH. Yes. In other words, I cannot go nohow; they do not let me go.

Mr. DEMPSEY. May I ask counsel to suspend for a moment? I should like to make a statement to the chairman and members of the committee.

I understand that in executive session the committee adopted a resolution, to release to the press and the public the names of the members of the American League for Peace and Democracy. I am afraid in doing that, you have released not only the names of members but you have released the names of people who have contributed, for instance, to the Spanish refugee fund, but who are not members of the League for Peace and Democracy at all.

So far as I am concerned, I want to protest against any such action. I think it is most un-American. And as a member of this committee, I am not here to be a party to injuring anybody who is innocent or who has joined an organization, not knowing the purpose of the organization, and who has resigned after finding out the purpose of the organization. I think it is most reprehensible for this committee to pass any such resolution and release the names of 800 people, many of whom will be accused of being Communists when, as a matter of fact, there is no member of the committee who is any better an American than many of the people who are now going to be charged with being affiliated with the Communist Party.

As a member of this committee, at no time am I going to smear anybody. No politics is going to be injected into this. There is not going to be any politics so far as I am concerned. I think what we have done is the most damnable thing, and I just want to go on record to that effect.

Mr. MASON. It is too bad, Mr. Dempsey, you did not go on record yesterday when the action was taken.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Had I been present yesterday I would have. I had official business of importance elsewhere. This morning I advised the chairman that I was going to move to go into executive session and he agreed that would be the thing to do. I had a long-distance call and I was 3 minutes late in getting here. The committee, and you personally, Mr. Mason, were not sufficiently courteous to wait 3 minutes so that I might be here.

I do not care what action any member of this committee takes. I am only responsible for myself.

Mr. MASON. This is not an action by any member of the committee. This is an action by the majority of the committee, and the majority of the committee rules. So far as partisanship is concerned, I have not shown any of it on this committee. I have even protested when others have shown it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You say that a majority of the committee have taken action. You mean a majority of those present.

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is different. You may have four people present.

Mr. MASON. That is a majority of the committee.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That does not represent the voice of the committee.

Mr. MASON. It voices the opinion of the majority of the committee. That action was taken, and that settles it.

Mr. STARNES (presiding). Gentlemen, do not let us have any personalities.

Mr. MASON. This is not a personal matter with me at all.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Dempsey has stated his position. That is his personal position, and he has a right to do that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I should like to add this, too. I do not believe a majority of the committee present now would favor any such resolution.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a word. First of all, I would like to say that I do not believe Mr. Mason acted from partisan motives.

Mr. MASON. Absolutely not.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think he acted in the way he thought was right. But, for my own sake, I would like to say that I am in accord with Mr. Dempsey's feelings about this matter and with what he said. Yesterday I pointed out to the committee the way I felt about this matter. I did not feel that it was the wise thing to do. I had not intended to make any public statement about the matter, because when the committee takes action, I am willing to abide by the decision the majority makes.

But that is my view, and since the matter has come up today, I think, in justice to myself, I have a right to say that.

Mr. STARNES. Nobody objects to any member of this committee making any statement he wishes with reference to his personal feelings about any matter, whether it is the conduct of the committee or the conduct of an organization, or the conduct of a citizen. That is his right and his privilege. But it is strictly understood that these are expressions of personal opinion and the personal feelings of the member who is speaking at the time.

Let us proceed with the examination.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let me say this to you before you proceed with the examination. It is my feeling that a Communist should not be employed in the Government service at all. And that goes for the Nazi as well; I mean, those whose loyalty is to the German Government rather than to the American Government. It is my opinion that a Communist's first loyalty is to the Russian Government and not to the American Government. So do not misunderstand me on that.

But I am not in favor of smearing a lot of good American citizens just because they inadvertently contributed to something that had a very patriotic sounding name—and that is what many of them have done.

Mr. MASON. The statement issued by the chairman under orders of the majority of the committee definitely clears any suspicion of the fact that these people are all Communists.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Mason, you do this. You published 800 names, and let us assume that the committee were to say that 95 percent of these people are not Communists, but 5 percent of them are. Unless you point out those that are, then you reflect upon every other one of the 95 percent who are not.

Mr. MASON. More than a year ago we found, by a majority of this committee, that this was a Communist-front organization, and we notified the world in our report of that. That was followed by action on the part of this local chapter of putting on a campaign for increased membership as a defy of that report. It seems to me we have no reason to protect such people.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Mason, we did point out, as you say—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). I want to be courteous to the gentlemen, but I do not think it helps the committee or the conduct of the investigation to debate this matter after it is closed. If any member wishes to make a statement to the press expressing his views, he is at liberty to do so. But I do not think it is proper procedure for the members of the committee to engage in a controversy on a matter that is already a closed chapter.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It is not a controversy so far as I am concerned. I am simply stating my position.

Mr. STARNES. Which you have a perfect right to do.

Mr. DEMPSEY. If you will allow me to continue for a minute: This committee did point out that this American League for Peace and Democracy was a front organization. As a result of that, I have personal knowledge of many, many withdrawals. Yet their names will appear in the press as members of this organization. That is what I am taking exception to.

Mr. MASON. They can then point out that they have withdrawn.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes; that is a fine thing to do.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed with the examination, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, as I understand it, after you were called to the headquarters of the New York district here by Mr. Israel Amter, he finally agreed that if you would turn over your life savings to the Communist Party in this country, he would give you a transfer to move to Soviet Russia?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you agree to do that?

Mr. SMITH. I agreed.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in accordance with that agreement, how much did you turn over to the Communist Party or its affiliated groups?

Mr. SMITH. Well, to the Central Committee I gave \$2,500; to the district office, Amter's office, \$250; to the New Jersey district office, also \$250; to the I. L. D., the International Labor Defense, also \$250; to the Young Communist League, also \$250; the Friends of the Soviet

Union, also \$250; the Daily Worker, \$150; and to certain other organizations, \$25 to \$50. So I divided over \$5,000 between these organizations affiliated with the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that represented most of your life savings?

Mr. SMITH. My life savings, except that I buy some special furniture and tools, and my fare, and about \$120 I have left.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just saved enough to get some furniture and buy yours and your wife's fare to Russia?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that represented the money you had saved from a lifetime of work in the mines and as a machinist?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And since 1921 you had been devoting a lot of your time to the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mentioned the I. L. D. Is that an affiliate of, or is that organization controlled by, the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. It was organized by the Communists and under Communist control.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they agreed to let you give money to that as one of their affiliated organizations?

Mr. SMITH. Sure; it is the same.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. SMITH. That is also nothing else, just a Communist organization. It was organized by the Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. After having given away your life savings, did the Communist Party in the United States give you a transfer so you could go?

Mr. SMITH. They gave me a transfer. Besides transfer, they gave me recommendations, a pocketful, that I carried over there, what a good Communist I was here, and so on.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the official transfer that they gave you, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. The official transfer is a silk slip, about 4 by 4.

Mr. WHITLEY. A little silk ribbon?

Mr. SMITH. A silk ribbon, but square. They instruct us that we should sew them some place in our clothing where nobody should see it. We take that up only in Moscow by the American representative.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they were taken up in Moscow after you got there?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. By the American representative to the Comintern?

Mr. SMITH. To the Comintern, and the Comintern transferred us to the Soviet Party.

Mr. CASEY. Was there any particular place where you had to sew that ribbon?

Mr. SMITH. I just sew it in my lining in the coat.

Mr. CASEY. Were others' ribbons in the same place?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Could they put it in any place?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I can put it any place. They just told us to hide it some place.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who signed that ribbon?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I know that Mr. Foster, the chairman of the party—I cannot prove exactly if Mr. Browder, but I think Browder, I am not sure—but I know Foster.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did it have a seal on it?

Mr. SMITH. A seal.

Mr. WHITLEY. A seal of the party of the United States?

Mr. SMITH. With a seal.

Mr. WHITLEY. And after you got there they made you turn that over to the American representative of the Comintern?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you gave them your credentials?

Mr. SMITH. Any credentials.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, do you know of other American workers, members of the Communist Party, who have done the same thing that you did?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; oh, plenty of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of those that were going to Russia, the Soviet Union, who did not intend to return?

Mr. SMITH. I was such a witness, I was such a witness of Soviet workers, that I saw workers who laughed at American money; they tore the currency up and put it in the toilet and said, "To hell with money; we will not need that money any more." Such things I saw.

Mr. WHITLEY. They tore it up?

Mr. SMITH. They were so glad when they arrived at the Soviet heaven, that they would not need it any more.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the workers believe that because of what the Communist Party in this country had told them?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. And later they were running around trying to get home.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, who was the American representative of the Communist Party of the United States on the Comintern to whom you turned over your American credentials?

Mr. SMITH. At that time it was John Peter.

Mr. WHITLEY. John Peter?

Mr. SMITH. The men's representative, and Caroline Drew, the women's.

Mr. WHITLEY. She was the women's representative?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a document dated March 7, 1932, signed "J. Peters, acting representative, Communist Party, U. S. A., E. C. C. I."—meaning the Executive Committee Communist International. Is that your credential [indicating]?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which Peters gave to you?

Mr. SMITH. That is a credential he gave to me after I returned my credentials.

Mr. WHITLEY. And attached to that is a document under the same date written in Russian; is that the same?

Mr. SMITH. That is the same.

Mr. WHITLEY. They gave you the one document in Russian and also in English?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The English document, Mr. Chairman, is dated March 7, 1932, and reads as follows:

DEAR COMRADE: Comrade Andrew Smith has been a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America since 1922 and was transferred to the Soviet Union with a very high recommendation from the party. Comrade Smith before receiving his transfer gave all his savings to the party.

Comrade Smith is an expert machinist and we recommend that he should be given all possible assistance so that he could give all his ability to socialist construction.

Comradely yours.

That is signed "J. Peter, acting representative, C. P., U. S. A., E. C. C. I."

Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, you will bear in mind that some of the previous witnesses have stated that the Communist Party of the United States did not have a representative on the Communist International.

I show you, Mr. Smith, another document, dated March 17, 1932, 10 days after the preceding document which I have just read, and signed "J. Peter, acting representative, Communist Party, U. S. A., E. C. C. I.," and ask you if you can identify that as a document given to you [handing to witness].

Mr. SMITH. That was the same one that Mr. Peter gave me.

Mr. WHITLEY. And attached to that is the same document——

Mr. SMITH. The same document; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Written in Russian?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. This document reads as follows:

DEAR COMRADE: This is to inform you that you have been granted a transfer by the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Your transfer has been referred to the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Mr. CASEY. That transfer cost him \$5,000. Was that all of your life savings?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, did you also—I believe you have testified that you also transferred to the Communist Party.

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. As shown by these credentials?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were admitted to the Soviet Communist Party on the basis of that transfer?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what representatives, in addition to Caroline Drew and J. Peters—were there any other representatives of the Communist Party of the United States in Moscow at that time?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, yes; there were many, many representatives they have from the United States on the so-called Tass.

Mr. WHITLEY. Tass is the news agency of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SMITH. Tass is the news agency; and at the Trade Union Third International over there were representatives, Overgaard and Edwards.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were representatives from the Communist Party of the United States to the Profintern?

Mr. SMITH. To the Profintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Communist Party in this country keep representatives at the Profintern regularly?

Mr. SMITH. Regularly, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Profintern is the headquarters of the Red International, of the trade-unions?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know any other representatives of the American Party over there?

Mr. SMITH. Well, Louise Strong—

Mr. WHITLEY. That is Anna Louise Strong?

Mr. SMITH. Anna Louise Strong is a representative from the Tass.

Mr. WHITLEY. She is a representative of the Tass?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, she is a representative from the American Party to the Tass Agency in Moscow?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall any other members of the American Party you saw over there at that time?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, I saw many; I saw many but I forget their names; they represented the I. L. D.

Mr. WHITLEY. As representatives of the I. L. D.?

Mr. SMITH. I. L. D.; and also I—that means International Workers Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. International Labor Defense?

Mr. SMITH. Representatives of the International Workers Aid, but I can't give you the names of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, this International Labor Defense in the United States keeps a representative at the parent organization?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Moscow?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the name of the parent organization?

Mr. SMITH. Of the name?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Mopr.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. That is the International Red Aid; is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. International Red Aid; they write it M. R. P.

Mr. WHITLEY. The International Labor Defense is affiliated with the Mopr?

Mr. SMITH. The Mopr.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Mopr in Moscow?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the parent organization?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you a member of the I. L. D. in this country?

Mr. SMITH. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. And for sometime, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. I was, all the time, because as a Communist Party member I must belong to it.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a good Communist Party member in this country you had to belong to the I. L. D.?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you get a transfer from the I. L. D. in this country to the Mopr in Russia?

Mr. SMITH. No; not exactly a transfer, but have a recommendation.

Mr. WHITLEY. A recommendation?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; just a recommendation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is there any question in your mind, as a member of the I. L. D. in the United States, and after your association with Mopr in Russia—

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is there any question but the I. L. D. is an affiliate of the Mopr?

Mr. SMITH. It is the same organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. The same organization?

Mr. SMITH. The same organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is just the one, the I. L. D.?

Mr. SMITH. Not only in the United States, but if you are a Communist member there is only the one; the I. L. D. is the only one in the world, and the International Workers Aid is the—

Mr. WHITLEY. The International Labor Defense?

Mr. SMITH. International Labor Defense and the International Red Aid are the same.

Mr. CASEY. I understood from the testimony of other witnesses that a great many members of the International Labor Defense—in fact, the president of the International Labor Defense in this country says that there are a great many members of this defense association who are not Communists. Now, when you just said that if you are a Communist you must join you do not mean by that that every member of that organization is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. No. You bet your life they must. It is true, it is true that not every member is a Communist, but every Communist member must be in that organization. It was organized by the Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. By the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. It is a Communist Party organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. But that does not mean that all of them are Communists?

Mr. SMITH. No; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, after you arrived in Russia on this trip you intended to stay there this time?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You wanted to go there, because it was a workers Utopia, to live?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the Russian Government tried to persuade you to give up your American passport?

Mr. SMITH. Surely; from the beginning they tried to do so, not only with me but everybody, and many of them—they tried to get us to give up our passports because they—anyone who went there as a tourist or a delegate in the Soviet Government, they did all they could to get them to give up their American citizenship and accept Soviet citizenship.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. SMITH. That is the only way they can stay there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. You are given a transfer; everyone has to use that as a passport if they went anywhere in the Soviet Union, you had to have a passport. You cannot go as a party member or you cannot go as a delegate; and the only exception is where you give them money.

Mr. CASEY. What is the money price that they demand for a transfer?

Mr. SMITH. It all depends upon how much money they have; how much money they have; they accept anything.

Mr. CASEY. They will accept whatever they may have?

Mr. SMITH. Whatever they may have they accept.

Mr. WHITLEY. So shortly after your arrival they wanted you to give up your American citizenship?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And take out Soviet citizenship?

Mr. SMITH. But as soon as I got there I saw it never was the Russia that I saw in 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. You saw the Soviet when you were over on a visit?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it was not the same Soviet that you saw then?

Mr. SMITH. Not at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you went over there on this tour in 1929?

Mr. SMITH. No, no. Since then everything was so different. And then I came to Leningrad, the first biggest Soviet city, and I wrote a letter to America, to my best comrade and friend, and I told him how I find the Soviet Union and that he had better stay in America; "Don't come over here." That was what I write about.

Mr. CASEY. In other words, it was not the heaven you had anticipated?

Mr. SMITH. It wasn't heaven. And this letter which I wrote was brought to the Comintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it never got to America?

Mr. SMITH. It was sent by the person to the Comintern.

Mr. CASEY. In fact, you found out a lot of ways the American worker was better off than in Russia?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. And then they placed me in better positions, tried to convince me; they promoted me to higher positions and all that, but at the same time I was acquainted with the opposition element, and the opposition element informed me about what was going on against me. They wanted to send me farther away from this element.

Mr. WHITLEY. Tried to send you to Siberia?

Mr. SMITH. Well, wanted me away from this disapproving organization, the foreign element, and to put me away. I was saved, my life, through this controversial element; I was saved because they informed me about everything they tried to do.

Mr. CASEY. Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. SMITH. No, no.

Mr. CASEY. How did you get out; did you resign?

Mr. SMITH. I resigned in the Soviet Union.

Mr. CASEY. When was that?

Mr. SMITH. That was before, months before, I left the Soviet.

Mr. CASEY. Did you get your \$5,000 back?

MR. SMITH. Oh, no. With my wife they allowed me about \$10, and on the \$10 we had to travel from the Soviet to New York, what they gave us.

MR. WHITLEY. Only \$10?

MR. SMITH. And when we got to New York we did not have a penny in our pocket.

MR. WHITLEY. Why were they so anxious to get you to drop your American citizenship and take on Soviet citizenship?

MR. SMITH. In order that I can't come back on them.

MR. WHITLEY. So you could not do anything about it?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Do you know of any other Americans who have gone over there and given up their American citizenship?

MR. SMITH. Yes; I know a plenty.

MR. WHITLEY. Workers from America?

MR. SMITH. Workers, yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Workers who went over there?

MR. SMITH. And they died, starved in the famine. I have a lot of friends who went over to the Soviet, boys with high educations, and lost their lives in the famine.

MR. CASEY. What famine was that, 1931?

MR. SMITH. 1932.

MR. CASEY. 1932; that was in the southeastern part of Russia?

MR. SMITH. Well, that was in central Asia.

MR. CASEY. Was that famine brought about by the agrarian policy of the Soviet Government?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. CASEY. To restrict crops?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, when they took up your passport, your American passports, what did they do with them?

MR. SMITH. Well, I can't answer that. I don't know. I just know that they gave me a Soviet passport; that is, because everybody in the Soviet Union must have some passport in his pocket all the time; you cannot move anywhere without a passport. Everyone must have a Soviet passport.

MR. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, after your arrival over there you say they gave you a high position and treated you better than they did the other workers?

MR. SMITH. Oh, sure. I earned at least 20 times as much as the Soviet engineers.

MR. WHITLEY. And why were they giving you such treatment?

MR. SMITH. Because they wanted me to stay.

MR. WHITLEY. They wanted you to stay?

MR. SMITH. They perhaps thought I would not stay if they did not give me better positions.

MR. WHITLEY. They wanted you to remain there?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. They did not want you to come back to the United States?

MR. SMITH. They play a fast role; they want to play a fast role with me and tried to convince me in all ways with everything if I would just remain there, because I was much higher paid.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go to work; did you work in some factory?

Mr. SMITH. I worked in the electric-equipment company, a big factory with 24,000 employees.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Electric Equipment Co.?

Mr. SMITH. Electro-Equipment Factory.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you occupy some position in that factory?

Mr. SMITH. They promoted me to chief engineer in charge of imported machinery, or an inspector with an engineer's rank.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. An engineer's rank, as chief engineer for the inspection of machinery; inspected machinery sent in there from America, from Germany, and from other parts of the world.

Mr. WHITLEY. What happened to your money; that is, the American money that you took over there; when you went over there, did you have to register it, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Everybody has to register whatever they have; everybody must register their money when they go there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any money when you arrived?

Mr. SMITH. I did not have but only \$120, but I lost that in a very few, couple of days.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you lose it?

Mr. SMITH. The first thing my baggage was transferred, I mean, to Nova-Siberia, and I changed my money for Soviet rubles, but in the station when I got there to pay the addition for my baggage they told me they won't accept the rubles; and said they would have to have American dollars; wanted me to pay in dollars, and this way they got the last money I had left.

Mr. CASEY. How did they know you had any left?

Mr. SMITH. I must tell them; I must tell them.

Mr. CASEY. You told them how much money you had, and you transferred some of your American money into Russian rubles?

Mr. SMITH. When we registered we had to register the money at the border, and if you do not register the money at the border the money is no good. In other words, if you go into a store, and they have certain stores where you can buy on foreign money.

Mr. CASEY. For foreign money?

Mr. SMITH. And if you didn't register your money on the border, the Soviet border, and they find that money afterward by you, you get arrested.

Mr. CASEY. And the money is forfeited?

Mr. SMITH. You must have it on a black line, black and white how much money you have.

Mr. CASEY. Do I understand this is correct—that you cannot buy anything with Russian rubles, or transfer your foreign money into rubles?

Mr. SMITH. Can't buy anything with Russian rubles only when—when you start to work; when you start to work they have you register in a certain category; they have certain stores in which you earn wages. But, if you don't work; if you live in a hotel as a tourist or a delegate, and you go shopping in a store where they sell only for foreign money.

Mr. CASEY. You mean that a tourist cannot buy anything except in a store devoted exclusively for that purpose which takes foreign money?

Mr. SMITH. No; at that time, when I was there, there was every category of worker and there was a definite category for stores, and in every store you must have to deal; they would not even let you in the stores, except for certain categories, certain different groups of people.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, I show you a document for identification.

Mr. Chairman, this document is written in Russian and signed A. Overgaard.

Can you identify this document, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a document given to you?

Mr. SMITH. That was given to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was written in Russian, and I will read the translation. It is dated March 7, 1932, and reads:

DEAR COMRADE: Comrade Andrew Smith was a member of the American Communist Party from 1922 and a member of the revolutionary unit of his trade. Comrade Smith has received a party transfer to the U. S. S. R. and is in position of excellent reference from the central committee of his party. He is an experienced mechanic. We beg you to extend to him all possible assistance and immediately furnish him with work at which he will be most useful.

With comradely greetings,

A. OVERGAARD,

Anglo-American Section of the Profintern.

Mr. SMITH. Overgaard, the witness has already testified, was the representative of the Communist Party of the United States at the Profintern, and his signature indicates they have a regular Anglo-American section in the Profintern.

Mr. STARNES. How did you get out of Russia?

Mr. SMITH. How did I get out?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. That was my hardest fight in the whole of my life to get out of the Soviet Union.

During the 3 years I was fighting every minute with the Communists. Consequently they provoked me so I tell them that, what I mean about the Soviet paradise. I tell them the truth, and I told them I wanted to go back to America and tell the workers what I find.

And at the same time I take my party book and throw it to the chairman, on the table and say, "Here is my party book. I don't believe any more communism is the Utopia; I don't believe it any more."

Mr. CASEY. What chairman was that?

Mr. SMITH. The chairman of the Communist unit in the factory.

And after that, for a whole month, they dragged me from office to office trying to hold me back, trying to make me remain there. They promised me everything. I say no, because my wife was already suffering a nervous breakdown. She was afraid all the time they put me out of the way, because I fight with the Communists.

I can't stand any more. They promise me everything. They promise to cure my wife, and even they sent her to a sanitarium; they sent her up to a tsar building, over in the Crimea, in the Crimea, and tried everything, promised me everything to remain there.

I said I was going back to my America, and that I was going to tell the American people what was going on in the Soviet Union. But at that time, don't forget, I was in the American representative's hands, you know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were in the hands of the American representative?

Mr. SMITH. I was acquainted with the American representatives, and I gave them statements about my activities and what I found in the Soviet Union.

Mr. CASEY. Where was the American representative located?

Mr. SMITH. In Moscow; in Moscow. The Soviet officials know I am acquainted with them, that I run in there off and on, and they were afraid to put me, take action against me.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you mean, after recognition by America an American consul came over there and you went to him?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And put yourself in his hands?

Mr. SMITH. I registered myself; I tell him the whole story about myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you went to work in the factory you were given everything in order to try to keep you satisfied?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you still protested; you did not want anything the others did not have?

Mr. SMITH. No; I was satisfied with what they gave me but not with the fact that they wanted to give me everything, and millions of workers were starving.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. SMITH. That was my fight.

Mr. WHITLEY. You told them the truth about the Soviet Union?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any attempts or plans that were under way to get rid of this idea or feeling you had; that is, did they try to send you to Siberia or to get you away from this opposition group?

Mr. SMITH. They promised me everything, to give me better positions; they tried to get me to go to other places.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. But this opposition leader, the leader of the opposition party, informed me about it. And they have opposition, and if they are leaders, they might shoot them down; for instance, when they find out the opposition, they just shoot them down like rats.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you fear for your life?

Mr. SMITH. And these people informed me what they tried to do with me; that was how I knew.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you fear for your life?

Mr. SMITH. Sure, sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, have ever met any secret representative from Russia in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. You mean here?

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, either here or while you were over there, men who were operating in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. I have—as a Communist Party member, you know, I was connected with many officials and at that time I was living side by side by the secretary of the G. P. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you lived next to him?

Mr. SMITH. Next to her; we have the one kitchen together, and just next door, in the same corridor, the same house, hallway, and any time

she got some presents from America, some passport of a friend to transfer, when they were traveling back and forth, of course, the Soviet officers and the G. P. U. knew all the time.

She got some presents from America and she worked with one of the officers of the G. P. U. and she showed me them. And she didn't explain because I was a Communist, a Communist Party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, she told you that some of the Ogpu agents had brought that from America?

Mr. SMITH. Brought from America a present for her.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, she was admitting Ogpu agents were operating in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. We were friends living together in one kitchen, and we talked of everything, and she knows my opinion about the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. While you were an active Communist Party member in the United States, was it known in the party that secret agents of the Soviet Government were in this country?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was known in party circles they were here?

Mr. SMITH. Sure. For instance, many times when I was secretary of the Slovak Workers' Party, that was a Soviet-agent job that forces us to unite together to form a workers' organization, which was affiliated in the Communist Party, but under different languages, under the different nationalities. That was a Soviet agent that came right from Moscow to control us, to convince us, you know, to join this together and establish an international workers' order. That was a Soviet representative here in the central committee in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. SMITH. He called a meeting from all of these foreign-language organizations and wanted us joined to make one organization, because in that way we can carry on better the struggle, and so on, if we join together. And, besides that, we must sneak in every organization, working hard to convince more people.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, do you know of any instances where members of the Communist Party in the United States were instructed to make known military or industrial secrets to their headquarters?

Mr. SMITH. Well, what that concerned—I know they are doing that; I know they are doing that, but I cannot point out exactly how this works.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you do not know——

Mr. SMITH. Because the last years, you know, I was in the office; I was not working in the shop.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. But before, when I was in the shop, we have the nuclei, and we were watching every step in the factory, and when we would meet in the factory at some secret place, some kind of corner, they informed each other what was going on in the factory, and how we can convince workers and get them out on strikes and make trouble, or something, and certainly report in our units.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Smith, is the Communist Party member, working in an industrial plant or a munitions plant, obliged to report to his headquarters any information he can obtain?

Mr. SMITH. Sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is?

Mr. SMITH. Sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know that from your own experience?

Mr. SMITH. Sure; I am speaking from my own experience. But don't forget before I left the United States, you know, I was working in the office. That was before, 5 or 6 years. We have that system already.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, after you finally got out of the Soviet Union, and you have indicated the difficulties you had, you returned to this country?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you, of course, had surrendered your Communist Party membership?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, I have a few documents here I want to get identified, Mr. Chairman, and ask a few more specific questions.

I show you a document written in Russian, Mr. Smith, and ask you to identify that, if you can identify it.

Mr. SMITH (after examining). Yes, sir. That is from my unit secretary, Communist secretary, Achmadulin.

Mr. WHITLEY. The English translation of that, Mr. Chairman, is as follows: It is captioned "Characterization" and it reads:

Comrade Smith, member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1932 (and member of the American Communist Party since 1922) is at present employed in the electric equipment factory as a mechanic inspecting machinery. Comrade Smith conducts effective activities among the foreign workers. As a Communist and producer, he pays the most serious attention to the lathes and machinery. He is interested in the social-political life of the plant and is daily identified with the work of the Communist Party "nucleus" at the plant.

Comrade Smith is one of the best foreign workers and specialists who correctly understands his share in the participation of Socialist construction.

Secretary of the Communist Party "nucleus" at the ATE (Electric Equipment Factory).

(Signed) ACHMADULIN.

MAY 19, 1933.

Mr. CASEY. Is that the name of the electric equipment factory?

Mr. SMITH. That was the name of the factory.

Mr. WHITLEY. "Electric Equipment Factory" was the name of the factory.

Mr. CASEY. What was the name of your employer—the Government?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, no name: it is a Government factory: no name of any employer. It is the name of the factory.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have several other documents here, Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to have identified. I ask you if you can identify this document signed "A. Overgaard"?

Mr. SMITH (after examining.) Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is a document furnished you?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Overgaard was the American representative of the Profintern. This document reads as follows. It is a recommendation dated March 10, 1932:

DEAR COMRADES: We beg permission for Comrade Andrew Smith to remain in the Soviet Union as he is sent here by the American party, which gave him a transfer. He is a member of the Communist Party since 1922 and an expe-

rienced mechanic who will be very valuable here. We request that he be provided with quarters and food for the next few days on our responsibility.

With comradely greetings,

ANGLO-AMERICAN SECTION OF THE PROFINTERN,
A. OVERGAARD, *American Representative*.

I believe testimony from some witness was to the effect that the American party did not have representatives or send representatives to the Profintern. There are other documents here, Mr. Chairman—I do not know whether they are necessary, in order to identify Mr. Smith and his activities. Here is one I would like to get identified, though. Is that a document furnished to you?

MR. SMITH (after examining). Yes; that is a document furnished me.

MR. WHITLEY. This document, Mr. Chairman, is on the letterhead of a Slovak paper in Chicago, Dennik Rovnost Ludu, 1510 West Eighteenth Street, Chicago. It is dated March 6, 1932. Is that "March"?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. It reads as follows: It is written in Slovakian, and the translation is:

This is to certify that Comrade Andrew Smith in Moscow is our correspondent. All the courtesies given to him in gathering news will be very appreciated. The "Daily Rovnost Ludu" is organ of the Czechoslovakia fraction of the Communist Party USA. With Communist greeting.

JOHN MACKOVICH, *Editor*.

Now, Mr. Smith, did you send articles to that publication while you were in Moscow?

MR. SMITH. I sent it articles, and many articles; consequently, my articles was stopped to publish, because between the article, between the many-copy paper, I notified them about the truth, also.

MR. WHITLEY. You tried to tell them about the truth, in your articles?

MR. SMITH. About the truth, because what my corresponding concerned, I must do that. That was the order of the party; since I was a Communist Party member, I must write articles about the Soviet Union. But, indirectly I notified them in the same envelope I sent them how they must understand it.

MR. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, in other words, as a Communist Party member, you had to send those articles?

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. You did not do it voluntarily?

MR. SMITH. Oh, no; I must do it.

MR. WHITLEY. They ordered you to do it; and do I understand the articles you wrote telling the truth were either stopped or changed?

MR. SMITH. No; they just refused; they must, under orders of the Soviet Union. They refused to publish, because they claim they cannot publish from a two-faced man—a two-faced man. And what that there document concerned, that was a recommendation when they appoint me on an excursion trip for a whole month, on the Volga River. Maybe you gentlemen read a story about this German colony on the Volga, and in this colony was big starvation, in 1932 and 1933—was big starvation. And the German Government offered to make some collection among the factory union about this situation, to the Soviet Union, in which situation, you know, Germans live; there is a couple million Germans live over there. And the Soviet Union organized a

group to go through the Volga and conduct them, and they fixed up places all ready for the delegation, for these excursionists, and all those excursionists must then write articles to their own government that what the Hitler or the German Government claims, that is false, it is not true. This delegation, composed from workers in the Soviet Union, they find it different; they find a good situation and nice; everybody living nice, and especially in the German colony.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, let me get this straight, Mr. Smith; there was some unfavorable publicity went out about this German colony, so they organized a delegation to make a trip to see what the conditions were?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then you had to write articles, or make a speech saying that the conditions were fine?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they fine?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, no. After we returned to Moscow from that excursion trip many Germans left the Soviet Union and went to Germany and joined the Hitler organization to work against communism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, do they have trade-unions in the factories of the Soviet Union?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; but that trade-unions don't mean anything; that is, just, you know, the Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, do the workers have any say?

Mr. SMITH. The workers have nothing to say there; just the Communist organization, you know, she called a meeting and bluffed them, and so on. That don't mean anything.

Mr. STARNES. All they do is just to take a little money away from them?

Mr. SMITH. Just take a little money away from them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do they assess them?

Mr. SMITH. You bet your life they do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether, Mr. Smith, it is a common practice in the Communist Party for members to use assumed names?

Mr. SMITH. Well, every leader in the Communist Party, pretty near every one, they don't use their own name.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am talking about the Communist Party of the United States, now.

Mr. SMITH. Of the United States. Even in Russia they don't use their own name. Stalin—that is not his name.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a general practice in the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. That is a general practice all over the world; if you are a leader, you must use a different name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why is that, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. In Russia, the Communist Bolsheviks, under the czarist system, under the pressure of persecution, at that time they accept that name and they hold that name until now, some of them. For instance, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin. What is Stalin's name—Djugashvili is his name. He is not even a Russian. And in America, also, the leaders use different names.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let us spell that name for the reporter; can you spell that for him, please?

Mr. SMITH. D-j-u-g-a-s-h-v-i-l-i.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, in the United States is it a common practice for members to join the party under an assumed name?

Mr. SMITH. Not the common workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not the common workers?

Mr. SMITH. Not the common workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. But the higher officials?

Mr. SMITH. But I must point out this: I was a charter member of the Communist Party, and many times I don't know with who I talk. Many times I know the person under a name and the next couple of months he has a different name that I don't know; then I don't know if that really is the same man as I saw a couple of months ago.

Mr. CASEY. What was your name? Could they tell about you? Did not you have a different name?

Mr. SMITH. No; I don't have.

Mr. CASEY. Your name has been "Smith" all the time?

Mr. SMITH. I must explain this: They were very proud they had "Smith" in the organization. That is why they put me in as a candidate—about my name, you know; my Americanized name; that is why they put me many times in as candidate. They know they are not going to win, anyhow, but they strive under a name which is suitable to the American people. That is why I was many times a candidate.

Mr. CASEY. Has your name always been Smith?

Mr. SMITH. All the time. In Hungary they pronounce it Schmidt.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, is it a common practice in the Communist Party for its officials and members to travel on illegal passports?

Mr. SMITH. Well, certainly.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, do you know of any specific instances, or was it just generally known in party circles that that was done?

Mr. SMITH. They generally know they are doing that.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is generally known they are doing that?

Mr. SMITH. And why they are doing that—not because they don't permit them to go to the Soviet Union, but they must go through many other countries. That is why they use those false passports, and so on.

For instance, if Mr. Browder traveled under his own name, all over the world Browder's name is known, and in a country, you know, such as Germany, or England, they might take care of themselves, and they will watch this thing; but if he travels under a different name, you know, not that name, nobody will know who he is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, is the Communist Party of the United States a separate, independent political party; does it make its own decisions and carry out those decisions in its own way?

Mr. SMITH. Never; never. The Communist Party change the policy sometimes twice a year, according to what order comes from the Comintern. Many times I was in a meeting when they are reading documents right from the Comintern, from the Soviet Union, and we must accept that document and that policy. For instance, when there was organized the Trade Union Unity League, that order come from Moscow—we must stop working for the American Federation of Labor and try to organize our own revolution union. That order come from Moscow. When that don't go as Moscow thinks, again it was abolished by the Comintern and they give us an order to sneak in—not to one union, but even to churches, we must go and

belong there and teach the people and convince the people for communism. That was done in Moscow; every policy; every change that came from there. Everybody tried to deny and say that is nonsense; that is not true; but the Communist Party is only one in the whole world, and is directed from Moscow.

Mr. CASEY. And the first order you got from Moscow was to form trade unions that would fight established American unions?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. The next order was to join their organization and bore from within?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; bore in and try to make communism in them.

Mr. CASEY. Is that the order that is in effect today?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; that is the order. We find Communists now in everything; even in clerical organizations, religious organizations—all over.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, is the first loyalty of a good Communist in the United States to the United States Government—the first loyalty?

Mr. SMITH. No; no; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the first loyalty; to what government is a Communist in the United States loyal?

Mr. SMITH. To the workers' government, the Soviet Union. That is the main thing. Their country is the Soviet Union; not America.

Mr. WHITLEY. Their country is the Soviet Union?

Mr. SMITH. The Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, you have had a great deal of experience in trade union work as a member of the Communist Party, have you not?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, from that experience, would you say that the Communist Party in the United States is really and sincerely interested in bettering the workers, bettering the conditions for the workers? Is that their interest?

Mr. SMITH. That is not true; that is not their interest.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is their interest?

Mr. SMITH. They organize a strike, a sit-down strike, and so on, only for that purpose that they can be better acquainted with the workers and teach them the doctrines. That is the purpose of calling the workers from the shop—for the purpose for a chance to speak to the workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, their interest is not the workers' welfare?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, no; nothing to do with the workers' welfare. They are working against better conditions; they are working against better conditions for the workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in trying to accomplish that, they have for their purpose the fomenting of strikes——

Mr. SMITH. Sure.

Mr. CASEY. So that the workers become discontented?

Mr. SMITH. Sure.

Mr. CASEY. And to sow the seeds of communism?

Mr. SMITH. Sure; because only that way can they teach communism. If they don't call strikes, it is very difficult to connect with the workers, and only this way they have a chance.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Smith, how does the Communist Party, with a small minority in a trade union, get control of that union? Have you been in situations where that happened, and have you helped to carry that out—that program?

Mr. SMITH. Well, many Communists work very hard before every election in an organization; before every election, no matter what, if something is going on in the organization, all the Communist Party is invited to the meeting. They discuss this matter a couple of months before, and they pick out even a person for the position, for a position in the union, and all of the party members are instructed to propaganda in the union for this person, which person was picked out in that position by the Communist Party. That is the way they work.

Mr. CASEY. That is, they pick a non-Communist?

Mr. SMITH. Sometimes they do; but they must know. They are not Communists only, because they take care of themselves, you know, better; their idea is communism, but they need not be a Communist Party member, but they help communism.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they are sympathizers?

Mr. SMITH. They are sympathizers, but they are afraid. They are more interested about paying dues, but so many of those nonmembers will pay more dues than a regular member. I can explain this, gentlemen, to you: When I was general secretary of the Slovak Workers' Society in New Jersey—they have headquarters in New Jersey but have locals all over the United States—the Communist Party was raided. That was 1928—was attacked by the Government and raided. And every headquarters you know, of every Communist union, that was raided by the Government people and they bring all of the documents to my office, because I was secretary of a fraternal organization not under them, but it was a Communist organization just the same, but they don't raid this organization. I hide the documents from the New Jersey headquarters for 2 weeks and when I have really time, a little spare time, I open the documents, you know, the big file of papers, the big piles of sheets, and I study them. Then I find many names there, "Dr. N. N.;" "Prof. N. N.;" "Teacher N. N.;" not a name. It was a method, you know—

Mr. WHITLEY. Initials?

Mr. SMITH. Just initials "N. N., donate so much," and every month. And in the Communist Party, they just pay so much dues, according to wages, you know—a percentage; 4 percent according to the wages. But these sympathizers pay a whole lot more, and the Communists don't be afraid to nominate this member, this person.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Smith, to what class in the United States does the Communist Party make its appeal and recruit its members from?

Mr. SMITH. Well, they make more propaganda and the strongest propaganda between the workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they concentrate on getting workers?

Mr. SMITH. On the workers. But don't forget the Communists are working hard—are working hard, you know, to convince the better situated and educated persons, too. Don't forget we have in the United States many professors, many doctors, who visit the Soviet Union and swallow blindly everything in the Soviet Union, like I swallowed when I was there in 1929 and came back here. And they

are communistic sympathizers and are even teaching American-born students the Communist work—many of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Smith, you, as a worker, represented the class that they make their greatest appeal to?

Mr. SMITH. Sure. They can work a revolution better with the workers, you know. That is why they are doing that.

Mr. CASEY. They would not have to take those doctors, professors, and important people to Russia now; they could take them to the World's Fair, and show them the exhibit, and they could see the same thing?

Mr. SMITH. That is the same thing I pointed out about Hungary that you see there. I saw that in 1929. Always everything is made for them, and all fixed, and no matter who you are, you cannot find out, really.

Mr. CASEY. It was not until your second visit that you found out what was behind that fine front; is that right?

Mr. SMITH. Sure; because you are not free, when you go to the Soviet Union. You cannot go where you please, where you want to go; you can only go where they take you. You know, in the tourist organization, a big organization all over the world, they employ many thousands, a couple million people all over the world and those people are in the job; they work for the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union employs thousands of young workers from America to work in the Young Communist League, and they will take the person where they want to take them, not where the persons want to go.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your dissatisfaction over there was not due to the way you were treated?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you were treated all right?

Mr. SMITH. I was treated good. I had money from them that they gave me, and I helped many Americans in Russia. I knew it was bad, and I never would fight for any such communism as I found in the Soviet Union. I thought that it was a remedy for the workers. I thought it was something nice, and that it would abolish strikes and differences, but I found in the Soviet Union that it was something different.

Mr. STARNES. You were a Communist in theory, but when you saw it in practice, it was not so hot?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your knowledge of the Communist Party and the discipline of the party, would you say that in the event the United States was engaged in a war on a side opposite to or against Soviet Russia, or if the United States should attempt to help in any way countries that were engaged in a war on a side against Soviet Russia, the Communist Party members would be for this country, or would they be with the Soviet Union? Would they be with this country in such an event?

Mr. SMITH. Never; because if he is a member of the Communist Party, the only country for the Communist is Russia. They will defend Russia no matter what happens.

Mr. DEMPSEY. As I understand it, the Communist Party officials are anxious to have all alien Communists, when they become American residents, to become American citizens as quickly as possible.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. They swear, of course, to defend the Constitution. When they swear to defend the Constitution, do you say they do not mean that?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir; that does not mean anything for them but a change of citizenship. It is the party that they serve.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Then they have become American citizens through fraud and misrepresentation?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. In other words, they need the votes, too, because the Communist Party has been legal and constitutional. They need votes.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your knowledge of the Communist Party, would you say that Communist Party members would actually work against the United States if the United States was either sympathetic to or on a side opposite from Soviet Russia?

Mr. SMITH. Their sympathies would be with the Soviet Union.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Aside from being sympathetic with some other country, suppose the United States itself was unfriendly to Russia, or had a war with Russia, what course would they take?

Mr. SMITH. Then, you would find a lot of sabotage.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Would the American membership of the Communist Party here be for America?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir; that is not the Communist principle. They do not believe in anything but communism.

Mr. CASEY. Has the situation been discussed among Communists, that you know of?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; all the time.

Mr. CASEY. Have they said anything that would indicate their position in the event the United States and Russia were at war?

Mr. SMITH. Well, there was sabotage during the last war, and there will be sabotage during the next war.

Mr. CASEY. It does not mean only war by the United States against Russia, but they would not be willing to support what they call an imperialistic war?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. If America fought on the Soviet side, the Communists would go on just the same using their propaganda, and teaching communism, but naturally they would help any government lick an enemy of the Soviet Union.

Mr. STARNES. Are there any other questions by members of the committee?

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I want to make a statement. There is some question as to what this list means—whether it is a membership list and mailing list, or whether it is a membership list only. I have been assured that it has been carefully checked, and that it is a list of the membership of the local chapter here in Washington of the American League for Peace and Democracy. It is a membership list only.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is it a membership list of people who became members by reason of having made donations, or a list comprising people who have contributed to certain causes?

Mr. MASON. According to their own records, it is a membership list only, and not a list of contributors.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is not my understanding of it. As a matter of fact, from conversations I have had with people whose names appear on this list, they were never members of the organization.

Mr. MASON. It is not a mailing list, but it is a membership list only.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is not correct. It is not a membership list insofar as the names of some people that appear on this list are concerned. There are names of people on the list who are not members of the League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. MASON. Then their own records are in error. These are records that we have obtained from the local chapter of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think that they should have the right to say whether they are members, or not.

Mr. MASON. No, sir; I do not agree with that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Suppose they named you in the list?

Mr. MASON. Then I would deny that I was a member.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You would not have much opportunity in view of the action of the committee this morning, would you?

Mr. MASON. Yes; I would have had plenty of opportunity. I want to clear up the record, and show that it is a membership list only, and not a mailing list.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I do not think that statement agrees with the facts. I have reason to believe that the fact can be established that it is not.

Mr. CASEY. Let me say that I suggested in the meeting last night that this statement itself does not charge the people whose names appear here with being members of the Communist Party. I do not think it is evidence of that. I stated last night, and I think the committee agreed with me, that we did not know a single individual named on the list who is a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. The statement shows that there is no evidence to that effect.

Mr. CASEY. It does not say that any of them are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEMPSEY. If there is no evidence that they are, I do not see why it was important for this committee to issue such a statement. We are here to develop facts, and not to draw conclusions.

Mr. STARNES. Let the Chair make a statement about this matter which was discussed fully, frankly, and freely in the committee's meeting yesterday, at which five members of the committee were present.

The Chair was empowered to prepare a statement, and his statement was submitted to the members of the committee this morning before it was released to the press. The statement speaks for itself, and if any of the other members have contrary views from those in the statement prepared by the chairman, they have a right to express themselves anywhere they want to, but I think that, so far as the committee is concerned, it is a closed matter, unless we hold another executive session and decide to take other action.

Mr. DEMPSEY. For the information of the chairman, I want to say that if I had been present, there would have been six members present, and there would have been one vote against the resolution.

Mr. STARNES. I think the gentleman from New Mexico has made his position clear.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I hope so.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned until Saturday, October 28, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs Dies (chairman), Starnes, Dempsey, Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES S. COX, ATTORNEY, FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cox of the Federal Trade Commission wishes to make a brief statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us your full name and address.

Mr. Cox. Charles S. Cox, trial attorney, Federal Trade Commission, residing at 1201 South Barton Street, Alexandria, apartment 162.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Cox, when a list of the purported members of the American League for Peace and Democracy of Washington branch appeared, we noticed, under the heading of the Federal Trade Commission, the name of Charles S. Cox given with two addresses. You are Charles S. Cox and also work with the Federal Trade Commission?

Mr. Cox. I am.

Mr. STARNES. And your address is as you stated above?

Mr. Cox. My address is what I have just given to you.

Mr. STARNES. There is another Charles S. Cox with the Federal Trade Commission. Did you check up to see what his address was?

Mr. Cox. I did, and I have also talked with Charles S. Cox, who resides at 1225 L Street NW., and he stated that he is a member of the organization referred to.

Mr. STARNES. But you are not?

Mr. Cox. I am not connected with the organization, and from what I understand about it I am not in sympathy with the organization.

Mr. STARNES. Fine.

The CHAIRMAN. You ought to be congratulated for coming out frankly and saying so. If the rest of them would do that, we would not have any trouble clearing up this issue.

Mr. Cox. I would also like to state that Miss Lena Frock, who is with the Federal Trade Commission, stated to me that she did attend one meeting of the organization in question 2 years ago out of curiosity; that she has not attended a meeting since that time and has no other connection with it.

Mr. STARNES. Fine.

Mr. Cox. The other two gentlemen whose names appear on the Federal Trade Commission list are no longer with the Federal Trade Commission, and I do not know what their beliefs or connections were in connection with the organization in question.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for coming before the committee and giving us the facts.

APPENDIX, VOLUME 10

(From p. 6413:)

The following communication was received by the committee following the publication of the membership list of American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C. It was the committee's decision that it be made part of the record.

1737 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE. NW.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 26, 1939.

MR. MARTIN DIES,
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

CONGRESSMAN DIES: My name appeared in yesterday's afternoon papers as a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The news article also stated that the list of members that appeared in the press would be incorporated in the record of the proceedings of your committee. I would like to correct an error that appeared in connection with my name, so that it will appear correctly in the records of your committee. Next to my name there appeared in parentheses the notation "(Mrs. Henry Rhine)". I wish to inform you that I am not and have never been Mrs. Henry Rhine. My correct married name is Mrs. David Rein. In addition, my correct address is 1737 New Hampshire avenue, NW. Although I formerly lived at 1020 Monroe St., NW., I have never lived at 1734 Pennsylvania, NW. or 1713 H Street, NW. I would appreciate your making these corrections before the record finally appears in print, and, if possible, securing a correction of the error in the newspapers.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

(Signed) SELMA RICE,
Selma Rice,
(Mrs. David Rein).

(As noted on p. 6240:)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND U. S. CONGRESS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

CHICAGO, ILL., SEPT. 28, 29, 30, 1934

Attended by 3,332 delegates representing 1,807,201 people

American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th Street, Room 605,
New York City

CONVENED AT ASHLAND BOULEVARD AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO, ILL.
SEPTEMBER 29 AND 30, 1934

First session, September 29, 10:15 a. m.

Dr. WARD opened the session by calling for nominations for the Presiding Committee, Resolutions Committee, Credentials Committee, Organization and Finance Committee, and Publications. The Presiding Committee has charge of questions to come before Congress, make list of speakers, arrange order and time of presentation of reports, etc.

MOTION: That list of committees be approved. CARRIED.

A temporary credentials committee has been appointed—Chairman Dr. Lovett, to make preliminary report.

Dr. LOVETT. Credentials committee will make full report at beginning of afternoon session. Up to the present, 1,640 delegates have been registered. From Illinois, 535; 171 from Michigan; 364 from New York; 157 from Ohio; 1 from

Rhode Island: 1 from Georgia. Nominations for permanent credentials committee will be received until 11:00 A. M.

Dr. WARD. Those selected on temporary credentials committee yesterday by Arrangements Committee and National Committee are: R. M. LOVETT; EARL BROWDER; ROGER BALDWIN; SAMUEL PATTERSON; ALFRED TIALA; THOMAS McKENNA; DOROTHY McCONNELL; JOHN WERBICH; CARL HAESSLER; WALDO McNUTT; and DR. A. G. FALLS.

Order of Business:

1. Sessions from 10:00 A. M. until 1:00 P. M.
2. Report of National Chairman concerning work of League for the past year and tasks now confronting us.
3. Addresses from speakers representing various interests.
 - A) Delegate from the International Organization
 - B) Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, concerning situation in Germany
 - C) General Victor A. Yakhonteff on situation in Far East
 - D) Speakers representing vocational groups in the Congress

MOTION: To proceed with program. CARRIED.

Dr. WARD. It is my pleasure to bring greetings to the delegates from the National Bureau and the National Committee. [Applause.] We have here a much wider representation of interests than last year. We realize many delegates have come under great difficulties, and others would be here were it not for financial impossibilities. I can only report the last half year's work since I was drafted in the middle of the year in an emergency situation. [Applause.]

The organizational structure of the League was set up at the last Congress. The League, in structure, program and policy is a creature of the First Congress, which this Congress is still developing. This Second Congress will make the program and policy for the ensuing year.

Structure of the League includes a National Executive Committee on the basis of the best possible representation. It also includes a National Council, the emergency body created to function in such an emergency as a state of war, or something similar, to act as a delegated body of representatives of the organizations. In between, there is the National Executive Committee, as well as the National Bureau which meets weekly and acts between meetings of the National Executive Committee. The Bureau has been enlarged to include wider representation. Also, vice-chairman ROBERT MORSS LOVETT and LINCOLN STEFFENS have been added. [Applause.]

The League is a united front not simply of organizations; also of certain class interests which are again divided into vocational groups. We have the problem of working out the relationship of these two aspects of this United Front.

When I took over this work, I found an organization with almost no staff. For the last year the organization has had no executive secretaries except the assistant executive secretary. I found an organization without a financial basis. The work that has been done under such conditions has been a marvel to me. It has only been done because the staff worked regardless of salary and regardless of hours, and has been supplemented with numbers of volunteers. [Applause.]

The most significant achievement has been shown in the magazine "FIGHT". I don't recall a similar case in which a magazine has reached the circulation, the variety of growth, the eminence achieved by this magazine, and for that we must place credit on the brilliant shoulders of its editor, JOSEPH PASS.

The Youth delegates are here this morning in joint session with us. They represent the extent to which our Youth Congress has entered into the life of the youth of this country. I don't recall anything that so awakened us as the student strike against war that occurred this year. [Applause.] And both nationally, and in some cases locally, this youth section has succeeded in breaking through the barriers, including political barriers, that have heretofore existed against a real united front.

The other significant achievement is the women's work. It participated in a Women's International Congress by sending forty delegates to Paris, and is now in organizational shape to extend itself further among the women of the country in every field of life.

The New York organization has been engaged in the experimental task of setting up a structure which might serve somewhat as a pattern for local organizations in other cities. Among its achievements must be recorded the demonstration of last August 4th when it called upon the streets of New York some 20,000 paraders with possibly 30,000 interested sympathizers on the sidewalks. [Applause.]

One of the major problems of this Congress is the problem of working up the organization set-up, and the approach in states and cities, with a concrete program of organizational development.

A few weeks ago we affiliated with the international organization. We are now an organic part of the world movement and one of the tasks that awaits us in the coming year is to strengthen this international affiliation and make ourselves more effective on the international front. We must discover all the available forces for the fight against war and fascism in this country. This discovery, up to now, has been almost spontaneous. The League has lacked the machinery, the resources and finance, to pursue this properly. Those that have joined with us have come spontaneously, but we know that there are organizations available which might become an important instrument in this fight.

These forces are here, many for the first time, and are politically and vocationally, increasingly all those groups which themselves suffer from the Fascist developments in this country. We must also note, for the first time in American history, that groups which heretofore have had no contact with working class movements are working shoulder to shoulder in complete understanding and sympathy concerning acute problems of the League.

Last year the Congress met under the imminent threat of war, both in the Far East and in Europe. These dangers have been temporarily postponed because the balance of political power and diplomatic relations have been shifted in Europe in the last few months. The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is one of the factors which has led to this shifting of forces and also to the modifications for the moment of the immediate war danger in the Far East. The isolation of Nazi-Germany, politically, is one of the results. This is only a temporary shifting of forces. There must and will soon be a realignment. We have a breathing space, a truce, for the moment, but in that breathing space and truce it is perfectly obvious that we must continue our struggle all along the line. The main forces underneath are driving irresistibly to the next war.

Notwithstanding any temporary relief it becomes increasingly clear that there is no possible path before this capitalist economy except to plunge the world into another war and attempt to crystallize the organization of Fascist States. There is no more evidence of this inexorable historic development of events than when we see the clear development of American Fascism.

On the emotional side we have the evidences of anti-Semitism; we have the intensification of the repression of the Negro; we have the awakening of those hatreds which have for more than a decade gone on in the anti-red hunt in this country. Underneath we have the increasing use of the State, not simply in an attempt to keep life in capitalist economy, but in the attempt to prevent the development of opposing forces from the bottom.

The farmers get promises and a little money. The workers get promises, but the right to strike is increasingly taken from them. This is, of course, a diet on which neither can survive. Meantime it becomes necessary to remove the illusions under which so many are suffering. Those same illusions, I say, evidence the crises as they occur in Europe, the illusion that there is some supreme authoritative body representing the people as a whole. As this audience knows, this superficial governmental authoritative state turns out to be the arm of the owning and employing class. That is the fact that must be made clear to the workers and farmers of this country.

On the other side, with this growth of Fascism, there is a clear and growing awareness on the part of the mass of American people of the turn of events. We find the forces flowing together to where we can see them commencing to crystallize. The only question, in this historic moment, is whether the League will be able to prove a sufficient instrument to lead and guide this tendency towards solidarity.

What is the immediate necessity? First and always, the necessity of broadening the base of the movement. We are confronted with a situation in which the war mongers expect to mobilize the entire population on the base of its vocational capacity for carrying on War. The only effective answer is to mobilize the whole population, as far as we can, on the same basis of vocational capacity to stop the war. [Applause.] That means we must broaden the basis of this movement politically, *but it doesn't mean this movement lives or dies because of its ability or failure to bring together the political groups.* It is perfectly clear in this Congress, as in the work of the League, that our basis is much broader, on class lines, on vocational lines, than it is on political or organizational lines.

We have here a mass of representatives in a personal capacity and some times from other local organizations, or political groups, which are not vocational, in this organization. That means, just as it means in regard to our vocational representation, we are able to get the left wing in the political as well as the vocational groups to cooperate on this united front regardless of what the national headquarters is going to say or do.

I want to speak now for a moment as the representative of the non-political group in the Bureau, to the point of the fears of many people concerning the domination of this organization by one political party. With the broadening of the base of this movement, as well as the broadening of the representation in the governing body, it becomes increasingly impossible for any political party to dominate this League even if it wanted to do so.

I want to say one more thing, representing simply myself, a personal judgment and a personal opinion. There is a legitimate as well as an illegitimate use of this organization by political groups. It is quite illegitimate for any political group to seek to dominate this organization for parties and purposes. The only indication I ever had of any move in that direction at all, comes only and very seldom from local incidents where zeal outruns knowledge. In every case where that happens it is promptly dealt with by the national body. There is no question at the top whatever on that point.

Concerning the legitimate use of this organization by political groups, I will take a concrete case. You all heard the speech of Earl Browder last night. You heard him made a clear historical judgment that there was only one choice before mankind now and that was between Fascism and Communism. When Earl Browder pointed out that humanity now has to choose between the Fascist and Communist type of organization of society, he neither meant nor implied that we all had to join the Communist Party if we were not going to turn Fascist. He then went on to point with pardonable pride, as he was perfectly entitled to do, to the achievements of the Communist Party throughout the world in offering very effective resistance to the development of Fascism. [Applause.] If other political groups whom we have invited here had taken part in that program, if their leaders had spoken as asked, they would have been entitled to do the same thing, if they could. [Applause.]

When it comes to the participation of different political groups in this movement, my own position is this: Legitimately, the group which can offer to this movement the most valuable suggestions concerning program and tactics, which can offer the most dynamic active force for carrying it out, will gain political activity in this League and are entitled to do so.

Therefore, in a sense, this League becomes the competitive testing ground of all political groups who profess to offer leadership in the struggle against war and fascism. Let them all come in. Let them throw their forces in the making and carrying out of the program, in the work of the League, and as they demonstrate their capacity for leadership, as they show us that they can do so, they are entitled to reap any political action they can later.

One more word. If anybody can correctly assess the temper of the American youth, as shown in our youth section; if they can correctly assess the growing movement in the field of labor, among the unions, and among the Negroes and other oppressed minority groups, those sections are becoming increasingly impatient with any movement that will keep them out of activities on the political front. They will unhesitatingly consign to oblivion all political leaders who refuse to come into the necessary fight against these evils of the human race. [Applause.]

To get back to our point to broaden the base. Our immediate and most pressing task is to penetrate into the trade unions with propaganda of this League to increase the activities in these organizations.

Along with and secondary to that, is the necessity of increasing our strength among the middle classes, especially among the intellectuals, because of their propaganda value. This is one of the key positions we must storm, because if we split the middle class on this issue and join a section of them to the working class and the oppressed minority groups, it becomes certain that in the struggle with Fascist forces we can win. To accomplish this, we must build an adequate propaganda machine. So far we have the magazine, which is second to none. We must add the pamphlet material adequate to the needs of the growing situation. We must add the publicity machine able to reach certain sections of the press and get this message to larger sections of the American people.

Furthermore, we ought to make this organization the clearing house for publicity and propaganda of all organizations in this field so that at any one time

we may strike one note to the American people concerning the issues that need to be raised. For example, regarding the request here that on November 11th we make a special effort to bring to the American people revelations and the consequences of another World War. For a job like that we ought to be able to use every organization that is connected with this League. We must send speakers into the trade unions, the colleges, the church groups; and we must have an educational propaganda.

It is necessary, also, to make clear to the American people the relationship between the next War and Fascism, because if you turn the next war into an unsuccessful war, you have by that broken the power of the Fascist state. [Applause.]

In our educational material it is necessary to point out to the American people how the present administration is becoming the arm and power of the owning class. There is a vast amount of material awaiting our use, if we can only organize a sufficient educational and publicity section of our work to bring it to the attention of the American people.

So we must concentrate on the following items in our work: first, the broadening of our base; second, the building of a propaganda machine; and third, unite our forces for the defense of the workers and farmers rights wherever they are attacked.

Around this concrete organization of our potential forces for the protection of these rights we shall be able to develop and broaden our base, and make actual our unity. There is no question that in many localities it is impossible to prevent such things as the raiding of the workers' headquarters and the destruction of their property unless we have a sufficient and aggressive defense beforehand. It is not enough to defend these rights legally. It has become necessary to take care of our civil rights in advance and where the authorities refuse to provide us with protection under the constitution it becomes necessary to organize our protection ourselves.

To carry out the slogans of broadening our base, building the rights of workers and farmers to fight against war and fascism, we must have adequate funds. One of our major tasks is to provide a budget for this organization. We cannot do this work unless your organizations and you as individual members and supporters of the League provide us with an adequate budget. The Fascists have the war makers and the powers of the state, as well as the financial interests behind them. We have the meager resources of the workers, farmers and the honest intellectuals. But these are sufficient because we can add the spirit of our voluntary workers. In contrast to the forces of death, there will go forward the forces that are capable of leading this nation into the new life of building the new society. In this sense, the task of this League is not simply of waging a defensive war against Fascism. In waging this defensive war, we shall discover and develop political and economic leadership as it emerges in this country, which has the capacity to organize on a new basis and in new directions. [Applause.]

MOTION: That report of the resolutions committee be mimeographed so that copies can be given to all delegates. CARRIED.

MONSIEUR PERIGAUD (Secretary of the World Committee Against War & Fascism). FRIENDS, I come here from the World Committee Against War and Fascism in place of Henri Barbusse. As a member too, of the French delegation, I bring you greetings from our French Comrades. Our French Committee is one of the strongest, 200,000 members—I mean 200,000 members, not affiliated by organizations, people from the whole country. They go into the factories and into the streets with leaflets, whenever there is an occasion to make a demonstration against Fascism. There have been hundreds of demonstrations such as the 12th of February when 15 comrades were killed by the French police. All during February there were many demonstrations against Fascism. At all Fascist demonstrations, anti-Fascist demonstrations were organized by our movement—In Paris, Toulouse, and Marseilles, everywhere in France where Fascists were demonstrating.

Most of those who demonstrated and were with the Fascists didn't know what the Fascists are, but they soon found out—the French Fascists were like those in Germany and Italy. There are 100,000 teachers in France who don't want war, and said that if they have war, we will make a revolution in France.

I now want to make a few suggestions as to what we need in France today for our work and about the way we fight Fascism. It is the same in all countries in Europe. In England, Sir Oswald Mosley with his Black Shirts. Every week

he used to make hundreds of meetings in all the working class districts. He had a lot of money and we know he got it from English capitalists.

In Spain we have a very great Committee. Our Committee has been working towards a united front in Spain—between anarchists, socialists, communists, etc. The Fascist organization in Spain arranged a big meeting in Madrid, but this united front called a general strike and not a Fascist came to their demonstration. The students were in the streets and joined the workers, farmers and middle class against Fascism.

In Germany, six million people said "no". Those six million people came from our work. We have some comrades in France who risk their lives every day sending pamphlets and illegal newspapers to the German front, and that is why we got six million in Germany, and you can't tell—it's not six million—50% of Germany would say "no", if they could. But you must realize in work like this, our comrades in Germany are taking big risks. We must have help from all our Committees all over the world.

In the Saar it is a fight between French capitalism and German Capitalism. Each wants the Saar for its mines and other raw materials. Six months ago we were afraid that the people from the Saar would fight to go to Germany. We worked against that and told them: "You can't go to Hitler, to that reactionary regime, you must side with the French working class for the freedom of all workers."

In Austria there is a strong committee. There is a special situation in the Far East where the capitalists want to make war. November 11th is the anniversary of the last World War. Our Committee is arranging that week meetings and demonstrations against war.

In Bulgaria, all people who protest against the Fascist regime are imprisoned. They arrested 40 anti-Fascist workers and sentenced them to die. The World Committee sent two comrades to offer legal help, who were put in prison and tortured in Bulgaria. But we will send people again.

With Fascist rule in a number of countries, what is coming next is war. The Japanese made war in Manchuria. In Soviet Russia we have a peace policy, and we must try to make the working class understand what this peace policy is. We must see that everybody helps the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

On the question of organization. You must have a Committee Against War and Fascism in every city and town in the United States, which should correspond with the National Committee of the United States continually, who in turn will be in correspondence continually with the World Committee. Everywhere they are working for War and Fascism, in the factories, and if war is to stop, the factories must stop. We must boycott Hitler and Nazism. We did it in France several times. Why can't you do it here? Not by speeches, but by real work in action until we fight against War and Fascism. Boycott Mussolini and other Fascist countries.

The World Committee asked that you name a representative from the American League to the World Committee, who will be in continued relationship with this International Committee. We must get closer. It takes only four or five days to write and send a letter to organize for demonstrations. For November 11, all the students are organizing a big demonstration, and the World Committee wants similar demonstrations in all universities in the United States on Friday and Saturday, November 9 and 10.

All the World Committee, Henri B. Barbusse said, is waiting for special work next year from the American Committee. You are one of the most important countries in the world. You live far from us. If you want to carry on work at the same time that we do in Europe, and if you want to help us in our work in England, it won't be very long before we get to the final victory.

HARRY F. WARD. I want to tell Monsieur Perigaud that we thank the World Committee for sending him to us and making their experience available to us. We pledge that in the coming year we will make this organization a more effective instrument in our struggle here and in international struggle. Whenever they have anything for us to participate in, we will be there 100%.

General VICTOR YAKHONTOFF. My question is to tell you whatever I can in the very short period of time about the Far East situation, which seems to be the most dangerous in the world.

This latest conflict in Manchuria was started by her attack on September 18, 1931 in Mukden, then the capital of Manchuria. Knowing that the Chinese were in no position to resist them, the Japanese occupied Manchuria and extended in part of Inner Mongolia and the northern part of China. The Soviet Union, from the very outbreak of this conflict, decided to remain neutral, and did not change.

Japan started the conflict in the Orient, and whatever maneuvers, the Soviet Union always suffers from them; first of all because Soviet Russia must divert much attention from resources, from useful purposes, to necessary, quite urgent preparations to meet the aggression of Japan.

This aggression was not checked by the League of Nations, or by the Great Powers, who solemnly promised that Chinese territorial integrity shall be respected. What is this Chinese Eastern railway? It is the road constructed by the Chinese in 1896, for Russia's war with Japan, and two years later, Russia obtained another concession from the territory of the Southeast to the South to Port Arthur, the same Port Arthur which Russia, together with France only two or three years earlier, forced China to return to Japan. It did not take long for her to start a war in 1904. The result of these two wars was that Russia transferred all rights of the railroad to Japan.

This was followed by a period of operations of Czarist Russia and Japan, dividing Manchuria into two parts of interest and influence, and in 1912, dividing interest in Mongolia, and finally in 1916, a treaty which amounted to an alliance, directing Manchuria against the United States. In the Far East in 1921-1922, Japan was ordered to withdraw her troops from Siberia and the Chinese Eastern Railway Zone. By 1924, Soviet Russia was in control of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Early in 1918 and 1919 Moscow asserted its willingness to return the Railway to China under certain conditions but the powers ordered China to reject this so that part of the Chinese-Eastern remained in the hands of Russia. In 1922 Chinese militarists attempted to attack this railway. When Japan started an attack in Manchuria, she promised Soviet Russia not to interfere with the normal operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, but this promise was no better than the further promises given by Japan to the powers of the League of Nations. When it was inconvenient, Japan discontinued, and made impossible further operation of the railway.

It immediately became obvious that Japan wanted to get the railroad but not pay for it. When the Russian government learned this, they cut the price of the railroad very low to give Japan no excuse for military aggression. Then the Soviet Union discovered an elaborate plot by Japanese imperialists in Manchuria to take the Chinese Eastern Railway by force. Russia immediately published the document and started preparations for an emergency. Then followed the stream of provocations staged by the Japanese. But Tokio learned that Russia was very strong, and some civilians of Japan arranged for the renewal of negotiations and the conference was resumed. Russia went down to less than one-quarter of the price originally asked. But then suddenly Mr. Hirota, the minister of foreign affairs for Japan, declared that the offer was final and Russia had to accept or leave it. Again the conference came to a deadlock.

Later, a number of Russians were arrested by the Japanese for no reason and thrown into jail and brutally tortured. Not so long ago we heard that negotiations were resumed again. Dispatches came from Tokio, not confirmed by Moscow, informing us that a settlement was made. Naturally, some of you would ask why shouldn't the Soviet Union get rid of the railroad, which never was anything but a source of trouble. Why don't they accept the price of Japan, for, undoubtedly, the stumbling block is not the money. My opinion is that the negotiations were broken because Russia insisted on getting a guarantee from the Japanese that after the transaction is completed, the Japanese will not continue their provocations. But Japan stubbornly resisted this because she wants this inflammable material there in order to have an incident on the border of the Soviet Union when it becomes necessary for her to start a war.

In the past, Japan was justified in accusing Czarist Russia of aggression, but after the revolution, Russia ceased to be an aggressor, ceased to be a menace to Japan and became most decidedly a factor for peace. If you analyze the economic potentialities of the Soviet Union, you will find that actually there is not the slightest reason for her aggression. She has one-sixth of the world's surface. She has enough natural resources and does not need any belonging to others. As to markets, she does not need them to such an extent as to fight for them and will not, because Communism and war are not nicely matched.

On the other hand, Japan is poorly endowed with natural resources. The only solution for her economic life lies in industrial exploitation and getting markets for raw materials. Japan must find this supply of natural materials. Then she must dispose of her excess of industrial output. China and par-

ticularly Manchuria are the best markets to dispose of the rather inferior goods produced by Japan.

But unfortunately for Japan, she is not the only one interested in these markets. That is why Japan is trying to adjust her situation so that her position will be more favorable. That is why she tried to get a favorable position in China when she made the 21 demands in 1925. She failed but tried again in 1934, because the powers were almost paralyzed by the economic crises and she took advantage of it. Only recently, in April of this year, she declared that she is not going to tolerate any interference by the outside world in China. Meaning that she is willing to preserve this monopoly for herself. Having taken Manchuria, Japan naturally obtained a good market, and she needs more immediate markets today. That is why she looks towards China.

What about the Russian possessions in the Far East? They are not a market. They are very poorly populated. The natural resources of the Russians may be attractive. But how can you explain the actions of the Japanese towards the Soviet Union? There are many in the military circles of Japan who advocate taking by force what they consider their country needs. Practically all of them are affiliated with various reactionary, chauvinistic, fascist organizations. Conditions in Japan are favorable for Fascism. This so-called Nipponism, which is Japanese Fascism, is little different from the others. Today the Fascists in Japan are not unanimous. There is an enormous number of groups, small parties and branches which so far cannot find a program to unite them.

On the other hand, there are in Japan more sober elements, who are able to keep away from the firing line, but under the uncertainty in which we live, we certainly cannot predict what will happen tomorrow.

Today Japan is in very bad shape, economically and financially. The international position of Japan is far from favorable. But who will be bold enough to deny that some of the powers who give financial assistance to Japan will not go on and start the "holy war" against Communism? Who will be bold enough to insist that other Fascist States, like Germany and Italy, will not ally themselves with Japan in case of such a war? Personally, I do not believe that this war is coming soon, meaning this week, or next month or even next year, because I know how weak Japan is, and how strong the Soviet Union is. [Applause.]

The Soviet Union is sound, the industrial program is rapidly progressing, and they are already producing practically everything they need in case of such calamity. That is the situation today, and I am not willing to take the responsibility to forecast what it will be tomorrow.

But there is one thing I very definitely know and of which I am convinced, and that is, that the Soviet Union must remain alert and get ready to fight back if and when a necessity arises, and we outside must do two things. First, watch very closely the activity and development and events of the Far East, to expose the machines designed to foment war, and secondly to fight all lies about the Soviet Union designed to create animosity towards the Soviet Union, to support the moral backing of other countries to Japan, and finally, I believe we ought to fight the type of Fascism which is the friend of Japan and which is outside everything that is humane. I know, my friends, that if you want to, you can do it, and I am sure that you are ready. Thank you.

Dr. WARD. I believe you will agree that if we can convert a few more generals, we can soon do something.

Dr. Ward announced a number of greetings sent to the Congress, including greetings from Henri Barbusse.

Now before we introduce to you another delegation of local Chicago workers, I want to introduce an individual, which shows again the extent to which this movement has spread. We have here upon the platform Mrs. VICTOR BERGER. [Applause.] She is a delegate to this Congress, and will bring you her greetings, and you will give her your appreciation of her presence, which means a good deal to her and to us. [Continued Applause.]

Mrs. VICTOR BERGER. Comrades and friends: I cannot tell you how happy I am to be here with you. I am sorry I am not here as a representative of the Socialist Party. [Applause.] This doesn't mean that I am committing the Socialist Party, it merely means that I know that our intellectual honesty and our emotional reactions will lead us to the united front. I would like to make an extended speech, but the chairman of your League has asked me only to extend to you greetings, and my good wishes for a successful Congress. [Applause.]

SPEECH OF DELEGATION FROM THE STOCKYARDS (Delegation comes to stage).

SPEAKER. We bring greetings to you from the stockyards workers against War and Fascism. In the stockyards, we work day and night, preparing meat for the government. This is not for peace, but for another world slaughter. We pledge to carry the message of this Congress into the factories, to organize the workers of the stockyards against war and fascism.

DR. WARD. I have just received this message: "Greetings from Brotherhood No. 4, Auto Workers Union of Detroit," with a check of \$2.00. [Applause.]

DELEGATE FROM SOUTH CHICAGO STEEL WORKERS (Delegation comes to stage). Brother Chairman, Fellow Workers and Friends: We bring with us heartiest greetings to the Second Congress Against War and Fascism. Since we are employed in a basic industry, during the war, due to the fact that at the present time in the steel districts in South Chicago we are already faced with open Fascism, we are conscious of the fact that we must be interested and must do everything we can to fight Fascism and the coming war. [Applause.] Fellow Workers and Friends, we fully pledge to do everything possible to fight off the coming Fascism and the coming imperialist war. [Applause.]

DR. WARD. The next speaker is Mr. Clarence Irwin, of Youngstown, Ohio, who is President of the 6th District of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and Secretary of Mahoning Valley Chapter of the American League Against War and Fascism and a delegate from the Blue Eagle Lodge of the Amalgamated Association.

CLARENCE IRWIN. Chairman and Friends: As a steel worker, a union steel worker, a steel worker who has a very vivid recollection of the last World War to end war, the war which was to make the world safe for democracy, I am here to give you greetings.

The campaign against War and Fascism in Youngstown has enlisted the support of every labor organization in Youngstown and in Mahoning Valley. It has enlisted the support of the Progressive leaders of the religious movement, the Jewish Rabbis, Catholic Priests, Protestant preachers, and our ranks in Youngstown are growing day by day at a very rapid rate. We are, as steel and organized union men, interested primarily in this campaign because we know that without our support they cannot wage an imperialist war, and we are determined that when the workers and sincere middle-class people are on our side, there will be no imperialist wars. We are taking a very definite stand against militaristic tactics and propaganda which may lead to war. We are deeply interested and opposed to compulsory military training in the schools of Ohio and the United Trade Union Movement of Ohio is taking a very definite stand in opposition to compulsory military training.

We have just seen the results of militarism when even a governor of a sovereign state of the United States has the honorable gall to call out the National Guards and ask for United States Federal troops to fire guns and tear gas on workers on strike. They make you go into the shops, into the mills to produce a few more dollars of profit for them, and then tell you that you can go ahead and starve. That is Fascism. Though you may be living under capitalist dictatorship today, you will lose the few remaining privileges, the only small items of freedom which you have today in political life for the sake of profits to the capitalists.

There is a movement on foot, authenticated by Roger Babson, who openly proclaims that the capitalists are preparing to set up a dictatorship to reduce wages so that their profits may go on. This is the peril which confronts all workers today. There is only one defense, a solid organization of workers, representing a united front against all imperialist and chauvinist propaganda, a solidarity of workers based on class consciousness, who say frankly that we will not fight your wars any more. Down the long line of history it has always been the same tale. You march to war, and its a glorious adventure, but those who were in the trenches in '17 and '18 know that when war is over there are simply a few more millionaires and a few million more paupers.

EX-CONGRESSMAN AMLIE. Chairman and Friends: I am here today in my individual capacity, and I don't know how far I can speak for the Farmer-Labor Political Federation. In my opinion we are going to see in this country, particularly in the middle west and northwest a political realignment in the near future. There is a good deal of vitality in the movement, and in at least six states we are going to have an opportunity to see how genuine the sentiment is. We are in thorough accord with the need for a united front, and I know that the rank and file of the farmers and workers are genuinely in sympathy with any movement against War and Fascism. . . We have had Fascism in California for four years. Several hundred raids have taken place on worker's head-

quarters. When Fascism is full established as in Italy today, there is really nothing that could break it except an unsuccessful war. The matter of a successful opposition is out of the question.

Morning session adjourned 1:00 p. m.—to be resumed 2:00 p. m.

SECOND UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Afternoon session, September 29, 1934, 2:15 p. m.

Chairman, Dr. HARRY F. WARD.

Mrs. BARR. I attended the Women's International Congress Against War and Fascism in Paris, from the United States. There never was such a Congress held by women any place in the world before, of such huge magnitude, diversity of delegates, representing women of every walk of life, from every organization, from every religious group. If there was anything about it that was unique, it was the hundreds of delegates representing Catholic women in France. And those women united with Communists, Socialists, peasants and housewives. Women from every country in the world realized that they were there for one of the most important things facing women. War they have faced. But Fascism is a new danger, or an old menace in new disguise.

We had delegates from Indo-China, from India, China, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, the United States—every country in the world, including delegates from Fascist Germany, and 19 from Fascist Italy. [Applause.] These women knew they were placing their lives in jeopardy. Many had members of their families, husbands sisters, in prisons. One of the most impressive things was when a woman from Vienna told us she hitch-hiked in peasant wagons to Paris. Her husband was hanged after the February outbreak in Vienna. She was compelled, with her family, to witness his hanging. His only crime was that he tried to defend the building in which women and children were housed. There were no arms in the house. He did not even have a leg of a chair to defend the house with. Stories of this kind moved the Congress to unanimously adopt a manifesto in which drastic measures were accepted as the means to fight against War and Fascism. We agreed to sabotage war and fascism with every means, legal or illegal, within our power.

I was elected a member of an investigation committee to make personal investigations in Germany. We were given the names of women of families who had relatives in concentration camps or in prison. We were also given a ticket for a woman, whom I will call Marie, to escape to Paris. Her offense was that her husband was beaten to death because he was the secretary of the Communist Party. We saw the illegal newspapers being prepared.

I can assure you that the blood of every American boiled who viewed the thing they called elections in Germany. Not a newspaper was permitted to say a word against the elections in Germany, out loud, at least. In spite of that, with this little underground newspaper that we saw being printed and distributed, Germany polled a vote of 4,120,000 "NO'S" according to Hitler.

Marie is so vitally tied up with this election, as are thousands of other such persons, that what I said applies to her. She said, "I don't mind facing death, but hate the thought of having to go through the tortures again." But she refused the ticket and stayed in Germany. [Applause.] It is this spirit that will destroy Hitler and Fascism. [Applause.]

The most important thing in my life was said at the grave of a son who gave his life for a new Germany. His mother said, "I sit here in agony because I know I am responsible for my son's death, for the torture of others. I did not know what this Fascism meant. I did not believe in a united front and thought the Communists were destroyers. When my son turned Communist I turned against him. I now face the debasement that my son died for a new Germany, and I did not know what this meant."

"If you don't unite now against war and fascism, let me tell you, you will have a united front, you people in other countries of the world, the kind of united front we have in Germany now; that is, a united front in prison and concentration camps, and that is what you will deserve if you do not profit by what happened in Germany."

I appeal to you, UNITE! Make it genuine, from every church, every organization, every trade union, organizations of every kind, and forget your differences. Unite with those who have the courage to fight for us. Won't you merge into this one great thing that can liberate us and will liberate us if we have the courage to face it and do it. [Applause.]

CLARENCE HATHAWAY: Friends, Comrades, Fellow Fighters Against War: I want to extend warmest greetings to every delegate and organization represented here in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. We particularly note the improvement in the composition of this Congress as compared with the Congress last year. We see a broader representation, particularly from many more of the unions. We also particularly greet the delegates from the Socialist Party and the Young People Socialist League.

The speeches of Mrs. Berger and Mrs. Barr, both members of the Socialist Party, in which they declared their personal support for the united front and stated they were determined to do everything in their power to realize it, is certainly welcomed by the Communist Party as proof that a united front of Socialist and Communist workers will be realized as the first step in rallying the masses in the struggle against War and Fascism.

The Communist Party recognizes clearly that there are fundamental differences between many organizations represented here, but with the full realization of these fundamental differences and of the need to clarify these differences we believe it is possible to establish and maintain the united front of the American workers on the issue of War and Fascism, and to develop the most determined mass struggle against every step toward Fascism.

The Communist Party urges every delegate to act not only with the representation that we have now but to go out from this convention to realize the united front of the workers on the issue of Fascism and War. The Communist Party must state that it has not forgotten the past history of the working class movement. We have not forgotten the last World War and the reaction of various forces in the labor movement. We want to record that the last war marked the beginning of the split in the working class movement; we also go on record that it was out of this split that the Communist Party was born, out of the struggle of those who formed it, against the last imperialist war.

The issues in the main were the continued struggle against imperialist war. The left wing in the working class movement, that formed the Communist Party, took the position that war grew out of the very development of imperialism and that the struggle against war must necessarily be conducted by waging a class struggle against the Capitalist system. Our position was that it was necessary for the working class to defeat their own capitalist class in the war, with the objective of establishing the rule of the working class and proceed to build a socialist society. The leaders in the socialist and labor movements rejected this class analysis of war. They found one excuse after another to justify their support of their own imperialist government in the war.

During that period a large section of the working class movement, of the Socialist International, the trade union movement, went over to the capitalist class and mobilized for war.

The Left in the labor movement took the position of Marx and Lenin; that our fight against the ruling class does not stop during the war, that we must pick up every issue for the workers, all their immediate problems in the factories, their grievances arising from the war, and attempt to develop a mass struggle for higher wages, improved conditions, all demands of the people, to the point where they will be able to transform this imperialist war into a civil war for the destruction of capitalism. The Communist Party has adhered to this position and its correctness is proved by the fact that today, over one-sixth of the world's surface, the working class is in control and the Soviet Union is established.

The Soviet Union thus not only represents the working class in power, but it stands out today as the symbol of the whole struggle against war and fascism. We state that the power of the Soviet Union, combined with the labor movement of all other countries against capitalist war, is the greatest factor in preventing the imperialists from carrying forward their war aims during the last five years. At the end of the last war, the Communist Party emphasized that the Versailles Treaty was a factor for continued war among the various capitalist nations. The period since the peace has been a period of increasing preparations for a new world war—of openly arming for another world war inevitably growing out of the contradictions of their trade relationships, which each nation intends to solve by means of armed military force.

As one example, the Nye Commission that recently met in Washington has partially exposed the enormous war preparations by imperialist nations—the vast operations of the munitions makers have been sharply brought into the limelight. It is significant to note that members of the commission have tried

to suppress the vital facts unearthed in the testimony that would expose more clearly the part which high Government officials and the U. S. Government have played in these preparations for World War. They have succeeded in postponing the next hearings until after the elections and then hope to be in a position to keep further information from coming to light.

Already we can gather that the United States Government is rallying the great industrial manufacturers—all the great munition manufacturers and all those who aid in the preparations of war materials. It shows armament manufacturers working with the State Departments, and with the Commercial Departments of the Government—it shows these Government officials being used as salesmen in the re-arming of Hitler's Fascist Government, in the sale of war munitions to Japan and its intensive campaign against the Chinese people, and in its preparations for the coming war aimed at the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, it has brought out the role these war manufacturers play in building up huge military equipment for use against unemployed and all people who fight against starvation and impossible working conditions. The facts they have brought to light should be picked up and brought to the far corners of the country, for they point to the closeness of war and the acuteness of the preparations for another world war.

Now, while we recognize there are fundamental differences among us, we again reiterate that the emergency of the danger of war, the marked trend toward Fascism, makes it imperative for us to unite our ranks and the working class movement as a whole on this issue of War and Fascism. It is becoming more of an issue every day. We have had it expressed in the use of Government troops against strikers, in the growing denial of the civil rights of the masses of workers of the country, and in the manufacturers' fight against the workers. The most recent example is the Textile Strike which in three weeks of the workers fighting for their most elementary demands, cost the lives of 16 American workers who were murdered by police, sheriffs and national guard acting for the Textile bosses. They strove desperately to split the ranks of the workers by working with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to carry through the New Deal program of Roosevelt. This fight against Fascism is not a thing of waiting until some Hitler arrives on the scene and marches down to Washington and says, "I am here to take over the reins of government." If we wait until that point we will not carry on a struggle against War and Fascism, and will not be able to prevent it.

We have to state also that a united front of workers of all kinds, socialists, communists, which includes farmers, pacifists, and middle class, cannot be just a united front that expresses itself once a year in a Congress against War and Fascism. We have made certain advances in our work, but during the past year the American League Against War and Fascism has not carried on sufficient mass activities.

Finally, I want to stress the question of organization. The American League Against War and Fascism is too loose. We have a national committee and committees in several localities, but we do not have a set-up that really involves in action all the organizations and expresses their support for the League. Our organizational work must be in every locality and in state wide united front organizations, that will bring together all organizations ready to enter into this fight, and provide ways and means by which other affiliated organizations may stand ready to enter this fight, permitting every individual as well as every organization to actively participate in the League Against War and Fascism.

Every worker, every farmer, liberals, intellectuals, etc., all these are necessary; all are welcome, and a place must be provided for everyone, but we must state that our movement will be effective to the degree that we win the workers in the basic industries of the country, the steel workers, the transportation workers, those workers who are in the ammunition factories in time of war.

We greet the work that has been done. We urge that this Congress broaden the united front still further, so that it will be a more effective force in fighting War and Fascism. Particularly we urge the concentration of the main attention of the Congress on the winning of the workers from the A. F. of L. and basic industries and trade unions, steel, transportation, etc.

Dr. WARD. Greetings read from various organizations.

Brief sub-session of ten minutes from representatives of religious organizations one Protestant and one Jewish; one Negro, and one from Farmers' groups. At the conclusion of these sessions, we will have special sessions to organize and consider how the work of the League can be extended in six vocational

areas: Trade unions, cultural and fraternal groups, religious groups, workers' clubs, ex-servicemen's organizations, unemployed, farmer and Negro organizations.

ADJOURNMENT AT 3:15 P. M. SPECIAL SUB-SESSION MEETINGS.
(Reports of State Delegations available on request.)

SECOND UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Saturday Evening's Session, September 29, 1934, at 7:00 p. m.

Dr. WARD, Chairman, announced that the Peterson Restaurant, 1643 Van Buren Street, refuses to serve Negro workers, and delegates should stay out of the restaurant. He also called attention to the fact that the bus company in Chicago is unfair to organized labor. He then read greetings from various organizations. An announcement was made that all office and white collar workers would meet for a short session Sunday, 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon.

Dr. WARD. The first speaker comes from Portland, Oregon. He was a soldier in the regular army, but is now a member of this organization. He was discharged for speaking at an anti-war meeting of our local branch.

FRANK DEMICK. Comrades, Fellow Workers: On July 15th, in Portland, Oregon, a mass meeting was called to organize the Portland section of the American League Against War and Fascism. At that time I was a soldier in the 7th Infantry of the United States Regular Army.

I spoke in the uniform I wore as a soldier, a first-class private of Company L, 7th Infantry. I was a working man, and expressed the sentiments of a working man despite the fact that I wore a United States uniform.

After I spoke I went back to my regiment, and was thrown into the guard house, I was court-martialed, and they held about 15 to 20 meetings, investigating my record. All through this, other members of the League came to the Vancouver Barracks to testify in my behalf. Because of this I was not punished very severely, just given a dishonorable discharge, and that I might not further disgrace the American uniform by speaking in it they forced me to turn in all my uniforms. They gave me a discharge, the ordinary wording of which reads: "Not recommended for reenlistment," and in my special case they underlined that in red pencil, in a wide line.

We can strike in the munition factories and in the factories that make up the food and other material for the army, but you will have to admit that these strikes can be broken because I have seen thousands of guns stacked up and thousands of rounds of munitions, hundreds and thousands of French 75s. They are making them and manufacturing them to kill us with.

If the soldiers see that the civilian population is against war, they will not be so enthusiastic to go to war, and they are not enthusiastic anyway. The soldiers don't want war any more than you or I, but are forced to obey their officers, their commanders. We must also go into those organizations, the army, the R. O. T. C., the C. C. C. and build anti-war and anti-fascist committees in these organizations.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. Chairman, Fellow Workers: In the name of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights of the Chicago District, I greet this Congress and all the delegates. The Negroes should all greet this Congress because it is very evident that the Negro in this country will be treated like the Jews in Germany just as soon as Fascism is more fully developed here. When you go back to your respective towns, remember that the Negro people of whom there are more than 12 million in the United States, are going to fight especially hard against war and fascism. At the same time you must remember that there can be no successful fight against war and fascism unless we carry on the fight for the Negro people of this country.

WALTER PETRASKI, Pawtucket, R. I. (member of the American Independent Textile Workers Union). Fellow Workers: I come from the State which up to recently was hardly heard of around this part of the country. The last few weeks our State has been put on the map. The workers have fought and have put up a splendid battle. In the State of R. I. we have witnessed one of the most brutal forms of Fascist oppression of the workers that has ever been shown. When the workers went out on strike they were shot down like dogs.

The workers were peacefully picketing the mills and the sheriffs were shooting into the crowd without the crowd doing anything at all to destroy property, etc. I myself, was in front of an old lady, and moved forward a couple of steps, and she was shot and I saw blood running from her legs. That same day

Governor Green ordered out the National Guardsmen. The workers were determined to drive them away, so they built up barricades on the street. We got behind the stones in the cemetery and pelted the guardsmen with rocks. It was Wednesday before last when a big crowd of us were in the cemetery and we began to rush the gates. They began throwing tear gas, etc., and shooting into the crowd. My young friend, 19 years old, was next to me, and was shot down and died the next day. Another fellow named Lockwood was shot down also. His brains were blown into his hat. A few strikers took it to the governor.

Fellow Workers, that's their might. We put up barricades. The workers themselves made tear gas. We had amateur chemists who were making tear gas and we threw it back at the guardsmen. I know that the guardsmen do not like to fight against the workers of R. I. any more. Because it isn't workers who get the worst of the fight. Please do not take my word against a National Guardsman's but I want to stress upon you that one of the best ways to fight Fascism is to get the National Guardsmen with us and behind us.

THOMAS SHARPE (Seamen's Union, Los Angeles, California). I recently took part in the seamen's strike in California. I was arrested and charged with assault and battery. Fellow delegates, I am one of the victims of California Fascist tactics practiced in the recent longshoremen's strike. I ain't much of a speaker. I was tortured for hours and weeks when in the custody of the California Police Department on that Marine strike.

I was not a radical agitator—I guess you can tell that from the way I talk. One evening about 6 o'clock I came to the union headquarters and registered with the rest. I noticed a crowd gathering on the other side of the street. I stepped out to see what was going on. Suddenly a police car pulled up by me. I saw a member of the red squad—I saw a big club in his right hand hanging down against his leg. He grabbed me and dragged me over to the police car. Another fellow was also grabbed and thrown into the back seat.

I was taken to the police station but never booked as a prisoner. This red squad operator took me down a hall and as he turned the corner out of sight he hit me a terrible blow on the leg. I fell to the floor, and he began beating me on both legs. I couldn't defend myself. He continued to beat me with a hickory stick which I have since learned was filled with lead. He beat me across the right shin at least a dozen times and twisted my leg until the bones came right through the flesh. He then went to my head—seeing my legs were too sloppy and he couldn't do any more damage to my kidneys or anything.

I was taken into some place in the prison and came to on a stretcher. Two men were on either side of me—they poked me in the ribs and began to say, didn't I jump out of the police car and break my leg—wasn't that the way it was broken, etc.? Then a first aid man came into the room and shot me with dope in the arms and legs. They took me to the Los Angeles hospital about 26 miles away. The doctor said my leg would never be any good again.

Around noon on Thursday the surgeon put my leg in a cast, and before the cast was dry the doctor said I would have to lay in bed for at least one month. However, the doctor at the hospital discharged me five days later and I was taken to Pedro to answer charges. The attorney for the International Seamen's Union asked me and several others to plead guilty and they would get us off. However, I pled not guilty and the trial was set.

Then I was taken down to Los Angeles before Judge Crumb who opposes all sorts of organizations. Three members of the red squad appeared against me. They claimed that I was punching them around on the street, and they had broken my leg in the course of that struggle. However, this charge was too ridiculous to be believed by any one and the cross-examination didn't go over so good. Judge Crumb suggested that instead of three charges of battery, it be reduced to one of assault. The jury in the new trial went out and one hour later came back a hung jury.

My attorney went to San Pedro and tried to get witnesses. Vigilantes jumped on his car when he was out driving with the daughter of a prominent business man in San Pedro—they drove his car out to the hills with a car trailing it and then beat Grover Johnson and his lady friend with brass knuckles and clubs and warned them to leave San Pedro. In the court room later on in the new trial, through some hokus pokus the trial never came off and it was dismissed.

CLIFFORD GRISOM (of the Socialist Party, Flint, Michigan). Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Comrades: I am from Flint, Michigan, which, as you know, is a very vital spot in this movement. There are 250,000 auto workers employed in the factories there. These factories, in case of a war, will be converted into war

machines within 48 or 72 hours. The workers in these factories were organized last year by the officials of the American Federation of Labor with promises of better wages, better working conditions, etc. Now these workers are getting to see the light and started a militant struggle against War and Fascism. Thank you.

Dr. WARD (After reading greetings): The next speaker is one who has served this League from the beginning. She worked in the League as its Treasurer, during the first half of this year.

ANNIE E. GRAY: Comrades of the Congress: I bring you greetings from the State of Colorado. When I joined with those men and women who started the League Against War and Fascism, it was because I was convinced of the futility of the orthodox peace societies. No matter how sincere in their opposition to war in peace time, orthodox peace societies will, in my opinion, be won over to the support of the government during war, when it is expedient for the government to have them come over to their side.

Now, I joined up with these noble leaders of the League Against War and Fascism because they are a different type than the people with whom I have worked in the orthodox peace societies. They are men and women of clear vision and positive action. They have definite understanding of the processes necessary to stop these hideous mass murders of the human race. They have a program definitely dealing with mass war resistance, and by that they mean resistance to the shipping of war materials in war time. They also have a very definite conception of the method by which the mass of people can gain political control of their own government, if they are ever to be redeemed from the scourge of war.

I have heard people talk about the Communist Party being prominent in the League Against War and Fascism. I am glad they are. [Applause.] If this job was left for the Communist Party to do, then thank God the Communist Party was there to do it. [Applause.] I say this because the people whom I have the right to expect to do this job always failed at the critical moment. But in the Communist Party there is hope because it has a clear vision of the necessity of political control of government for the benefit of the masses instead of a favored few.

REVEREND W. B. WALTHMIRE (Delegate to the Congress, representing Religious Organizations). Comrade Chairman, Fellow Workers, I bring you greetings in the name of the religious groups in this conference, and those throughout the United States who are solidly with you in the fight against War and Fascism. In my opinion this fight is only, after all, the only way to carry out practical Christianity. [Laughter and applause.]

I can say our task is fourfold. First, as religious people, we have to see that if we stand on the side of the working class, we must unite our forces with the working class.

Secondly, religious folks are trying to promote the work of the League. We must puncture sentimental pacifism. We must show that war is an inevitable result of Fascism and will not be done away with until we have the power. [Applause.] It is the task of the group that I represent to interpret that fight to the religious people, yes, and do it quickly.

Thirdly, to show religious people fascism necessarily grows from decaying capitalism, I have heard a great deal this evening. My heart has been smitten to hear the stories of these men and women. I do not feel worthy to speak to you after hearing these stories. I want to say that all the people must fight this horrible thing which we call fascism, the inevitable result of capitalism when it begins to break down.

The final thing the religious groups can contribute to this movement is to organize among religious people units of people who will stand shoulder to shoulder with the working class until victory is won. I may be a preacher, but I am on the side of the workers from now until death.

ALICE SIMON (New Orleans Unemployment Council). Comrades and Fellow Workers: I represent the Unemployed Council of New Orleans, Local #3. We called a mass meeting on the 3rd of this month at the Y. M. C. A. Twenty-eight organizations attended. Out of that we had 54 delegates that were nominated, we had two Jewish organizations out with us. The Y. M. C. A. was packed with about 200 of both Negro and White. And that is where we broke the record. We intended to get here if we had to get wheelbarrows and start pushing each other up and down hills.

Dr. Ward then asked the delegates to join in singing "Solidarity Forever" after which he announced that the next session would convene Sunday morning, September 30th, 10:00 a. m., when International problems would be taken up.

The Chairman then read the names of the Resolutions Committee: Dr. Harry F. Ward, Earl Browder, Henry Puro, Mrs. Victor Berger, Samuel C. Patterson, Alice Boynton, Dr. Arthur G. Falls, Clarence Irwin, Harold Hickerson, Benjamin Goldstein, Rev. W. B. Walthmire, Mrs. Ruth Bennett, Mrs. Annie E. Gray and Margaret Mayer.

Organization and Finance Committee: Roger Baldwin, Donald Henderson, Clarence Hathaway, Thomas M. McKenna, Margaret Cowl, Ida Dailles, James Lerner, Dewey Jones.

Dr. Ward announced meeting places for the vocational commissions; the meeting adjourned at 9:0 p. m.

SECOND UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Sunday Morning Session, September 30, 1934, 10:30 a. m.

Dr. Ward announced the first speaker, Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, former Minister of Justice in Prussia, now exiled from Germany by Hitler, who spoke in German. Translation read after the speech of E. A. Beber.

E. A. BEBER (Secretary of the First Canadian Congress Against War and Fascism and member of the Canadian Socialist Party). Comrades Against War and Fascism: The Canadian delegates to this Congress greet you in the name of the Canadian Congress which takes place next week in Toronto, Canada.

The movement against War and Fascism in Canada is only in its infancy. The First Congress will draw together various individuals and delegates of organizations in Canada that show their willingness, their spirit, their desire to unite in the fight against war and fascism. Some of the problems that confront us in Canada are similar to those that confront you. We have sent a call throughout Canada for every local group in every city to organize committees to build up this movement. We are now organizing the Congress itself.

Fascism is slowly showing its tendency in Canada. Our political system is similar to yours in the sense that it is a political democracy governed by the conservative party in the Federal field. In Canada there are already being formulated codes similar to the N. R. A. What this means to us, you can appreciate. There will be this tendency to regimentize the whole nation in behalf of the codes. Workers will obviously find their trade union rights to a great degree curtailed by these codes.

This is the root of this whole struggle against Fascism. We must recognize that economic control means one political group to administer and control. In a political democracy that we have had, we are now reaching a phase when only one political group will have this control. To understand Fascism and fight against it, we have reached the time when we, the workers who operate the means of production, must be the one political party to administer economic control.

Briefly, it means this. Who is going to rule? Are we to have the Fascist state? Are we to have the socialist state? That is the vital problem. Only by solving that can we solve Fascism. We are striving earnestly to organize our own Canadian Congress; we draw inspiration from this great convention and from the fact that we are with you in a world movement against fascism. That is our great inspiration.

KURT ROSENFELD (Translation): Dr. Rosenfeld began by answering a question "How could Hitler possibly come to power?" Dr. Rosenfeld stated that the German revolution of 1917 disillusioned the masses. The masses expected Socialism. This disillusionment helped pave the way for the seizure of power by Hitler. The economic policy, the Dawes plan which failed, all played their parts. Also the workers were not united. The Nazis took advantage of this. The Republic was shattered.

On May, 1 1929, 33 workers were shot down in Berlin on the orders of the Socialist police president. The Republic was exposed and forfeited all support from the masses. In the Presidential election of 1932 the slogan of "All Republicans Support Hindenburg" was false. At that time Hitler could have been smashed only by the unity of the workers. Even as late as 1933 some of the trade unionists still had illusions. They imagined if they would be good boys they might have some of the wreckage. But a little later, that year, the unions were smashed, workers' gatherings broken, trade unionists arrested.

From that time on the course of the Nazis is known. In order to stir up a hysteria among the workers, they themselves set fire to the Reichstag building. The terror prevails today as in the past and the anti-fascist forces must create

a basis to work against fascism by underground activities. The disillusionment is greater now than in the Spring of 1932. The economic crisis prevails. Hitler cannot overcome it. Not one promise that Hitler made has been fulfilled. He got the middle class support by promising to cut down taxation. Taxation was not cut down. He promised land to the farmers. The farmers did not get land. He promised to abolish all class distinction. The class struggle is more intensified. He promised to eliminate their misery. They are more miserable now than before.

Despite the threat of death and violence, 5,000,000 protest votes against the Fascist regime were recorded. Many Communists, Socialists, Catholics, Jews and others, all united against Hitler for the first time. The German masses have learned by bitter experience that the united front must be built. We must learn this lesson also. In France, Italy and Austria, the united front is going forward and it must be built here also. We must not wait until after the working class organizations are smashed.

Hitler today is the greatest war danger in the world. Germany is arming to a greater extent than any other country. How different is the situation between Germany and Soviet Russia. The Soviet Union is the greatest hope of the working class.

There is a deep crisis inside the Nazi ranks. This is proven by the events of June. The heavy industrialists and monopolists tolerate Hitler only as long as he does their work. There will come a time when a military dictatorship will take his place. But 5,000,000 are already enrolled against it, and there is tremendous terrorism against the underground workers. The defeat of Fascism in Germany is also the defeat of Fascism in other countries. Our struggle in Germany is your struggle. Our victory is your victory. We ask you to prepare with us for the struggle and victory in Germany. We ask you to unite to give us your help in the fight that will be victorious. Already the underground anti-fascist united front in Germany is leading tremendous fights, demonstrations and strikes. This struggle will continue until it is successful, until Germany is once more free, until it is a Socialist Germany.

DR. WARD. A strenuous effort was made to secure the presence at this conference of Maxim Gorky, but he was unable to come. Yesterday we received a message from him. It has been translated and will be read to you by Roger Baldwin.

ROGER BALDWIN—Excerpts from Greeting by MAXIM GORKY: "The capitalists of Europe, America and Japan are diligently preparing a new world slaughter. Again tens of millions of workers and farmers will be destroyed, millions of tons of metal will be hurled—to kill. The fruitful soil will be poisoned with gas and corpses; a vast number of cities will be destroyed.

"The fascist leaders maintain that for centuries to come, the history of nations will be paralleled by war. This contention hardly reflects any honest opinion; it represents rather the lackey's mechanical parroting of his master's baseness.

"A nation—tens of millions of people laboring physically for the benefit of a few thousand bankers, money-changers and manufacturers! Using the hands of the half-starved workers, the masters produce for themselves weapons, shoes, clothing, food. A nation—millions of engineers, writers, scientists—in general, people of intellectual pursuits—working for the enrichment, power and pleasure of the capitalists!

"Aside from the revolutionary proletariat, a nation is a more or less impersonal mass of people out of which the capitalist squeezes the ideas which are useful to him. Every sensible man, deciding to reflect honestly upon the meaning of the relationships of capital and labor, will be compelled to recognize beyond question that capitalism 'has already done all it can do,' and now appears as a cancerous growth upon toiling humanity . . . a whole series of facts indicates that 'brain workers' become entirely superfluous ballast in capitalist culture.

"To say nothing of the established legal crimes of the bourgeoisie, such as robbery through a system of direct and indirect taxation, stock exchange, gambling, commodity and price speculation, destruction of surplus manufactured goods before the very eyes of the half-starved workers and the creation of mass unemployment, remember that in 1914-1918 the munitions makers of France, England and Germany, carried on trade with each other in metals, and exchanged inventions for the best means of destroying soldiers.

"It is the duty of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to prevent being incited into senseless and vicious deeds of mutual destruction. Every war

of the national capitalist groups is inevitably a war of the proletariat against himself. He makes the ammunition. He is the one who takes that ammunition into his own hands.

"The proletariat is the only power capable of changing the world for the common benefit of the entire toiling people. It is high time for 'brain workers' to understand this.

"The inhuman and insane actions of the capitalists are incurable. The swiftness of destruction of the falling body of the capitalist world is analogous to the immutable law of physics—the greater the drop the faster the tempo.

"Side by side with this process, and even more rapidly, proceeds the organization of the proletariat of the socialist state over the vast expanse of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The accomplishments of this undertaking, having for its aim the liberation of the toilers of the whole world, are indisputable.

"It is high time for people of intellectual pursuits to decide with whom they do stand." [Applause.]

Dr. Ward then announced that all members of the Socialist Party who were delegates to the Congress, regardless of what organization they represent, will meet at the close of the session in the Northeast room on the third floor.

MOTION: Send greetings to both Maxim Gorky and Romain Rolland from the Congress. **CARRIED.**

Dr. WARD. We will have another visible evidence of the support of the Marine Workers Union to the anti-War and anti-Fascist movement. (Delegation marched to the platform with their banner. Audience rose singing "Solidarity Forever.")

LOYD STROUD. Delegates, visitors to the Congress, I bring you greetings from the Marine Workers of the Pacific Coast and the workers who participated in the general strike. I also bring you pledges for active support from 32 men and women who carried on a hunger strike against the Fascist courts of San Francisco. We workers of the Pacific Coast are still going through a reign of terror. There are 20 of our fellow workers who are now facing 26 to 84 years for the charges of Criminal Syndicalism.

We have at this Congress representatives of every section of the country, representing religious and fraternal delegates, all here to fight war and fascism. In the San Francisco Marine strike, we had every political color you can ask for on the picket line. Representatives of every race were in that strike with one unity of purpose, one solidarity of action. If this Congress can weld together the workers here as we welded together our groups in the strike, Fascism will never reign in America!

CORLISS LAMONT. Delegates and Friends of the American League Against War and Fascism: There is an old proverb, that history repeats itself. But it is up to the delegates here to see that that proverb doesn't hold. It is our job in the year 1934 to see that such a thing as the last World War does not occur again.

In the world today, there are various sore spots, in the Far East, in Central Europe, in South America, where war is taking place or threatening to take place. There are pessimists who seem to think that a World War is inevitable. The fact that we are organized to do everything in our power to stop this new threatening war will stop it.

We are not in the same position as in 1914. Three things make us have a better chance of preventing this new war. We are beginning to know that the basic causes of war are tied up with the present economic system. All kinds of causes of war are given. Some say national antagonisms, some racial prejudice, in the last analysis these boil down to economic causes.

We are in a more favored position today because of the organizations which did not exist before 1914. There are political parties today in every country that are constantly campaigning against war. There is the League Against War and Fascism in America, which is pledged to the same thing if a war should break out somewhere.

Also, there is the Soviet Union, which did not exist in 1914. Here you have a whole country organized against war, and it is the greatest single factor in the world today toward keeping international peace. Now, how has the Soviet Union changed its attitude so much since the old days, when old Russia was the most belligerent of the imperialistic nations? It is quite simple and the reason is that in Russia they have eliminated private property.

In the Soviet Union, there is no group, no individual who can profit economically or financially from war. The Soviet Union has no need for war because of its central economic planning; there is no chance of what we call overproduction. In the Soviet Union, we know that the people will be able to buy back

the goods they produce so they will never reach a stage of overproduction. Private capitalists must have foreign markets to dispose of their goods and must carry on cut-throat competition to find markets. They are backed up by their own governments in trying to find markets and spheres of influences where they can dispose of their goods and get raw material. The Soviet Union does carry on foreign trade, but only in a planned way to meet the needs of the country. You don't have this breeder of war there and you never will.

The Soviet Union is interested in the welfare of the international working class and it is the workers, peasants and farmers who suffer primarily in a great war and they sincerely desire to prevent any such outbreak again. Those who have been to the Soviet Union will find, furthermore, that they have a real international spirit. It is significant that the Red Army is the first army that takes an oath of allegiance not only to the country but to humanity at large. The Soviet Union is practically the only country today where there is neither Fascism or any sign of Fascism.

I think we can back up these remarks by pointing to the specific record of the Soviet Union since the fall of 1917. When Lenin and the Bolsheviks came into power they issued the proposal to the belligerent peoples of the world for a democratic peace. The answer of the Allies was to invade Russia and carry war as far as possible into the country in an effort to stifle the new Socialist Republic. For four years after that, civil war raged in the Soviet Republic, with the help of about 16 foreign nations taking part in this ghastly business. What else did Lenin and his colleagues do? They very quickly revealed the secret treaties of the old Russia, and its secret diplomacy.

Foreign Minister Litvinoff startled the Peace Conference by saying that the real way to disarm was not to talk about it, but to disarm. The Soviet Union has built up non-aggression pacts with all its neighbors, and finally, during the last few weeks, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations, not because it thinks the League an adequate instrument to bring about peace, and because the Soviet Union is anxious to postpone this new threat of war, but have a chance to present its point of view and show the people of the world the real way out.

You will find it has the best record of any great power since the war. Of course you compare it with the actions of Germany and Japan, which have plotted war against the Soviet Union for a long time. Because the whole influence of the Soviet Union in the Far East is towards peace and against the imperialistic aggression of Japan, that is why Japan would like to attack the Soviet Union and put it out of existence. The people in Japan are looking at the Soviet Union and thinking, why don't we do this too.

There are two Japans. The Japan of the ruling class wants war, and the Japan of the working class and the peasants want peace. And Japan typifies the capitalistic class of the world in its attitude toward Soviet Russia. It sees there an effort to destroy the security of the ruling class.

There is a plank in the program of the American League Against War and Fascism which concerns this matter of the Soviet Union, and I think it is a good plank. All we need now is to take it from paper and put it into action.

During the last two or three years we have been talking steadily that war is threatened, and people sometimes say that we just cry "Wolf". Where is the war? Well, war is still threatening not only against the Soviet Union, but in the world at large, and we cannot relax our efforts to fight this threat of war. This war has been postponed partly because of the activities of organizations like this. This war is not inevitable, and if we and thousands of other people in the world work hard enough, we can prevent it.

Dr. WARD announced that among the many greetings received by the Congress that morning, was one from the Anti-Imperialist Alliance of Cuba.

JOAQUIN CARDOZO (Cuban Federation of Labor)—(Translation). I greet you in the name of the Cuban masses, as representative of the First Congress Against War and Fascism and Intervention, which took place in Cuba last year.

The main struggle of the Cuban masses is to win political domination for the abolition of the present economic system of Cuba. The A. B. C. fascist organization of Cuba, which has for such a long time controlled the masses, is in a decadent stage because the Cuban masses are achieving success, not only stopping war, but stopped the continuation of the political power so far reached. The Cuban masses are in daily struggle, not only against the native bourgeoisie, but against American Imperialism, which is the main struggle of the Cuban masses. We can see the direct connection of American Imperialism in the sustaining in power of the present political parties.

A short time ago in the Cuban Embassy were found rounds of ammunition and other materials of war especially sent for the Fascist organization, The A. B. C.

A recent case we find in the fire of the Morro Castle. Although it is a passenger ship, it was loaded with arms and munitions which went to Cuba to smash the struggle of the Cuban masses. The educational budget in Cuba does not exist. The other allotments for social purposes do not exist. We find that the war budget for Cuba this year is tremendously large for such a small country. The struggle of the masses against war and fascism and against American Imperialism cannot be stopped. It will be one of the greatest struggles because for American Imperialism the Carribean countries are most important. Because once the Carribean countries succeed in overthrowing American Imperialism, it will mean success and power for the oppressed of other Latin American countries.

Mrs. LEILA JACKSON (delegate to Paris Women's Congress from United Mine Workers of America Auxiliary of Pittsburgh). Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I bring you greetings from the World Congress of Women assembled in Paris, France, on the 3rd-5th of August. I was a delegate from the United States, which sent 40 delegates. There were 1,088 women assembled there in a solid front against war and fascism. I hope that at the end of this Congress, you will take back to your states the same enthusiasm the delegates took back from the Paris Congress.

SEYMOUR WALDMAN was the next speaker, with a report on "War Preparations of the U. S. Government." This report will be issued separately and will be available on request.

ROGER BALDWIN then reported on the financial condition of the Congress: The Arrangements Committee had only sufficient funds to barely pay the rent of the hall and some incidental expenses, but not enough for mimeographing and printing of reports and speeches as requested by various delegates. They therefore printed pledges, in which the delegates were to promise to raise \$2.50 each within 30 days, to be mailed to the National Office, for defraying the expenses of literature. Mr. Baldwin asked the delegates to file into the credentials room immediately after the session to sign these pledges.

Meeting adjourned at 2:00 p. m.

SECOND UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Sunday Afternoon Session, September 30, 1934—2:15 P. M.

RICHARD BABB WHITTEN (Official delegate of the New Orleans Socialist Party). Comrades and Friends: I am one of the 5 delegates from New Orleans to the Second Congress Against War and Fascism. We were elected to represent workers' organizations, political and economic, cultural and religious, from the city of New Orleans. We held a conference against war and fascism a few weeks ago in the City of New Orleans in the Y. M. C. A. which represented workers from various organizations.

I represent the New Orleans local of the Socialist Party. We in New Orleans have a united front with the Communist Party and other labor organizations ever since August 5th and this united front, I am pleased to say, was a result of the initiative of the local of New Orleans of the Socialist Party.

I want to warn every delegate here that we have one of the biggest Fascist menaces in this country, Senator Huey Long of the State of Louisiana. Fascism will not come in this country the way it came in Germany or Italy—it will more likely follow the developments of Austria, where a government in power professing a liberal position, turns the government into a corporate state. In Louisiana, we have the state of Fascism approaching. Long is in control since the recent elections. The last State Legislature, after it had been warned that unless they appropriated money, that 15,000 unemployed, crippled, blind, etc., would be cut off from relief rolls. But Allen, who never signs without Long's permission, did not O. K. the bill. 15,000 unemployed were cut from the relief rolls. It was then that the local of the Socialist Party in New Orleans called on all workers' organizations, the A. F. of L., the Communist Party, the Unemployed Councils and all other groups, to have a mass protest demonstration in Lafayette Square in front of the City Hall in New Orleans. This was done.

Warmsley wanted autonomy for the city of New Orleans for the old reign of the Democratic Party. Long wanted the Hitler role. National Guardsmen were thrown around the registering offices of the voters, there were Warsley's special deputies around the city hall. It was against the bandits and the National Guards and police that the workers stood shoulder to shoulder on August 6th and demanded bread for the unemployed rather than money for war purposes.

The united front was successful. There were no aggressive measures on the part of any organization against the membership of any other organization at that demonstration. The behavior and discipline of the workers was incomparable for dignity and proletarian unity. They were the only sane voices in Louisiana.

Long has organized a Share-Our Wealth program and a society which he claims has 1,600,000 members. This program has 7 points. Two of them will give an idea of what kind of fascism this is: 1. He proposes to limit poverty, not abolish it, so that every family in the United States could have \$5,000 yearly. 2. He says he is going to balance consumption with production, according to the laws of God, which never fail.

The South needs strong activity and our delegates from the South and West must carry on a ceaseless propaganda and agitation against Long. Workers and farmers are falling for him by the thousands. The various members of the Socialist Party and delegates from locals to this Congress, or delegates from other organizations who are Socialists, or Socialists who are visitors, I am calling upon the members of the National Committee of our Party to enter the League Against War and Fascism and declare a united front with all workers. It is a fundamental necessity at this time of closing crises for the workers to stand together if we are to escape Fascism and War.

HANSU CHAN (Editor of "China Today"). Fellow Delegates: I bring greetings from the Friends of the Chinese People, an organization of American friends for the support of the liberation struggle in China. The Friends of the Chinese People is a broad united front organization on the Far Eastern situation. The League Against War and Fascism is a broad united front organization on the question of war and fascism. Today war and fascism has the sharpest and most dangerous expression in the Far East. Therefore, the purpose of the two organizations is closely related. Today in the Far East the Japanese imperialists and war parties are the most disturbing factors. On the one hand, this group is doing its best to provoke a war against the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it is pushing a policy of a conquest of China, to convert China into a base for which they could attack the Soviet Union and also all revolutionary forces in the colonial countries in the Far East. But Japanese imperialism will not succeed because the anti-fascist and anti-war forces in the Far East are being expressed in the most powerful manner of all time. In China today there are 80 million people living under the Soviet Flag.

Recently a very significant broad move has been made in the Far East. Madam Sun Yat Sen. has issued a call for a united war of the Chinese people against Japan. I urge the Congress to support and endorse this move of Madam Sun Yat Sen to rally the anti-war forces in the Far East against the war policy of Japanese imperialism.

Dr. WARD. The following vocational commissions will be heard from: Farmers, Religious Workers, Socialist Party Delegates, Veterans, Railroad Workers, other Trade Union, Miners, Women's Organization, Veterans, Professionals, German-American Group, Icor, Negro Organization, White Collar Workers. (Reports available on request.)

Mrs. Lucy Parsons, wife of the working-class martyr, Alfred Parsons, leader of the Haymarket Affair, and veteran fighter in the labor movement greeted the delegates and wished them success.

A greeting was read from 115,000 farmers who endorse the program of the Farmers National Committee for Action.

The chairman then called for the report of the Credentials Committee.

DONALD HENDERSON: The following credentials report covers in detail the representation at the adult conference. It does not cover the credentials report of the Youth Congress, which has been given separately.

Total number of delegates registered, including Youth (200 of these registered today, so are not included in the analysis of the figs.)	3, 332
(The number of Youth delegates)	749
Total number of members of organizations represented by these delegates	1, 807, 201
These delegates are divided into the following groups:	
Union representatives, including all types of unions	355
Veterans Organizations	41
Professional Organizations	44

These delegates are divided into the following groups—Continued.

Delegates from shops, elected directly by the workers in the shops for the Congress-----	22
Official representatives from political parties-----	115
Delegates from various cultural and educational groups and middle class organizations-----	251
Delegates officially representing churches-----	25
Unemployed Organizations-----	154
Fraternal Organizations-----	434
Workers Clubs and Social Groups-----	189
Farmers Organizations-----	55
(Of these 55 delegates, 20 come from workers and farmers co-operative organizations)	
Anti-war and Peace Organizations-----	195
Defense, Civil Rights, and Anti-Fascist Organizations-----	247
Women's Organizations-----	149

There are 35 States represented, as well as 3 delegates from Canada, 1 from Cuba, and 1 from Brazil.

The Credentials Committee thought it important to analyze the composition of the group representing political parties officially.

From the Socialist Party officially, local branches----- 11 dol.
(I understand the report indicated about 50 delegates present who are Socialist Party members. The above are only official representatives.)

From the Communist Party----- 105 dol.
From the Jewish Workers Party----- 4 dol.
From the Communist Party Opposition----- 1 "

The group of Union delegates is analyzed as follows:—of 355 delegates
A. F. of L. Locals and A. F. of L. Central organizations----- 121 "
Railroad Brotherhoods----- 6 "
Various Industrial Unions----- 150 "
Miscellaneous and independent union organizations----- 78 "
(There are a total of 20 Railroad Brothers represented, but some of them are from A. F. of L. Locals or Central Organizations.)

This Congress did not challenge or oppose the seating of any delegate.

Concerning the further committee reports, it was decided it was physically impossible to carry on a discussion with 3,332 delegates in the hall. Therefore, the Presiding Committee recommended that further reports, unless they were completely contrary to what the delegates wished, should be referred, with their general approval, to the National Executive Committee, which will, as the representative body, carry on the discussion and the necessary action. Proposals for the alteration of these reports, and ways to carry them out, should be handed in writing to the National Executive Committee. To facilitate this, the Presiding Committee met in the East Room between 5:30 and 6:30 to receive suggestions and criticisms. This procedure was adopted.

REPORT OF PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

LOREN MILLER. The Publications Committee is headed by Joe Pass, Editor of "FIGHT", acting as Chairman. It met and there were present: Carl Haessler of the Federated Press, Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Rob Hall of the Farmers Weekly, Orrick Johns and I. The majority of the report is devoted to "FIGHT", the publication of which you are familiar. "FIGHT" was begun about 10½ months ago, after the meeting of the First U. S. Congress Against War. At that time, the editors did not believe that a magazine of this kind could attain a circulation of more than 3 or 4 thousand. However, the masses of the American people had another idea, and today "FIGHT" is publishing from 28 to 30 thousand copies, most of which are sold. I want to tell you, too, that 60% of the issues of "FIGHT" are sold outside of New York City. "FIGHT" reaches more than 100 localities and towns in America. With the contents of "FIGHT" most of you are familiar. It is attracting a great variety of writers, workers, professional people and professional writers. 28,000 is a great many copies of a magazine like "FIGHT", but 28,000 is by no means adequate and the Publication Committee holds that by next year it will have doubled and tripled its circulation.

The Publications Committee also plans for the next year the publication of a weekly or bi-monthly bulletin of factual material that will be sent to organizations, newspapers, etc., who want material to use in the fight against War and Fascism.

The publication of a number of pamphlets dealing with special issues and with a wide variety of other issues that arise is necessary. The Publications Committee hopes that these pamphlets can be printed and sold for 5¢ a copy. It is interesting to note that the youth pamphlet which has been printed about six weeks ago has already sold more than 25,000 copies.

We also recommend that the local organizations publish their own literature. The local League in California has published a pamphlet of its own, dealing with specific local issues.

In conclusion, may I urge the delegates here of the absolute necessity of spreading the circulation of the magazine "FIGHT". "FIGHT" can be circulated inasmuch as every delegate here will resolve to do his part in the organizations which he represents. It is absolutely necessary that you go to the organization you represent and other organizations to get them to order bundles of "FIGHT". Also, to secure subscriptions for "FIGHT" which sells for 50¢ a year.

We wish to urge that when the pamphlets are published that you use the same measure in spreading them as you do in spreading the circulation of "FIGHT".

ROGER BALDWIN then reported for the ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE COMMITTEE: In regard to the national organization we propose to go ahead precisely on the same basis as the Congress last year. There was created at that Congress and will be tonight, a National Executive Committee which will be nominated to you by the Presidium and you will add to it. We have already received a large number of suggestions to strengthen and enlarge the National Executive Committee.

We have had a bureau of 7 elected by the National Executive Committee, along with the officers, which has met every Monday faithfully in the National Office in New York and has attended to the detailed business of the organization. That committee will be elected tonight by your new National Executive Committee, which you will elect. That committee will meet here for the first time and we will pick out the national officers and members of the Bureau.

We propose three new activities of a National character.

1. The creation of commissions such as those which were decided upon by you; trade union, farmers, intellectuals, etc. These will be national commissions that will be added to from time to time and will be particularly concerned with extending the League's work in their particular professions.
2. In regard to local work, we have two things which we feel are necessary for broadening the activities and getting outside the comparatively small points, taking the national as a whole, which constitutes the League. We have the task of building up a propaganda machine equal to the one of the war makers and reactionaries. But we have to get money to do the job.

Now my friends, there is a good deal of criticism of this League in a good many quarters, that the League is a Communist organization, taking in all sorts of innocents to make it look respectable. I am supposed to be one of the innocents. They say that the Communists use these innocents. All right. But we use the Communists. I think that the non-Communists who think that the Communists are dominating the organization should come in and increase the non-Communists ranks. The real trouble is that the Communists have almost a monopoly on militancy. I would like to see other delegates outside of the Communist movement match them with equal spirit. That is a sufficient answer, it seems to me, to those critics from the minority groups, and others, who have regarded us as an organization politically dominated by the Communists. The task of all of us, Communists and non-Communists, is to try to get those who are not yet with us, into this great struggle against war and fascism.

[NOTE.—P. 24 missing from original.]

and hear from a First Lieutenant in the United States Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY: The revolutionary soldiers of the 6th Corps area, which includes the regular army in Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois, extend revolutionary greetings. The troops of this area have just completed in Camp Custer, Michigan, war maneuvers on a larger scale

than ever since the last war. The reserve officers of this area have worked out all the details of their mobilization plans, while training has been intensified here. For the machines of destruction the capitalists pay dearly, but to the general staff the lives of workers are cheap. Our participation in this Congress is our militant answer to those preparations.

These are not preparations for an imperialist war alone. Special equipment has been issued and troops at Fort Sheridan have been called out on "riot duty". These troops can be brought into Chicago within one hour of call.

The treatment of the working class of Rhode Island, Toledo and San Francisco, points out the significance of this fact, but at the same time today in ever greater numbers, soldiers and some officers are realizing that their function is not to defend the people, no—as part of the government machinery their function is to defend the profits of the capitalists against the interests of the people, at home as well as abroad.

We, who know this, believe that only by unity with all the sincere opponents of war and fascism within the civil population, can war be prevented. Our roots lie deep within the people, we in uniform are workers and farmers. We call upon you to let this fact be impressed. Only through much fraternization, only through your friendship can the soldiers realize their interest as workers. You must defeat the attempts to isolate the armed forces from the toiling masses. We ask you to cooperate in this task with our work from the inside. At the same time, from this mighty demonstration we take new courage and we therefore resolve and pledge to this Congress our support in the struggle against war and fascism within the armed forces. We will struggle relentlessly until the workers' democracy has removed this dangerous development and if the capitalists call upon us to wage war, we will wage war, but it will be a war against the war makers. [Loud and continuous applause.]

JAMES LERNER (*Youth section of the American League Against War and Fascism*, National Chairman) Fellow Delegates: The enthusiastic speech of the representative of the U. S. Army is an example of what the young people of America are today doing in the fight against War and Fascism. The sessions of the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism just concluded is another example of the sentiment against War and Fascism that has taken root among the young people. We had 749 delegates. They represent over 200,000 young people. Most of them have never before participated in an action of this sort.

They came with suspicion, with doubts, to hear whether we were dominated by one political group or another. But as the Congress went on it was proven that we were interested only in creating this united front, and the Manifesto that was introduced to the Youth Congress was adopted unanimously. This Manifesto was the same as last year. We pledged to carry on work within the armed forces of the United States government, to make the soldiers feel that they must unite with the working class against war. We pledged to build anti-war committees in shops and on ships, as we have started on a small scale. We also pledged to win the large majority of the students to the anti-war movement. 25,000 students struck on April 13th in protest against war preparations, demanding that the war funds be used for unemployment insurance, to build schools instead of battleships. This is the spirit in which the Youth Congress was conducted in the last two days.

I want to read now the names of those who are on the National Executive Committee of the Youth Section, elected by the Youth Congress: Edith Turner, National Industrial Council, YWCA, Indianapolis, Ind.; Negro woman, Vice-Chairman of the National Executive Committee; James Wechsler, Editor of the Columbia Spectator, New York City; Edward Strong, International Negro Youth Movement, Chicago, Illinois; Bill Miller, Young Circle Lodge of America, New York City; James Lerner, National Secretary of the Youth Section, New York City; Paul Streich, Edin Seminary, Missouri; Waldo McNutt, Rocky Mountain Area YMCA, National Chairman of the Youth Section; Richard Babb Whitten, League for Industrial Democracy and Socialist Party in New Orleans; Al Hamilton, Epworth League, California; Albert Condra, United Mine Workers of America, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Christian Hapke, Holiday Association (Farmers) Nebraska; Frank Uitz, Young Peoples Socialist League, Gillespie, Illinois; Reverend Kelly, Pilgrim Baptist Church, Chicago, Ill.; Virgil Morris, Marine Workers Union, Baltimore, Maryland; Gilbert Green, National Secretary, Young Communist League, New York City; National Guardsman of Youngstown, Ohio; Beula Lee, YWCA, Secretary of the Hosiery Workers Union, Indianapolis, Ind.; Martha Lewandowska, Stockyards Worker, Paris

Conference Delegate; Chicago, Ill.; Helen Housch, Neighborhood House, St. Louis, member of Boot and Shoe Union; Hayes Beall, National Chairman of the Methodist Youth Council, New Haven, Conn.; Millie Futterman, National Student League, New York City; David Bleil, Boy Scouts, Ann Arbor, Michigan; J. Gershtenson, YMHA, New York City; Walter Petraski, Textile Worker, Pawtucket, Rhode Island; James Ashford, League of Struggle for Negro Rights; Frank Meyers, World Committee Against War and Fascism.

We have attempted to create a functioning national committee that will take in the largest number of organized young workers and students in the United States. The spirit in which the Congress was conducted, the resolutions and Manifesto and the solemn pledge taken by all delegates at the close of the session, proved very clearly that we have improved the work of the Youth Section and in the coming year we will, together with the Adult Section of the American League Against War and Fascism, create a solid bond of unit which will smash the Fascist terror and every move towards imperialist war.

ROGER BALDWIN then called on the delegates for a collection, to which they responded in the amount of \$368.00 and \$149.00 in pledges.

Dr. WARD then called on Benjamin Goldstein to report for the Resolutions Committee.

Thirty-one resolutions were passed dealing with the following:

Fascism in the United States

Negro People and Minority Groups

War Policies of the U. S. Government

Veterans

November 11th Demonstration

Terror in California

Seamen

Death of Polish Baker

Italian Fascists in Chicago

Victims of German Fascism

Women in the Fight Against War and Fascism

Friends of China

Release of Anti-Fascists

Soviet Union

Unemployment and the New Deal

Agricultural Administration and the Farm Situation

Unemployment Insurance Bill H R 7598

Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro Boys

Criminal Syndicalism

Post Office

Communist Election

American Situation

Rakosi of Hungary

The Far East

Japanese Situation

James B. McNamara

Clause 5 in Resolution on Soviet Union was not passed. All others adopted.

Chairman announced proposals for additional resolutions, which must be referred to the incoming executive committee for action. The honor of presenting a particular resolution will go to one of the delegates from California—Resolution on the Release of Tom Mooney. Passed. Additional Resolution—On the Release of Warren K. Billings. Passed.

SEELA MATLIN, Secretary of the Los Angeles City Committee of the American League who had witnessed the beatings of many of the California victims, spoke. She displayed a leather whip, studded with steel, which was used to whip the prisoners. Also a strong rope, containing a noose, intended to be used in lynching one of the prisoners. She spoke regarding Stanly Hancock and others as follows:

"At 11 o'clock one night, the Vigilantes appeared with the sound of a bugle. They carried a burning fiery cross. They tried to come in but the dogs would not let them. The following morning, Stanly Hancock and some comrades went up the hill and there was an open grave with the name of Stanly Hancock written on a stone with the following statement in the package that was left at the grave. 'Communists, watch your step. From now on. You advocate terrorism and violence and that is what you will get. All you want of it and more. Your friend who went home on Monday got his Tuesday.' That is why we urge this delegation to respond to this resolution, so that we may have

Stanly Hancock's safe release from them. Otherwise there will be a Brown Book written as large as the Hitler terror if not bigger."

Dr. WARD. You have all seen the Manifesto and Program adopted by the last Congress. There has been little change in that Manifesto, except that section which deals with the world situation, to make it up to day and to add a little paragraph which makes clear the connection between Fascism and War, which says:

"That Fascism and War are organized by the same people for the same purpose, for preservation of the power and privileges of the ruling class. They must be fought together by the same forces, using the same weapons. Stop the growth of Fascism and check war. Make it impossible for the Fascist state to wage war successfully, and its power is broken."

The program was a program of ten points. That this program is sound is proven by the extent to which the forces against War and Fascism have united behind it. It has not been changed except to bring the intellectuals in line with the workers, withdrawing their services from the war machine, and by adding a word or two that makes clear again the connection between War and Fascism. There has been added at the end this:

"National, State and City organizations of the League shall carry out these objectives through educational propaganda, action by mass meetings, demonstrations, picketing and political pressure on legislative and administrative officials. Every emergency calling for action shall be made by national campaigns, uniting all our forces in common resistance to these allied destroyers of mankind—war and fascism."

These changes were prepared by your Executive. They have been unanimously approved by the Resolutions Committee. Will you adopt them? ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY.

Next is the report of your Election Committee.

ROGER BALDWIN. This is the report of your Presiding and Organization Committee, recommending the permanent National Executive Committee for the coming year. We have added to the Executive a number of people to make it a much larger group. We have tried to get a balanced group, so that all the forces at the Congress would be adequately represented. We have left open places for some of our intellectual friends who have not so far participated—writers, artists, etc., also representatives of co-operatives among the farmers, and we have left places which we hope the Socialist Party is going to fill. [Applause.] We have also left some places for the Farmer Labor Party. The nominations unanimously agreed upon by the Organization Committee and by the Presidium Committee of the new persons on the Executive Committee re:

Mrs. Clinton Barr	Waldo McNutt	Corliss Lamont
Ernest Lundeen	Dr. Arthur G. Falls	Thomas R. Amlie
Richard Babb Whitten	John Bosch	Mabel Byrd
Florence Curtis Hanson	Alice Boynton	James Yard
Paul L. Goldman	Tredwell Smith	Clarence Hathaway

John Werlick, Metal Polishers A. F. of L., Chicago, Illinois

Charles Blome, Iron Moulders A. F. of L., St. Louis, Mo.

Herman Jensen, Painters Union #781, A. F. of L.

Ben Gold, N. T. W. I. U., Fur Section, New York City

Fred Biedenkapp, United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, N. Y.

Clarence Irwin, Amal. Ass'n of Steel and Tin Workers, Youngstown, Ohio

A. H. Johnston, Amal. Ass'n of Steel and Tin Workers, Canton, Ohio

Leila Jackson, Women's Auxiliary, U. M. W. A. Pittsburgh, Pa. (Negro)

Alex Draznik, Brotherhood of Railroad Carmen, Gary, Indiana. Lodge 924

Harry Bridges, I. L. A., San Francisco, Marine Transport

Ernest Kornfield, Local Hosiery Workers, United Textile Workers

Samuel C. Patterson, National Committee Struggle for Negro Rights

Manning Johnson, Unemployed Council, New York City

Louis Thompson, New York City

Reverend J. A. Martin, Editor of leading Sunday School Periodicals

D. R. Poindexter, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Chicago, Ill.

Reverend Herbert King, Detroit, Michigan

Alex V. Wright, Norfolk, A. F. of L.

Peter Onisick, U. M. W. # 9, General Mines, Board of 20 locals

William Brown, Carmen's Union, Cleveland, Ohio

The present members of the National Executive Committee, whose nominations are made to you, are as follows:

Israel Amter	Roger Baldwin	Max Bedacht
Ella Reeve Bloor	LeRoy E. Bowman	Earl Browder
Winifred Chappell	George A. Coe	Barnett Cooper
Prof. George S. Counts	Malcolm Cowley	H. W. L. Dana
Anna N. Davis	Dorothy Letzer	Margaret Forsyth
Maruice Gates	Rabbi Benjamin Goldstein	Dr. Israel Goldstein
Mrs. Annie E. Gray	Gilbert Green	A. A. Heller
Donald Henderson	Harold Hickerson	Roy Hudson
Langston Hughes	Rabbi Edward L. Israel	James Lerner
E. C. Lindeman	Lola Maverick Lloyd	Robert Morss Lovett
Rev. R. Lester Mondale	William Paterson	A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
Henry Shepard	William Spofford	Lincoln Steffens
Maxwell S. Stewart	Alfred Wagenknecht	Dr. Harry F. Ward
Louis Weinstock	James Wechsler	Percy Winner
Ella Winter	Charles Zimmerman	

On account of the inability of Earl Browder to act in the capacity of a member of the National Bureau, Clarence Hathaway was nominated in his place on the National Bureau and added to the National Executive Committee.

Nominees unanimously elected by the delegates.

The chairman then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Landy, for his untiring and unceasing work behind the scenes. Vote of thanks unanimously adopted.

MRS. ANNIE E. GRAY. Comrades all, I appreciate the honor conferred upon me in permitting me to say one of the final words to you before we all go back to our respective localities to carry on the work of the League Against War and Fascism.

I think we should be congratulated upon the courage and concentration, the eagerness and earnestness of every delegate to this Congress. I hope that we all go back to our respective localities, determined to use every last ounce of energy to carry out this program that we have planned here at this Congress.

Those of us who have worked for the First Congress and have worked during the year since, are delighted with the results of this Second Congress. I hope that we shall all go forth and pit ourselves in this great fight against the forces opposed to us.

I hope that we shall all meet again sometime within a year and that the next Congress may so far excel the two previous ones that all the world will have to take notice. It is up to us, comrades, to make the Third Congress Against War and Fascism the greatest Congress that has ever been called. It is up to everyone of us—it is our individual responsibility.

DONALD HENDERSON. This Congress has proved that the work during the past year has realized on the promise of the First Congress. Many of you do not know the problems, the crises that faced the American League Against War and Fascism at some points during the past year. At one time, shortly following the First Congress, we had a desertion from our ranks. Leading fighters whose words in the First Congress promised undying devotion and support, deserted our organization as a result of an incident in which this organization had no part and had no responsibility. At that time, both due to the actions of many of the leading members in the American League, and the desertions, a crises faced our organization and our work.

A man came forward, a man to whom more than anyone else the success of this Congress and the success of this work during the past year is due. That man is your Chairman, Dr. Harry F. Ward. He has been no chairman who merely lent his name, but week by week, he has conscientiously taken on his already burdened shoulders the concrete work of giving weekly guidance in the work of the League, has helped to work out the policies. I think the delegates to the Congress should give Dr. Harry F. Ward three rousing cheers. [All Delegates rose and cheered.]

DR. WARD. Fellow workers, this movement does not depend upon personalities. While it may make some immediate differences as to who drops out and who comes in, in the end, because the forces of the future lie undeveloped and unrevealed in the masses of the people. Those at the top who are ruling our present society are trying in vain to hold back the future of mankind. They cannot do it. They are manufacturing death. They are trying to force us into death. They are trying to deny to our children the right to live. They cannot do it.

On our side is the greatest force in human history, greater than emperors and kings, which breeds the forces of the undeveloped capacities of the great force of mankind. These are the forces we are developing and revealing at this focal point of the struggle against war and fascism. We have only a fraction of them here today. Next year we must have more of them. As the war makers are seeking to mobilize every resource of the American nation, so we must match them by mobilizing an equal resource to defeat them. As they are building a more powerful propaganda force to put over war and fascism, we must build a propaganda machine that is still more powerful. They have the money to do it with, but we have the people. And the people are more powerful than their millions. It is our job to mass that historic force in this crisis in the history of mankind.

You have given us the job of leading this organization in this fight. We, the Executive, pledge to do our best to our last ounce of strength and energy in carrying out the task you have given us. It is one thing to develop our enthusiasm here in the great Congress. As one who has been in this fight for now almost 30 years, I say to you it is another thing to be found on the firing line every day. It is one thing to be found in the dramatic moments of the struggle. It is another thing to be doing the spade work, the dirty work day by day without which the dramatic moments and crisis cannot be won. You do that day by day work in your locality, in your organization, and we will have no fears about what will happen as the issue crystallizes in the great struggle. You do this day by day work of building this organization, extending this propaganda, and we have no fear of meeting the forces of war and fascism in the final conflict. As a pledge that we together will do this work and be found faithful in the last detail, let us now rise and sing together "Solidarity Forever." (All delegates rose and sang Solidarity Forever)

Meeting adjourned at 10:30 o'clock p. m.

[NOTE: All speeches and proceedings are given in abbreviated form, in order to make it possible to send this material out at the lowest cost and at the same time give a living picture of what happened at the Congress. The speech of Dr. Ward and the message of Maxim Gorky are being printed in full in one pamphlet. The Manifesto and Program has been printed and is enclosed. The report of Seymour Waldman on U. S. Government War Preparations is being edited and will be printed shortly. Price lists on all printed matter will be sent by the American League on request.]

[Editorial from the Daily Worker, October 3, 1934]

TO THE ACTIVE FIGHTERS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

You are candidates for membership in the Communist Party of the United States—if you are not yet a Party member.

Not every opponent of war and fascism is a Communist. Many of them do not yet realize that only from the platform of Communism can one wage a consistent fight against war and fascism, a fight to the end, to the victory of the proletarian revolution in the United States. But every active and leading worker in this struggle is ripe for membership in the Party. Now is the time to join. The recruiting drive of the Communist Party, initiated on October 1, raises this question with special acuteness.

The Communist Party seeks to mobilize for the struggle against war and fascism the widest masses of workers, toiling farmers, youth, women, Negroes and intellectuals. Especially does the Party seek to build the strength of the League of Struggle Against War and Fascism among the workers in the shops of the basic industries. It is with this end in view that the Party participates in the League. The Second Congress of the League held in Chicago, September 28-30, shows that the mobilization of the masses is making serious progress.

Considerable numbers of capable and militant workers have come up from among the masses to take an active and leading role in the struggle against war and fascism. These non-Party actives in and around the local organizations of the League have seen for themselves the leading role of the Party in the League. They have seen the truth of the words of Dr. Harry F. Ward, National Chairman of the League, himself not a Party member, who said:

"The group which can offer to this movement the most valuable suggestions concerning the program and tactics, which can offer the most dynamic active forces for carrying it out, will gain political activity out of it in this League, and they are entitled to do so."

This recognition of the role of the Communist Party from a man who has seen the Party at work and is therefore able to appreciate its value and significance.

In the leading role of the Party lies the reason why the active and leading elements in this movement should join the Party, and join it at once. These active elements must reflect upon the reason why the Communists are able to render such service and leadership to the movement. It is because the Communists are organized into a Party; because this Party is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism; because this Party is the American Section of the Communist International, led by Stalin. In short, the strength and value of the individual; Communists in the mass movements of the workers and in the League of Struggle Against War and Fascism *lies in their Party*.

Workers! Actives in the anti-war movement! Answer the present recruiting drive of the Party by joining it.

Members of the Party—Those who are engaged in the work of the League of Struggle Against War and Fascism! Recruit your best coworkers and collaborators in this field of work into the Party.

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